GRAMMAR SCHOOL CLASSICS

[illegible] Smith.

Grammar School Classics.

C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARII DE BELLO GALLICO.

WITH NOTES,

BY

GEORGE LONG.

A New Edition.

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PREFACE.

I have used for the first five books of the Gallic war the text of C. E. Christ. Schneider, Halle. Schneider has given the various readings at great length; and his edition contains many valuable notes in Latin, which have often been useful to me. Probably his text of the first five books may be accepted as the best that can be made; at least I have not thought it judicious to differ from it very often. The editor appears to be in no hurry over his work, for the edition of the first four books is dated 1840; and the edition of the fifth book, which is printed separately, is dated 1849.

I have used for the other three books the edition of the Commentarii by C. W. Elberling, Copenhagen, 1827; and I have also compared it with Schneider in the first five books. It contains some of the various readings, probably the most important. I have used a copy which was lent to me by Professor Key, who has marked many passages, and his hints have often been useful to me. In many cases I have not adopted Elberling's readings, but I have noted nearly all the instances in the eight books in which I have differed from him, except a few which are of very little importance.

I have also used an edition of the eight books of the Commentarii by M. C. G. Herzog, Leipzig, 1831. Herzog has not given any various readings, and I have not sytematically noticed

the passages in which his text differs from mine. This edition contains a large body of notes in German, most of which I have read, and some of them I have found useful. His notes are chiefly grammatical and archaeological. He has very little on the geography, and that little is bad. The same remark as to the geography applies to Schneider's notes. But Schneider as a critic is very superior to Herzog, and he has evidently studied Caesar with great care. I have sometimes expressed my dissent from him very decidedly, which makes it the more necessary for me to state that I have a high opinion of his critical judgment and learning.

The editions of Oudendorp, of Clarke, and of Oberlin which contains the notes of Morus, or some of them at least, have also been used sometimes.

I have written an Introduction for the purpose of giving students, and teachers also, some ideas on the physical character of the country comprised within the limits of Caesar's Gallia, of the political divisions of the country in Caesar's time, and of the history of Gallia before Caesar began his campaigns. Some of the materials for this Introduction have been got from the useful articles on the geography of France in the Penny Cyclopaedia by the Rev. J. C. Means, from D'Anville, from Walckenaer (Géographie ancienne historique et comparée des Gaules, &c. Paris, 1839); others from a great variety of places, and some from my own observation [1]. I have often referred to Walckenaer in my notes, as he is one of the last who has written on the comparative geography of the Gauls. His work is useful, but after a long acquaintance with it I value it less. He relies too much on bare resemblances of names to be a safe guide; and sometimes he states things as facts which are pure inventions or blunders.

I have endeavoured to make a useful edition of the Commentarii so far as it was possible within limits. I have neither said all that might be said, nor all that I could have said; but

[1] Since I wrote this Preface, I have written all the articles on Gallia in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. Many of these articles will assist a student in reading the Gallic war. But the ancient geography of Gallia is not yet exhausted, and there is still matter both of addition and correction.

enough, I hope, to help students to read the book with profit, and to prepare the way for an edition worthy of it. For I am one of those who think that Caesar's Commentarii are worth reading; but as there are some who have a different opinion, though I do not value their opinion, I will briefly state why I think that it is the best book of its kind that ever was written.

There are very few books that are worth the trouble of reading often. Every civilized nation however has some such books, which have outlived the rest. A book that is to be read in all time must not be a big one. There are big books that are good in their kind, but we do not want them for daily use. A lasting book should also treat of something that has a lasting interest. It may be a poem, a drama, a history, a biography, or other things. If the matter is good, we next inquire about the form, the literary character of the work, and the character of the writer. In Caesar's Gallic war we have all that we can want. It is short; and that is a great deal. It contains the history of the complete subjugation of the most warlike nation of Europe: it is the commencement of the history of France, not of the people, for that goes much further back, but the commencement of the history of France as a modern political community. A French historian (Amédée Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois), who has written the history of the Gallic race from the earliest period to the final Romanizing of Gallia, observes that nineteen-twentieths of the people now called French are the descendants of the Gallic race. After tracing this people in all the countries into which it has penetrated, he finds the character always the same—intelligent, lively, brave, impetuous, but unsteady, little capable of consistency and order, vain and disunited. The character appears at all periods, before the Roman conquest of Gallia, and after it became a Roman province; it shows itself under the dominion of the Franks in Gallia, notwithstanding conquest and mixture of races; and it appears at intervals under the institutions of the middle ages. Nor has it disappeared in our times. Modern civilization has not transformed the ancient Gaul, though it has put a new dress on him. "If," says Thierry, "we were to examine ourselves well at any of these critical times, when nations, breaking through all social conventions, display themselves, as we may

say, in the nudity of their nature, would it be impossible to discover some sign of this union of virtues and vices?"

In these Commentarii also, for the first time [2], the unknown misty island of the west is unveiled. It is no great deal that we learn about Britain, but the invasion of Caesar opened it to the Romans. It became under the empire a Roman province, and our civilization, like that of Gallia, is of Roman original. Thus two countries, whose shores stand face to face with ever threatening aspect, the two most powerful nations in the world, were tamed and tutored by the Romans. The Gaul has repaid his instructor in modern times by many a terrible visit, as he used to do before Caesar put him in chains, and he now has his hand on the Roman Capitol. The Briton has been made almost another man since the Roman left him. One invader after another has come to make his home here; and if the Briton was like the Gaul in Caesar's time, he is now wonderfully unlike him both in good and bad qualities; for he has both.

The man who broke the power of Gallia in an eight years' war has written the history of the war himself [3]. He was a soldier in his youth, like most Romans of rank, and he had been a governor in Spain shortly before he was consul. But it was not till after he was more than forty years of age that his military career commenced, and he obtained a field wide enough for his daring and capacious genius. It was Caesar's ambition to conquer the Gauls, and it was prudent policy in the Romans, for Italy was never safe so long as the restless and warlike men beyond the Alps were unsubdued. The rapidity of Caesar's movements, the immense extent of country over which his military operations extended, his battles, his sieges, his defeats, and his victories, with their political consequences, give to his work an untiring interest, if we read it with proper knowledge and in a proper way. Nor let any man, who thinks that he knows something of modern warfare, venture to disparage either the Roman or his enemies without a map always before him, and his attention

[2] I do not mean to say that nothing was known of Britain before Caesar's time, but that his invasion is to us the commencement of its history.

[3] Of the first seven years. The eighth is by another hand. See the remarks on the Preface to the Eighth Book.

well awake to the significance of a few words written in the Latin language, and written by Caesar. The Gauls fought with courage and desperation; they showed military talent, and in the arm of cavalry they were strong. They were inferior in infantry and in their weapons; and they were weakened by political disunion. Caesar pursued his bold career through hazards and dangers enough to have stopped a prudent man; but his eyes were always open, and his vigilance never slumbered; his presence of mind never left him, and he was full of resources in his vigorous understanding and his resolute will. He, who said himself that he was not cruel, who spared the lives of Roman citizens, his enemies, who pardoned his countrymen who would have taken his life, pursued barbarians with unrelenting ferocity. He spared neither age nor sex; he slaughtered men in battle, in flight, and after submission; he plundered them, sold them for slaves; he mutilated them; he burnt their houses; he wasted their fields; he left them to perish in the winter, houseless and without food. His most formidable enemy, who was cruel like himself, and as active and as brave, the Gallic chief who in the seventh year of the war made a last effort to crush the Roman proconsul, and nobly surrendered to save his countrymen, was thrown into a Roman dungeon, to wait six years for Caesar's triumph; and then he was put to death.

Such a man, with all his great qualities, ought not to be made the object of vulgar admiration, as he often is, by modern writers. He ought to be estimated justly. He was better than many, perhaps than most of his contemporaries; and that is all that we can say.

A man should not be traduced, even if he lived near two thousand years ago. But as to the Gallic wars, we have Caesar's own account of himself, and I do not see how people who have any rectitude of judgment, can differ in opinion on this part of his life. His private character in some respects was as loose as it could be. He was very temperate in eating and drinking, as all men must be if they would be as active as he was. In the Civil war his character appears to great advantage, and a civil war tries a man's temper. Cicero, though he joined the other side, admits that Pompeius and his men would have used their victory worse. Caesar had certainly a rare genius,

and a great elevation and nobleness of character. The best testimony in his favour is that of an humble friend, a man unknown to fame, one Matius, who loved Caesar while he was alive, and was content to enjoy his friendship without availing himself of it for his own advantage. He cherished the memory of Caesar after his murder, and expressed his detestation of the men who had done the deed. He says this in a letter to his old friend Cicero (Ad Fam. xi. 28), who was on the most intimate terms with most of Caesar's assassins. It is a truly honest, sensible letter, worthy of a Roman of the best times of the Commonwealth.

Caesar's great talents and the affairs in which he was engaged have made him the foremost man of all time. After the conquest of Gaul he descended upon Italy (B.C. 49), and his feeble opponents fled before him. He left Italy for Spain, which was held for the Senate by the legati of Pompeius, and in little more than a month he cleared Spain of his enemies. On his way back to Italy he finished the siege of Massilia, which he had commenced on his march into Spain; and before the end of the year he crossed the sea from Brundisium, to prosecute the war against his own countrymen in Epirus and Thessaly, where he defeated Cn. Pompeius his rival, and once his son-in-law. In Egypt, at Alexandria, he got into a difficult position, from which he extricated himself with his usual dexterity. In the Roman province of Africa he had another desperate contest to sustain against the surviving partizans of Pompeius; and finally in Spain, where he had twice before been actively employed, he defeated the last remnant of the Pompeian party at the bloody battle of Munda (B.C. 45). So many events, so much activity, and daring, and success, have seldom been crowded into the space of a few years; and a military history from such a man, short and clear, written in plain, simple language, is a rare thing. There have been many illustrious commanders, some of them better men than Caesar, and some who have played a great part in the affairs of the world. But Caesar brought under Roman dominion a country extending from the Pyrenees to the outlets of the Rhine, and then he compelled the Roman world to submit to himself. He died by the hands of mean men, whom he had pardoned and bought, but he left his name be-

hind him, and prepared the way for a kinsman to establish an imperial dynasty of Caesars. His great and varied talents place him even higher than his fortunes. He was a successful soldier, and a usurper with great ability for civil administration. But he was more than that. There is no man like him all in all; and no man can be compared with him.

Cicero, who knew Caesar well, and was no friend to him, though at one time he pretended to be his friend, allows that nobody could have used with greater moderation the power that he seized. To Romans he was mild and merciful. He was generous and liberal; a man of taste and learning equal to any of his age. Cicero says that there was hardly an orator of his time who spoke Latin so well; and he had a rare sagacity and penetration. Cicero gives the character of the Commentarii in a few expressive words: he compares the style to a beautiful figure, naked, well-formed, and graceful, divested of all ornament[4]. He adds: "but while Caesar's design was that others might have something to their hand if they had a mind to write history, perhaps he has accommodated the triflers who shall attempt to ornament his matter after the fashion of those who use the curling irons for the hair: he has certainly deterred all men of sound judgment from writing, for in history there is nothing more agreeable than brevity accompanied with simplicity and clearness" (Brutus, c. 75). Luckily Caesar's work has escaped the danger[5] of being turned into a history by

[4] Compare Quintilian's judgment, Inst. Or. x. 1.

[5] There was risk of such things in those days. Greeks were the men who would have done the thing best in the worst style. When Caesar was engaged in his Spanish war, Cicero gave one Apollonius, a learned man, a letter of introduction to Caesar. Apollonius had been in the Alexandrine war, looking out, we may conjecture, for a subject to spoil. He went after Caesar to Spain with Cicero's letter; and what do you suppose he wanted? To write the history of Caesar's wars in Greek. Cicero says he thought Apollonius could do it. However he adds, "you will be a much better judge of this." (Cicero, Ad Fam. xiii. 16.) The few letters that passed between Caesar and Cicero are well worth reading. They raise our opinion of Caesar, but not of Cicero. There is a Greek historian who has partly done what Apollonius wished to do. Dion Cassius has given a sketch of Caesar's Gallic war in his Roman History. He has misunderstood, confounded, and perverted Caesar's campaigns, and if we had only Dion's nar-

some phrase-maker. If it had been laid hold of by one of the craft, it might have been forgotten in the period of declining taste, and a miserable piece of rhetoric have been transmitted to us, instead of a plain, manly, and vigorous work. It is one of the best parts of Caesar's fortune that his Commentarii on the Gallic and the Civil war have been preserved untouched. The Eighth Book is a sample of the way in which even a Roman might have handled the matter. It is an attempt to write like Caesar, and it is a failure. It is very unequal. Some parts here and there look like Caesar's work; others are confused, obscure, and in bad taste.

It has been much disputed when Caesar wrote his Commentarii[6]. Nobody can tell; at least there is no direct evidence. The best way of judging is to read the book rapidly, but carefully, when a man has mastered it as well as he can. This is the only way to form a just opinion on the question. I believe that he wrote it during his campaigns, though he may have made slight alterations and even additions at different times. But it was all finished and well known before B.C 46. (See

rative of the Gallic war, we should know very little about it. But a Roman has done worse. Florus' chapter on the Gallic war (iii. 10) shows what an Epitomator can do; and yet there are modern Epitomes as bad.

[6] Roman Commentarii were different from Roman Historiae. Commentarii were brief, simple narratives, out of which Historiae might be made. When Cicero (Ad Fam. v. 12) asked Lucceius to write the history of his consulship, he promised to supply him with 'Commentarii rerum omnium.' We have a couple of Historiae by Sallust, one of them a history of Jugurtha's war, a real Historia different altogether from Caesar's Commentarii, and of no value at all as a military narrative, whatever merit it may have as an Historia. A Roman Historia is a modern History, a work of words, of reflections, in which the writer's opinions occupy a great space, a thing that has sometimes its peculiar merit, and sometimes has none. Montaigne has described the thing well (ii. c. 10) in his discourse of Books. I am of his mind that the only good histories are those which have been written by men who directed the affairs of which they write, or took part in them as actors or spectators, or were versed in matters of that kind about which they write. Such are the best of the Greek and Roman books of history. Montaigne's judgment of Caesar and his writings is exact and true; it is the judgment of a man who formed an opinion after reflection and knew how to express it well. See also the Essays, ii. c. 34, Observations on Julius Caesar's Method of Making War.

the remark on the beginning of the Eighth Book.) It would take many words to explain the grounds of my opinion. I will give one or two reasons. There are inconsistencies in the work, which are not inconsistencies, if the books were written as the events happened. There is a brevity, sometimes an incompleteness in the narrative, which I have observed in many writers, who are writing of things before them, which are plain enough to them then, but would not seem so plain to them if they wrote afterwards. They would feel certain difficulties themselves and try to remove them for others. It is impossible to understand the attack on Gergovia, unless a man has seen the place or has a perfect map of it. Even then there is some difficulty; but the chief difficulties disappear as soon as a man gets on the ground and approaches Gergovia from the point where Caesar made his attack. Such a description as Caesar's could only be made on the spot, or when the facts were still fresh in the memory. Caesar's blockade of Alesia also is very clear when we know the ground. It was clear to himself, for he saw it and set down what he saw; and though we cannot see the lines and the battle, we can see the ground, and see that he wrote as a man would do on the spot, or when the memory of the thing was fresh. Again, the battle of Ilerda (B. C. i. 41, &c.) is often found obscure, but a view of the ground is said to make the whole perfectly clear.

Both Caesar's accuracy and his veracity have been questioned. I think that a man who reads his book carefully will have a favourable opinion of both; and if we try him by the test of the localities, as, for instance, his description of Helvetia and the Rhine, the earthen rampart that he made from Geneva to Fort L'Ecluse (i. 8), his description of the position of Avaricum (Bourges), by the ground at Gergovia, and by the siege of Alesia, we shall believe him to be both accurate and veracious. A man of his talent and wonderful diligence must have been accurate; and a man of his fearless, generous, and proud character could hardly be a liar. His work was published very soon after the Gallic war was ended, and there were plenty of people who could tell whether it was true or false. Asinius Pollio indeed (Suetonius, Caesar, c. 56) denies his accuracy and veracity; and his testimony may go for what it is worth. (See note on Lib.

viii. 423.) After the fashion of Roman commanders Caesar sent despatches (literae) to the Senate, which existed even to the time of Suetonius (Caesar, c. 56). He could not well write in his Commentarii any thing that contradicted his despatches; and I do not see why we should doubt the truth of his despatches without any evidence. They were probably in his brief and sententious style; full in facts and few in words. His way of writing was the soldier's style as he says himself (Plut. Caesar, c. 3)[7]. They were not on large pieces of paper, as other governors used to write, but on small pages such as people used for memorandum books. It is evidence of his veracity that there is almost nothing about himself in the Commentarii. He writes in the third person, and one might forget that Caesar is the writer. They might have been written by somebody else. He tells his defeat before Gergovia very plainly, and many other things which are not in his favour. Nor does he dwell more on the affairs that took place under his own eye, than on what his officers did without him. It is the plainest, clearest book, the closest to the matter, that I have seen. But every body does not appreciate it. A man must have had some knowledge of human affairs, and he must have a pretty competent knowledge of Caesar's ground and of Roman matters generally, to understand and relish it. The very brevity with which he passes over things that do not pertain directly to the subject—a real merit in a writer—has been the foundation of complaint by ignorant critics, such as General Warnery. The general some time ago made an attack on Caesar's works, which is the most miserable piece of criticism that a man of any ability, and the general is said to have had some, ever wrote. The foundation of nearly all his comment is a misunderstanding of the text. The general was answered by Roesch, a German officer, and his work is worth looking at. (Commentar über die Commentarien des Cäsar als eine Beantwortung des Remarques sur César des Herrn General-Major von W., &c., von J. F. Roesch, Halle. 1 vol. 8vo. 1783.)

[7] There are two specimens of his brief and rapid style worth looking at, a letter to Oppius, and another to Q. Pedius about Cn. Pompeius, whom he had shut up in Brundisium. (Cicero, Ad Att. ix. 13, 14.)

Roesch, who gave lectures on the military art, says that among all the ancient and modern military histories, he knows of none that he found better adapted for lectures on strategy than the Commentarii. Caesar's work is used by military students, but if it is simply read in the way that books are generally read, it is not made so instructive as it might be. If a student were to master this book in a proper manner, he would learn the operations of an eight years' campaign, carried on in great difficulties, and over a very wide surface. He would acquire a good knowledge of the large part of Europe which is included within the Gallia of Caesar, and with proper maps he would be made familiar with every kind of ground on which military operations can be carried on,—mountains, plains, coasts, rivers, woods, swamps, and defiles. Such a course of reading under an experienced officer would be very profitable. It would be a sound discipline. It is not supposed to be the province of an ordinary teacher to read Caesar in this way, though a man who has studied Caesar might explain all his great operations very well; and no person should read Caesar without a careful study of the geography. It is with the view of giving some information of this kind that I wrote the Introduction, which, imperfect as it is, may be useful. I could do it better if I had to do it again, and if it were done at more length. He who undertakes to explain Caesar fully to military students should have military experience; and if any such shall try their hands at it, they should not be discouraged if they find that they have much to learn of the Latin language. If they read carefully, they will improve as they go on. Caesar will teach them Latin as well as other things[8].

I have not ventured to say much on the battles; partly because it would have been out of place in a small work like

[8] Caesar has been a text book with some great commanders. Caesar, says Montaigne, was Marshal Piero Strozzi's man, 'and doubtless he made the best choice.' The heroic Captain John Smith, the founder of the colony of Virginia, studied two books, Marcus Aurelius' Meditations and Machiavelli's Art of War. Machiavelli's design was to restore the Roman discipline and so keep the foreigner out of Italy. If the Italians had followed Machiavelli's advice, the foreigner would have ceased to vex them, and the best thing that the Italians can do, is to follow it now.

this, and partly because it would be useless for a man to attempt it unless he could do it well. So far as I have read the remarks of those who find fault with Caesar and those who judge him favourably, I am inclined to think that the Roman knew how to order his battles against the men that he had to deal with as well as any general in modern times directs the men and the means at his command. Caesar's campaigns in the country of the Eburones were like our wars against the natives of South Africa, and he showed that he understood his business by cutting through their forests, burning their houses, driving off their cattle, and destroying their crops. When he had to deal with better disciplined men, or with his own countrymen, he showed himself master of all the military skill of the time, in sieges, marches, and pitched battles.

Roesch observes that ancient war is more simple than modern, and is more easily understood. Ancient history also was written, the best part of it, with more military knowledge than modern history, except where we have a military history by a soldier. As all the movements were more simple, and the ordering of the battles, so the whole could be seen better, for there was no smoke and less noise. A teacher who has any turn for practical affairs may be able with proper study to give some fair account to his pupils of these ancient histories, which are essentially military. Livy, though not a soldier, took a good deal of pains with this part of his work, and understood it pretty well. Thucydides, himself a soldier, knew the art of war of his own age; and Polybius was thoroughly master of it. Caesar knew it, if any body did. It has always been supposed by the French writers on ancient military affairs, Folard, Guischardt, who wrote in French, and others, that there is a good deal to be learned from the Greeks and Romans. Indeed it would be strange if the conquerors of the world had not left us something in this kind worth studying. The Romans have taught us a great deal about civil administration, and about roads, canals, bridges, aqueducts, and draining; to which we may add farming, both the cultivation of land and the management of stock. They taught law to the nations of Europe after they had beaten them; and I assume that modern military science is derived from the Romans. It is certain that we might

yet learn something from them[9]. Some of our own countrymen have had a high opinion of them in this line, as Lieutenant Clarke's sensible preface to his translation of Vegetius shows. And Captain John Bingham, in his translation of Aelian's Tactic of the Greeks (London, 1616), says, "Aelian hath in a small volume so expressed the arte (military), that nothing is more short, nothing more linked together in coherence of precepts, and yet distinguished by such variety, that all motions requisite or to be used in a battle are fully expressed therein."

I have done what I could, in a short compass, for the geography of Caesar, without which a commentary on his writings is of very little value. There are some things that I have not been able to explain. Many Englishmen go abroad every year, and they might amuse themselves with examining the ground of Caesar's operations, among which the campaign against the Bellovaci (viii. 6—22), and the site of Uxellodunum (viii. 32), require further investigation. The notes on the language are intended to explain all ordinary difficulties. I have done the best that I could in the space; but I do not expect that I have always avoided error. Our knowledge of the Latin language requires to be improved before we can undertake to explain Caesar as he ought to be explained. The book is generally considered to be fit for beginners only, and it is in some respects well suited for them; but it is also a book which contains difficulty enough to employ those who suppose that they have made considerable proficiency in the Latin language.

[9] Machiavelli, Discorsi, iii. 36, and I. Introd. Also the books Dell' Arte della Guerra.

G. LONG.

Brighton College,
Oct. 12, 1852.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

I HAVE used for the revision of the sixth book of the Gallic war Schneider's edition of that book (Halle, 1852). Schneider has not yet edited the seventh and eighth books. I have also used Kraner's second edition of the Commentarii with German notes (Berlin, 1855). Kraner's notes have been written chiefly to explain the language, and they are useful. His notes on the matter of the text and on Caesar's military operations are less complete; and indeed the explanation of this part of the author hardly seems to have been within his design. The little that he has said in his notes on the geography is worth nothing, but there is a pretty good geographical index at the end of the volume. He has also written a useful essay on the military system of Caesar (Das Kriegswesen bei Cäsar), which is prefixed to his edition of the Bellum Civile.

Kraner states that he is indebted for most of the corrections of his first edition, and they are not few, to two Programmes by Dr. Müller of Kiel (Bemerkungen zu Cäsar's Gallischem Kriege, Kiel, 1854, 1855). I have also used Müller's remarks, and I have been much helped by them. In some difficult passages he has given the same explanations as are given in my first edition (1852). In other passages I have corrected or improved my notes by the help of Müller's.

A careful revision of the Commentarii has confirmed me in the opinion of the difficulty of fully explaining Caesar; a diffi-

culty which does not come from the author's language, for no man ever knew better what to say, and no man ever wrote with more force and precision. The difficulty is inherent in the matter, and partly too it comes from this great soldier's manner of writing. As he was resolute and quick in action, so he was positive and brief in speech, saying just enough for his purpose and not caring if others were satisfied with that which satisfied himself.

Most teachers have neither time nor inclination for making editions of classical authors. But there are many who could do good service if they would follow Müller's example. A few short notes from some of our best masters, who are continually reading the same authors, would be a valuable contribution to our materials for understanding the ancient texts. No persons are more likely to discover the meaning of difficult passages and to correct old errors, than those who are employed in teaching and take pleasure in their work.

There are only two historians of antiquity, who as military writers are worth a serious study, Caesar and Polybius, and neither of them has yet received all the explanation that he requires. I say as military writers, for there are other historians who are valuable in other ways, Thucydides and Tacitus, for example. Caesar is generally made only a school-book and neglected afterwards. But when his writings shall be truly appreciated, they will take the place which is due to them in our liberal studies. Polybius is a difficult writer, and his style is not pleasant; but he was a soldier, a man of letters, and a political writer of the first class. He will be studied as he ought to be, when we shall be wise enough to employ our limited time only on the best writers either ancient or modern, and leave the rest to those who read every thing, without making a distinction between the books which still speak to us in eloquent language, and those which have no life in them and never had.

G. LONG.

Brighton College,
Nov. 4, 1859.

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the nations whom the Romans called Barbari, there is none whose history is more intimately connected with Rome than the history of the Celtae or Galli.

In Caesar's time there were two great divisions of the Gallic nation in Europe, the Galli south of the Alps and the Galli north of the Alps. Gallia Transalpina, according to the political geography of the time of Augustus, was separated from Italia by the river Var (Varus), which enters the sea between the French town of Antibes (Antipolis) and the Italian town of Nizza (Nicaea). There is no natural separation between the Alps and the Apennines. On each side of Genoa (Genua), east and west, the mountains, which here form the southern boundary of the basin of the Po (Padus), run along the margin of the Mediterranean, leaving between them and the sea only a narrow strip of land, on which the Romans made their military road called the Via Aurelia. This was an ancient line of road, and the only route by which a man can pass direct from the valley of the Rhone in Transalpine Gallia into Italy south of the Apennines. Some of the ancient geographers (Strabo, p. 202) consider the Alps to commence at Vado (Sabbaton Vada), which is about half-way between Albenga (Albium Ingaunum) and Genoa. Polybius (ii. 17) in a very loose way places the junction of the Alps and Apennines above Marseille, not far from the sea. The course of the Alps from Genoa is in a general western direction as far as the Var. About the meridian of the Var they take a general north course as far as the passage of the Great St. Bernard, and the head of the valley of the Dora Baltea (Duria) one of the affluents of the Po. From the Great St. Bernard the axis of the mountains has a general E. N. E. course to Mount St.

Gothard (probably Mons Adulas), in which are the remotest sources of the Rhine (Rhenus). All the country to the west and north-west of the mountain barrier just described, from the neighbourhood of Genoa to Mount St. Gothard, belonged to Transalpine Gaul, with the exception of the small portion west of Genoa and along the coast of the Mediterranean, which was part of the Ligurian country.

The eastern boundary of Gallia was formed by the course of the Rhine from Mount St. Gothard to its entrance into the North Sea or German Ocean. The Romans of Caesar's time knew that the Rhine flowed through a large lake, the Lake of Constanz or Bodensee (Lacus Brigantinus). From the Lake of Constanz the Rhine has a general western course as far as the bend where the city of Basle is situated; and from Basle its general course is north as far as Wesel, at the junction of the Rhine and Lippe (Luppia). From Wesel its general course is west to its outlets in the North Sea. The length of the Rhine was not accurately known either by Caesar or by any of the authorities of Strabo. Its whole course is about 950 miles. Caesar (Bell. Gall. iv. 10) says that the Rhine rises in the country of the Lepontii, and forms the eastern boundary of the following tribes, which he enumerates in order from north to south: Nantuates (a corrupted name probably, iii. 1; iv. 10), Helvetii, Sequani, Mediomatrici, Tribocci or Tribocchi, and Treviri. According to Caesar, the Lepontii inhabited the high valleys in which are the sources of the Rhine.

The Alps, from Genoa to Mount St. Gothard, and the Rhine, from its source to its outlet, formed the eastern and north-eastern limit of Caesar's Gallia, which thus comprehended, in addition to the modern territory of France, the whole of Belgium, a small part of the Netherlands, Luxemburg, those parts of the German states which lie west of the Rhine, the larger part of Switzerland, and a part of Savoy, which belongs to the kingdom of Sardinia. The area of France is about 200,925 square miles. The area of Caesar's Gallia is perhaps nearly 240,000 square miles.

The southern boundary of Gallia along the Mediterranean extended from the Var to Port Vendre near Bellegarde (Portus Veneris), at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees and south of

Perpignan; and, strictly speaking, somewhat further. The distance[1] from the Var to Cape Notre Dame, near Toulon, is about 82 miles; and from Cape Notre Dame to the canal of Aigues Mortes, east of Montpellier, 87 miles; and from Aigues Mortes to Port Vendre, a few miles north of the Spanish frontier, 90 miles. Aigues Mortes is at the head of the Gulf of Lions (Gallicus Sinus). The real boundary of Gallia on the Spanish side may have been the Pyrenaeum Promontorium, or Cap Creux, which is a short distance south of Portus Veneris. The whole distance from the Var to the extreme limit of the Pyrenees, in the way in which it is here estimated, is 259 miles.

The natural boundary between France and Spain (Hispania) on the south-west is the lofty range of the Pyrenees (Pyrenaei, called Πυρήνη by the Greeks), several summits of which exceed the elevation of 10,000 feet above the sea-level. The small river Bidasoa, which flows into the Bay of Biscay, forms below Irun the present boundary between France and Spain. The direct length of the Pyrenees from Port Vendre to the mouth of the Bidasoa is about 255 miles.

From the mouth of the Adour (Aturis), north of the Bidasoa, a long line of low sandy coast extends nearly due north to the Gironde, or the aestuary of the Garonne (Garumna); and this general direction of the coast is continued as far as the Sèvre of Niort. This line, from the Spanish frontier to the mouth of the Sèvre, is about 206 miles. The coast now takes a north-west direction as far as Bec du Raz, near 48° N. lat, in the department of Finistère; then a general north direction to a point north-west of the port of Brest; and then a general direction nearly due east as far as Mont St. Michel, in Cancale Bay. The respective lengths of the three sides thus determined are—208 miles, 34 miles, and 148 miles. The north-western part of the tract which is limited by these three lines contains the province of Bretagne, as it subsisted before the French Revolution of 1789, and most of those maritime states which Caesar calls Armoricae Civitates. The north and west coast of Bretagne is

[1] All these are direct distances, measured in a right line between two points. If all the windings of the coasts were measured, some of the distances would be greatly increased.

indented by numerous bays, and is generally bold and broken; and this character of the coast continues along the south-west side of the peninsula as far as the mouth of the Loire. A smaller peninsula follows, called Cotantin in the ante-revolutionary geography of France; it is bounded by a line drawn from Mont St. Michel to Cap La Hogue, and from Cap La Hogue to Havre at the mouth of the Seine (Sequana). These sides are respectively 79 and 94 miles long. The direct line from Havre to Cap Gris Nez, which is between Boulogne and Calais, and the nearest point to the coast of Britain, is 116 miles; and from Cap Gris Nez to the Belgian frontier, which is about half-way between Dunkerque and Nieuport, 44 miles. From Cap Gris Nez northward the coast is low, flat, and sandy as far as the mouth of the Schelde (Scaldis), a distance from the French frontier of about 50 miles. The direct distance from the outlet of the Schelde to that of the Maas, which we may at present consider the main outlet of the Rhine, is nearly 50 miles more. The interval between the outlets of these two rivers is filled with low flat islands, a country of swamps and marshes in its natural state, which the labour of man defends against the assaults of the ocean and the floods of rivers, and has converted from a wilderness into a fruitful land.

This enormous extent of country between 42° 25′ N. lat., the parallel of the eastern boundary of the Pyrenees, to nearly 52°, the parallel of Arnhem on the Rhine, in the Dutch province of Guelderland, was the scene of Caesar's Gallic campaigns from the early part of B.C. 58 to the close of B.C. 51. Its dimensions will be still better understood from the following facts. A straight line drawn from the mouth of the Var in a north-west direction to the northern point of Bretagne is about 660 miles; and a line drawn from the Spanish frontier on the west side of the Pyrenees to 48° 50′ N. lat. 8° 17′ E. long. on the Rhine is about 615 miles. Another line drawn from this point on the Rhine through Paris, nearly due west, to Bec du Raz in Bretagne is about 594 miles. A line from the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees to Paris is 445 miles; and a line from Paris to Arnhem about 270 miles.

The basin of the Rhone (Rhodanus) occupies the south-east part of Gallia. This is one of the great natural divisions of the

country, and is very different from the rest. The basin of the Rhone is the whole surface which is drained by the Rhone and its numerous affluents, which discharge their waters into the Mediterranean. It is the only mountainous country in France, with the exception of the Auvergne and other parts of central France, the north slope of the Pyrenees, and a part of the Vosges. All the rest of the drainage of the Gallia of Caesar is carried into the Atlantic Ocean. That part of the Rhone basin which is south of Lyon lies between Italy and the rest of Gallia, and in climate and products it is more like Italy than France. The olive grows in the southern part of the basin of the Rhone, but not further north than the town of Orange (Arausio) in 44° 10′ N. lat.; and on the west side of the Rhone as we travel from Nîmes to the Cévennes, we find that the olive tree disappears about Anduse at the base of the Cévennes, as Strabo correctly says (iv. p. 178). The high lands which form the water-shed between the streams which flow into the Mediterranean and those which belong to the basin of the Garonne, branch off from the Pyrenees in a north-east direction, within the present department of the Pyrénées Orientales. In the parallel of Narbonne the high lands are interrupted by a depression, through which the canal of Languedoc is made, and thus Narbonne on the Mediterranean is connected with Toulouse in the valley of the Garonne. This easy communication between the Aude (Atax), on which Narbonne stands, and the waters of the Garonne by a small portage or land journey was noticed by the Greek geographers (Posidonius, quoted by Strabo, p. 188, 189); and the same facility of communication was observed to exist between the head waters of the Saône (Arar) and those of the Seine.

The western boundary of the valley of the Rhone, from the canal of Languedoc, is formed by the mountain-range of the Cévennes (Cevenna, Cemmenum in Strabo), which run north-east; and in the latitude of the junction of the Rhone and the Isère (Isara) they approach near to the west bank of the Rhone, as Strabo correctly observes. From this point the high land runs northwards, under various names, parallel to the west bank of the Rhone and its affluent the Saône, leaving only a narrow tract between the high lands and the rivers. The

Cévennes, properly so called, do not extend further north than 45° N. lat., where Mount Mezene is situated, which is 5820 feet high; and near it the river Loire (Ligeris) rises. The mountain La Lozère (Lesura), which is about 36 miles S.S.W. of Mezene, is 4883 feet high. The face of the Cévennes which is turned towards the valley of the Rhone rises like a wall, the descent on this side being short and rapid. In winter the mountains are covered with deep snow (Bell. Gall. vii. 8).

The high lands which bound the western side of the valley of the Saône north of 45° N. lat., under the names of the Vivarais, Forez, Lyonnois, Beaujolais, and Charollois are mere hills compared with the Cévennes. They extend as far north as Langres (Andomatunum), which stands on the north side of a range of hills, which running eastward under the name of Côte d'Or and the Faucilles join the Vosges (Vosegus Mons). In or near this parallel (48° N. lat.) are the sources of the Marne (Matrona), an affluent of the Seine; of the Mosel (Mosa), an affluent of the Rhine; of the Maas (Mosa), which joins the Rhine; and of the Saône.

The Vosges are generally described as united on the south-west to the Faucilles, and through them as connected with the Côte d'Or, and thus with the northern continuation of the Cévennes. On the south they approach near to the Jura. Caesar (Bell. Gall. iv. 10) makes the Mosa (Maas) rise in the Vosegus, which is not true of the Vosges properly so called; but, in fact, he extends the name of Vosegus to the Faucilles, and here the Maas has its source. The Vosges commence at the depression in which the Rhone and Rhine canal is formed, between Belfort and Altkirch; which depression separates the Vosges on the south from the range of the Jura. The Vosges extend above 170 miles in a north by east direction, nearly parallel with the course of the Rhine. They terminate in the bend of the Rhine between Mainz (Mogontiacum) and Bingen (Bingus), which is at the junction of the Rhine and the small river Nahe. The highest summits of the Vosges are above 4000 feet. The steep side is turned towards the Rhine. The country between the Vosges and the Rhine is flat and fertile.

The limestone-range of the Jura Mountains, which have retained their name (Bell. Gall. i. 8), extends in a south-west

direction a distance of 170 miles from a point on the Rhine between Basle and the junction of the Rhine with the Aar, to the junction of the Rhone and the Guiers, in the department of Isère. This range runs to the west of the lakes of Bienne, Neufchâtel, and Geneva (Lacus Lemannus). Mount Dole, north of Geneva, is about 5500 feet high; and Reculet, which is north-west of Geneva, is still higher. The highest points of the Jura are covered with snow during one half of the year. The Rhone after leaving the lake of Geneva passes through a deep gorge or gap in the Jura (B. G. i. 6). The high lands continue south of this gap and west of the Lac de Bourguet to the banks of the Isère; south of which river, and east of Grenoble, the Alps occupy all the surface, except the narrow valleys of the Isère and of its tributary the Arc.

The surface comprehended between the Cévennes and their continuation on the west side of the Saône, the heights of Langres on the north, and part of the Vosges, of the Jura and of the Alps on the east, forms the basin of the Rhone. All the rivers of this division of France are small streams except the Rhone and its branches. The Aude (Atax) descends from the Pyrenees, and enters the sea below Narbonne. The Orbe (Orbis or Obris) rises in the Cévennes, and after a course of about 65 miles enters the sea below Béziers (Baeterrae). The Hérault (Araris) also rises in the Cévennes, and, after a course of about 80 miles, enters the sea near Agde (Agatha). The Saône has a general southern course of 304 miles to its junction with the Rhone at Lyon. The Doubs (Alduasdubis or Dubis, B. G. i. 38) rises in one of the higher parts of the Jura, north of Geneva. It runs in a north-east direction in one of the long valleys of the Jura for 75 miles, as far as Porentruy in Switzerland and Mont Terrible. Here it is turned suddenly to the west, in which direction it flows as far as St. Hippolyte, when it begins to run north. Again it makes a sharp bend and turns south-west past the town of Besançon (Vesontio, B. G. i. 38), which it nearly encircles. Passing by Dole it joins the Saône on the left bank at Verdun sur Saône, after a course of above 200 miles.

Below the junction of the Saône and the Rhone at Lyon the basin of the Rhone is in the form of an immense triangle, the apex of which is at Lyon. The base is the coast of the Mediter-

ranean. The west side is the Cévennes; the east side is the Alps. The Rhone drains a part of the Alpine region of Switzerland. It rises in a glacier, which also feeds the Rhine, and descends by a course of about 80 miles in a west-south-west direction to Martigny or Martinach (Octodurus), in Wallis, or, as the French call it, Valais, one of the Swiss cantons. Servius Galba (iii. 1) made Martinach his winter-quarters at the end of the second year of Caesar's Gallic campaign. One object in wintering at Martinach was to clear the passage of the Alps for the Italian merchants who would reach Octodurus from the position of Aosta in Piedmont by the pass of the Great St. Bernard, for this pass was used by traders in Caesar's time. From Martigny the Rhone has a north-west course for about 20 miles, when it enters the huge cavity called the Lake of Geneva (Lacus Lemannus), which is filled by its waters and those of smaller streams. The greatest depth of this lake is above 900 feet. The Rhone issues from the western extremity of the lake at the town of Geneva (B. G. i. 2. 6), where there was a bridge in Caesar's time. The river then passes through the gap of the Jura, and flows in a general south-west direction, with many bends, to its junction with the Saône at Lyon. From the junction of the two streams the course of the Rhone is south as far as Arles (Arelate), where it divides into two branches, one to the east and the other to the west. These branches inclose the low flat isle of Carmague, which has been formed by the alluvial deposit which the Rhone brings down in great quantities. From the top of the great amphitheatre of Arles the eye takes in the wide plain which lies all round Arles to the north, west, and east, and extends south to the Mediterranean. Between Marseille (Massilia) and the east channel of the Rhone lies the flat stony plain of La Crau, the Lapidei Campi, which stretches many miles inland. It is a mass of rounded shingle which covers many thousand acres. This plain is described by Strabo (p. 182). Since Caesar's time the form and the positions of the outlets of the Rhone may have varied. The whole course of the Rhone, from the ice-fields of Switzerland to the Mediterranean, is above 500 miles.

The Alps, which form the eastern boundary of the lower basin of the Rhone, are an immense mountain mass, the highest

summits of which are covered with perpetual snow. Mont Blanc, south-east of Geneva and north of the pass of the Petit St. Bernard, is 15,700 feet high. South of Mont Blanc and lying nearly in a line from north to south, are Mont Iseran, 13,275 feet high; Mont Cenis, 11,460 feet; Mont Genèvre, 11,790 feet; and Monte Viso (Vesulus), in which is the source of the Po, 12,600 feet high. These Alps had various names. The portion which extends from the neighbourhood of Albium Ingaunum to Vesulus was called Alpes Maritimae. The Alpes Cottiae, so called, as it seems, from a Gallic chieftain Cottius, extended from the Vesulus to Mont Cenis, or about there. The Alpes Graiae extended northward from Mont Cenis to Mont Blanc, or nearly as far; and the Alpes Penninae extended from Mont Blanc to the Gothard and the sources of the Rhone and the Rhine. The name Graiae is merely a Gallic word with a Latin termination, formed from the Celtic Grau or Crau 'a craggy rock;' and the element Pen of the word Penninae, which means 'summit,' is also a Celtic word, which appears in the word Apennines, and in several places in Great Britain, as Pen-maen-mawr, Ben Lomond, and many other mountain names. Caesar mentions a mountain tribe called the Graioceli, in which word we may perhaps have the same element Grau (Bell. Gall. i. 10).

The Alps send out numerous branches to the west, which cover a large part of the country between the highest range and the Rhone. Numerous streams flow down the Alpine valleys to the Rhone, and two considerable rivers. The Isère (Isara) has its source in the mountain mass of Iseran, between Mont Cenis and Mont Blanc. It is joined on the left bank at Bourgneuf by the Arc, which flows down the long valley of the Maurienne, up which valley is the modern road over Mont Cenis to Turin in Italy. Flowing to Grenoble the Isère is there joined on the left bank by the Drac, and from Grenoble it has a general west course to the Rhone near Valence. The Durance (Druentia) descends from the high tract between Monte Viso and Mont Genèvre, and flowing by a very irregular course past Embrun, Sisteron, and Cavaillon, joins the Rhone at Avignon (Avenio).

There were several passes in these Alps which led from the valley of the Po into Gallia Transalpina. The road from Turin (Augusta Taurinorum) to Briançon and Embrun, in the depart-

ment of Hautes Alpes, is over the Mont Genèvre, from the valley of the Dora Riparia, a branch of the Po, to the valley of the Durance. This is the route which Caesar took on one occasion (B. G. i. 10). The last place in Cisalpine Gallia which he mentions in this route is Ocelum, which D'Anville (Notice de la Gaule Ancienne) places at Uxeau or Ocello[2] in the valley of Pra-Gelas and Clusone (Cluso, a branch of the Padus) on the road from Pinerolo in Piedmont to the pass of Mont Genèvre. The pass of the Mont Cenis, now the most common road from France into Italy, was not used by the Romans, so far as we know. At least it was not one of their great Alpine roads, for the Itineraries do not mark any places along it. The pass over the Graian Alps, or the pass of the Little St. Bernard, is probably the route which Hannibal followed when he led his army into Italy over the Alps (B.C. 218); and it became one of the Roman roads. The road from Aosta in Piedmont to the valley of the Isère in France leads over this pass. The road over the Pennine Alps, by the pass of the Great St. Bernard to Martinach, has been already mentioned.

This description is necessary for the understanding of the Gallic war of Caesar. The first Province which the Romans formed north of the Alps was in the basin of the Rhone; and this is the Provincia of Caesar as he generally calls it (B. G. i. 1). He also calls it Gallia Ulterior (i. 7. 10). In B.C. 118 the Romans settled the colony of Narbonne (Narbo Martius), and about this time was formed in Transalpine Gallia, the Roman Provincia which was afterwards distinguished by the name of Narbonensis. The Provincia can, however, hardly be considered as fully secured until Caesar's conquest of all Gallia Transalpina. Caesar states that Geneva was the limit of the Provincia in that direction. North of Geneva and of the Rhodanus was the country of the Helvetii. The western boundary of the Helvetii was the Jura. Between the Jura and the Saône were the Sequani. Neither the Sequani nor the Helvetii were included in the Provincia (B. G. i. 2). South of the Rhodanus, between its issue from the Lake of Geneva and its junction with

[2] Also Walckenaer, *Géographie &c. des Gaules*, i. 538. See note at the end of Book I.

the Saône, were the Allobroges, who were included in the Provincia (B. G. i. 7). The neighbours of the Allobroges on the east were the Veragri, Nantuates, and Seduni, along the south bank of the Lake of Geneva and in the Valais; and these tribes were not included in the Provincia (iii. 1. 6). The Segusiani, who were on the north side of the Rhone, above the junction of the Rhone and the Saône, and also on the west side of the Saône, were beyond the limits of the Provincia (B. G. i. 10; vii. 64). It appears, however, that the Allobroges had some lands north of the Rhone (i. 11). The northern boundary of the Provincia on the west side of the Rhone was formed by the high lands on the west and by the Rhone just below Lyon. The most western town in the Provincia was Toulouse (Tolosa), in the country of the Volcae Tectosages. Caesar would not allow the Helvetii to leave their country and seize the lands of the Santoni, who were situated on the north side of the aestuary of the Garonne, because he thought that the Helvetii would be dangerous neighbours to the parts about Tolosa. Toulouse is in the basin of the Garonne, and according to Caesar's general description (i. 1) it belongs to Aquitania. The boundary between the territory of the Tolosates and of the Ausci, who were in Aquitania, was the Gimone, a branch of the Garonne. The Romans had been at Toulouse more than half a century before Caesar was proconsul of the Provincia; and they had a good claim to the town, for Q. Servilius Caepio, in B.C. 106, took the place and plundered the treasures of the temple. He was charged with appropriating to his own use the rich booty of gold. A Roman colony was subsequently sent to Toulouse; and the fertile territory of the Tolosates was included within the limits of the Provincia of Caesar's time. Among the Roman colonies of Gallia Narbonensis, Pliny (H. N. iii. 4) mentions Tolosa.

The remainder of the country included within the boundaries of Gallia is drained by the streams which flow into the Atlantic Ocean (Oceanus). It is generally a plain country. Except the central part there is no mountainous country within the basins of the Garonne, the Loire, and the Seine. It is near 400 miles from Calais to the mountains of Auvergne, and there is not an elevation in all the distance that can be called a mountain. The

peninsula of Bretagne is generally a rugged country; but the highest summits in the department of Finistère do not exceed 1000 feet. The highest point of the Menez mountains, which are in the department of Côtes du Nord, are about 1300 feet. The western and northern parts of the peninsula of Bretagne do not in fact belong to the basins of the Loire or of the Seine. The peninsula of Cotantin in the department of La Manche is also rugged, but it does not belong to the basin of the Seine. That peninsula, which before the Revolution formed La Bretagne, comprehends the present five departments of Ile et Vilaine, Loire Inférieure, Côtes du Nord, Morbihan, and Finistère.

The first river-basin on the south is that of the Adour (Aturis), which is bounded by the Pyrenees and by a low range, which runs nearly due north from the central part of the Pyrenees, and terminates on the Garonne, above Bordeaux (Burdigala). The course of the Adour is near 200 miles.

The basin of the Garonne is bounded on the west by the offset from the Pyrenees just mentioned; on the south by the Pyrenees; on the east by the range of the Cévennes and its southern continuation, as already described; on the north-east by the mountain region of the Auvergne; and on the north by the inconsiderable elevations which separate the basins of the Garonne and the Loire. This northern boundary of the basin of the Garonne is a range of hills, which extend from the central mass of Auvergne, through the departments of Vienne and Deux Sèvres, to the mouth of the Loire. This range in part of its course in the department of Deux Sèvres is called Gàtine. It separates the basin of the Loire from that of the Garonne, and also from the small basins of the Charente and Sèvre Niortaise, which lie between the lower course of the Garonne and the Loire.

The general course of the Garonne is north-west from its source in the high Pyrenees: its chief affluent, the Dordogne (Duranius), flows from the Mont Dor and the mountains of the Auvergne. The Garonne is about 360 miles long; and the Dordogne about 290. They flow into one aestuary named the Gironde, which the ancient Greek geographers called a sea-lake (λιμνοθάλασσα: Strabo, p. 190). The area drained by the

Garonne and its branches is larger than the basin of the Seine, but less than that of the Loire. Between the Garonne and the Loire is the basin of the Charente (Carantonus). Though the Charente has a basin of comparatively small extent, its course is about 200 miles.

The largest river of France is the Loire (Ligeris or Liger, Λείγηρ). Between 45° and 46° N. lat. lies the volcanic region of the Auvergne, the most mountainous tract within the limits of France. This mountain-region is chiefly in the modern departments of Puy de Dôme and Cantal. The principal range of heights runs through the department of Puy de Dôme from north to south[3]. The Puy de Dôme, which rises like an obtuse cone west of Clermont Ferrand, is 4800 feet high; and other heights which belong to the same range as the Puy de Dôme are nearly as high. That part of the Auvergne mountains called the Monts Dor is south of the Monts Dôme, as this series of Puys is sometimes called, and contains still higher summits; the Puy Gros is 5925 feet, and Puy Ferrand 6116 feet high; and further south, Le Plomb de Cantal, from which the department of Cantal takes its name, is 6090 feet high; and the Puy de Sancy, said to be 6224 feet high, is the most elevated summit in central France. East of the Monts Dôme and the Monts Dor is the parallel range of the mountains of Forez and La Madeleine, and between these two ranges in the basin of the Allier lies an extensive plain called La Limagne d'Auvergne, one of the most fertile districts in Europe. This mountain-tract of the Auvergne was the territory of the Arverni, whose hill city, Gergovia, Caesar (B. G. vii. 36) unsuccessfully attacked. Their capital, which Strabo calls Nemossos, appears to be Clermont Ferrand.

The Allier (Elaver, B. G. vii. 34) rises in Mont Lozère, on the north-west face of the Cévennes, not very far from the sources of the Loire. It has a northern direction through the Limagne d'Auvergne, and, after a course of 200 miles, joins the Loire near Nevers (Noviodunum or Nevirnum). The Loire also rises in the Cévennes, in Mont Mezene. It flows north in a

[3] This series of heights called Puys is well marked in sheet No. 166 of the map of France, published by the Dépôt de la Guerre, 1854.

long narrow valley, which lies between the valley of the Allier and of the Rhone. After the junction of the Allier and the Loire, the united stream flows north-west to Orléans (Genabum, B. G. vii. 3. 11), which Strabo says is about the middle of the course of the Loire, and this is nearly true. From Orléans the Loire has a general west course, through a wide valley, to the ocean, which it enters below the city of Nantes. Though the valley of the Allier is not very wide, and that of the upper Loire is narrower, these two streams drain a large surface, for the course of each before their junction is about 200 miles. Below the junction of these two streams the basin of the Loire, on the south side, comprises a great surface; for the heights which form the water-shed between the basins of the Loire and the Garonne are at least 100 miles distant from the Loire, in the meridian of Orléans. This wide tract on the south side of the bed of the Loire is drained by the Cher, the Indre, and the Vienne, which fall into the Loire on the left bank. The Cher has a course of 200 miles, the Indre of above 100, and the Vienne about 180 miles. The Vienne drains an extensive surface, and has many large affluents. It has a much larger basin than the Thames. On the right bank the basin of the Loire, as far as Orléans, is narrow; but below this city it widens to the north, and is bounded by the high plains of Beauce and the prolongation of the Armoric mountains, which separate the lower basin of the Loire from that of the Seine. This tract on the right side of the Loire is drained by the Sarthe, the basin of which is nearly as large as that of the Vienne. The Sarthe joins the Loire on the right bank, a little below Angers (Andecavi), in the district which Caesar (B. G. iii. 7) calls the country of the Andes. The whole course of the Loire is about 530 miles, and the surface which it drains is estimated at about 50,000 square miles, which is equal to the whole area of England. This immense extent of surface explains the fact of the Loire being subject to inundations, which sometimes cause great damage. Caesar on one occasion (vii. 55) mentions a rising of the waters, which was owing to the melting of the snow in the Cévennes and in the mountains of Auvergne.

The Vilaine properly belongs to the basin of the Loire, though it does not flow into the Loire. It rises in the Armoric range,

which runs westward to the extremity of Bretagne, and part of it has the name of Menez. The Vilaine flows past Rennes, which, in the Roman period, was Condate, but derives its present name from the Redones (ii. 34), who occupied this country in Caesar's time. It flows past the small port of Rédon, and enters the sea about twenty miles north of the mouth of the Loire.

The last great river-basin of France is that of the Seine. The sources of the Seine are in the high lands of Langres, which, with the Côte d'Or, form the south-eastern limit of its basin. On the east the boundary is the high lands which run northward parallel to the course of the Maas or Meuse, as the French call it, and past Clermont in the Argonne and past Varennes to the Ardennes. On the north-east the boundary is the rough hilly tract of the Ardennes, and on the north the moderately elevated country which extends westward, and terminates on the north side of the outlet of the Seine. The Seine flows past Châtillon sur Seine, Troyes, and Melun to Paris (Lutetia Parisiorum, B. G. vi. 3; vii. 57), the original site of which was the island in the Seine called La Cité, on which the Cathedral of Notre Dame stands. The Seine is joined a few miles above Paris by the Marne (Matrona, B. G. i. 1), which rises in the heights near Langres, not far from the source of the Meuse, and, flowing past Châlons sur Marne (Durocatalaunum), joins the Seine on the right bank. The length of the Marne is about 260 miles. Below Paris the Seine is joined on the right bank, near Pontoise, by the Oise (Isara), one branch of which, the Aisne (Axona, B. G. ii. 5. 9), rises in the Argonne, and flowing westward past Soissons joins the Oise. Below the junction of the Oise the Seine receives no large stream. It flows through a valley which is generally narrow, and the river is continually deflected from a straight course by the projections of the high lands which bound the river-valley. It passes Rouen (Rotomagus), where it is now crossed by a stone bridge, and enters the sea below Havre, after a course of about 470 miles. The basin of the Seine is estimated at about 26,000 square miles, or little more than one half of the basin of the Loire.

A range of chalk heights extends from Clermont on the Oise westward to the neighbourhood of Calais, and forms the

northern boundary of the basin of the river Somme (Samara), which flows past Amiens (Samarobriva, B. G. v. 24. 53), and enters the English Channel about midway between the mouth of the Seine and Calais. The chalk forms a cliff at Cap Gris Nez, about half-way between Calais and Boulogne, opposite to the chalk cliffs on the coast of Kent (Cantium, B. G. v. 13. 22).

Strabo (p. 199) says that there were four lines of transit which were used for passing from Gallia to Britain (Britannia), from the mouths of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. It was not, however, usual to sail from the mouths of the Rhine; but those who made the most northern passage set out from Itium, or Itius Portus, Wissant, or Witsand[4], between Cap Gris Nez and Calais; and this is the place where Caesar embarked on his British expeditions (B. G. iv. 22; v. 2). Articles of merchandize were sent up the Saône from Lyon (Lugdunum) and then conveyed by land to the Seine, down which they were conveyed in boats to the country of the Caleti (Pays de Caux) at the mouth of the Seine, and thence carried over to Britain (Strabo, p. 189). But the navigation of the Seine was considered somewhat longer than that of the Loire; and as the voyage up the Rhone was difficult, owing to the rapidity of the stream, goods were taken by land from the Provincia to the Loire, and carried down that river. It was not until after several efforts that the Romans found their way to the Cassiterides, the peninsula of Cornwall and the adjacent Scilly islands; and it seems that they first passed over from the Spanish coast (Strabo, p. 176). But in the time of Diodorus (v. 22), who wrote under Augustus, the tin of Cornwall was brought by the natives to an island, Ictis, supposed to be the Isle of Wight, though part of Diodorus's description is not applicable to the sea about this island; and it has been suggested that he may mean St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. At Ictis it was purchased by merchants (mercatores), and carried to the French coast, and then conveyed on pack-horses to the Rhone. The voyage up the Seine would be much more tedious

[4] Walckenaer, *Géographie, &c. des Gaules*, i. 448; and the article Itius Portus by G. L. in the Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography.

than a land-journey [5]. This tin trade is spoken of earlier than the time of Diodorus. Posidonius quoted by Strabo (p. 147) speaks of the tin of Britain being brought to Massilia. Caesar also (B. G. iii. 8) speaks of the trade between the Veneti and Britain as carried on in Venetian ships. The commerce between Britain and Gallia is far older than our historical records.

The Rhine, from its source to the sea, was the boundary of Caesar's Gallia; and no description of its basin is necessary here, except of those parts which are on the west side of the river. That part of Gallia which lies north of the basin of the Seine and the Somme is a level country, and a part of the great plain of Northern Europe. The part which lies between the Maas (Mosa) and the sea is nearly a dead level. This flat country is drained by the Escaut or Schelde (Scaldis, B. G. vi. 33), which rises in the Ardennes, about 50° N. lat., near the sources of the Somme. It flows in a general north course past Cambrai, Bouchain, Valenciennes, Condé, Tournay, and Oudenarde, to Gand, where it receives the Lys on the left bank. From Gand it flows east to Termonde, and then north to Antwerp, where it is 1200 feet wide and a deep river, navigable by the largest ships. From Antwerp it flows north-west, and joins the North Sea by two arms, which embrace three low, flat islands. The length of the Schelde is about 200 miles. Caesar says that it flows into the Mosa, which is not the fact; but in his time all the country between the mouth of the Schelde and of the Maas was probably a swamp, and he gave the best account of the Schelde that he could.

The Maas or Meuse (Mosa, B. G. iv. 10) rises in 48° N. lat. in the Faucilles, or the heights which unite the Côte d'Or to the Vosges. Caesar therefore was not far wrong when he said that it rose in the Vosges. The Maas has a general north course past Verdun, Sedan, and Mezières, to Givet, where it leaves the present frontier of France; from Givet it flows past Dinant to Namur in Belgium. As far as Sedan it flows in a

[5] Diodorus says that they conveyed it in thirty days from the coast to the outlet of the Rhone (ἐκβολή); but there is some mistake here. In thirty days they might carry it to the Saône, and there it would be embarked on the river. He may perhaps mean the junction of the Rhone and Saône

narrow valley bounded by hills. From Namur it flows north-east to Luik or Liège, and then north to Maastricht. Between Dinant and Liège the Maas flows in a deep bed between high steep banks. This part of its course presents some resemblance, though on a smaller scale, to the valley of the Rhine, between Bingen and Coblenz, which is bounded by high land. The country to the east of the river, between Liège and Maastricht is hilly as far as Verviers and Aix la Chapelle. The Maas has a general north course as far as Grave in Guelderland (51° 45′ N. lat.), from which town it has a western course for 80 miles, parallel to that arm of the Rhine which is called the Waal. The Maas and Waal unite at Gorcum, and the name of Waal ends there. The whole course of the Maas to Gorcum is about 460 miles. At Gorcum the Maas divides again. The branch which is most navigated passes by Rotterdam into the North Sea. The Waal is the Vahalis of Caesar (B. G. iv. 10), which he describes as flowing into the Mosa from the Rhine; for the Rhine divides into two arms at Pannerden in Holland, of which arms the southern is the Waal, and this branch has much the greater volume of water. The Rhine flows north-north-west from Pannerden to Arnhem, a little above which town it divides again into two branches. One branch, called the Yssel, runs north to the Zuider Zee, and the Rhine continues a western course for about 30 miles, when it divides again at Wyk by Duurstede. Of the two new arms thus formed, the largest is the Lek, which runs west-south-west, and joins the Maas at Krimpen, above Rotterdam. The other arm, called the Kromme Rhyn, or Crooked Rhine, runs north-west to Utrecht, where it again divides. One arm, called the Vecht, runs northward into the Zuider Zee: the other, the Oude Rhyn, runs westward through the flats of Holland, and past Leyden. A small quantity of water is still discharged into the sea at Katwyk near Leyden. Though there is no doubt that this flat, watery country has undergone considerable changes since Caesar's time, both by the action of water and the labour of man, his general description of the outlets of the Rhine, and of the country about them (iv. 10), is still correct.

The Mosel (Mosa, Mosella, or Mosula) rises on the west side of the Vosges. It has a general north course past Metz

(Divodurum, in the territory of the Mediomatrici, B. G. iv. 10) to Trier, in the country of the Treviri (B. G. iv. 10). From Trier, which the French call Trèves, the river has a north-north-east coast to Coblenz (Confluentes), where it joins the Rhine. It is navigable for steam-boats in some seasons as far as Metz, and always as far as Trier. The whole course of the Mosel is about 280 miles. In the middle part of its course it flows through the plain of Lorraine, or the present department of Meurthe. Below Trier it flows with a very winding course in a deep narrow valley, bounded by hills, the sides of which are covered with the vine where the aspect is suitable. But the hills are only hills as seen from the river, for it flows at the bottom of a deep ravine, the margins of which are bounded by a high undulating table-land. This characteristic is seen very clearly when we ascend from the banks of the river at Cochem and attain the elevated table-land, which stretches past Mayen northward to the basin which contains the Lake of Laach, the surface of which is near 700 feet above the level of the Rhine at the neighbouring town of Andernach. The Mosel is not particularly described by Caesar; but he means to speak of it (B. G. iv. 15), where he describes the Germans as driven by him into the water at the confluence of the Mosa and Rhenus (B. G. iv. 15). He cannot mean the Mosa, which he has spoken of as rising in the Vosges; for he says that this river (the Maas) receives a branch from the Rhine (Waal); and therefore it cannot be said to join the Rhine. If, then, the reading is correct (B. G. iv. 15), the Mosel, or little Mosa, was also called Mosa, as well as the larger stream, from which it is sufficiently distinguished by Caesar's words "ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni." Besides, it is plain that this short campaign against the Germans, which ended in their being driven into the Rhine, was carried on east of the Maas, and in the country of the Treviri; and, as the routed Germans fled to the Rhine, it must have been near Coblenz (ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni) where they were drowned. It is made still clearer that the confluence of the Mosa and the Rhenus cannot be any confluence of the Maas and the Rhine, when we consider that Caesar (B. G. vi. 33) supposes the Schelde to flow into the Maas; for, if the Mosa of Lib. iv. c. 15 is the Maas, then Caesar must have supposed the

Schelde to flow into the Maas and the Maas into the Rhine. And it is plain from his own story that he knew better than that (iv. 15, note).

Caesar's government included Illyricum[6] and Cisalpine Gallia, or Gallia Citerior, as he calls it; but, as none of Caesar's military operations were carried on within Cisalpine Gallia, a brief sketch of it will be sufficient. Gallia Cisalpina was bounded by the Alps, as already described, from the neighbourhood of Genoa to the Mons Adulas (Mont Gothard). The Alps extend east of Mont Gothard, under the name of Alpes Rhaeticae, to the Brenner in the Tyrol. The mountains east of these as far as the sources of the Piave (Plavis) are the Alpes Noricae; and the Alpes Carnicae or Juliae extend to the head of the Hadriatic and the borders of Illyricum. This is the northern boundary of Cisalpine Gallia. The southern boundary was formed by the Apennines, which from Genoa run eastward as far as Pontremoli, and then east-south-east, sending out many small offsets, which approach the Hadriatic at 44° N. lat. Polybius (ii. 14) makes the plain of North Italy extend as far south as Sinigaglia (Sena Gallica) north of Ancona. But the southern limit of Caesar's province on the east side of Italy was the small river Rubicon, which enters the sea between Ariminum and Ravenna. It does not appear how far Caesar's province extended from Genoa along the west side of the Italian peninsula; but in the time of Augustus the river Magra (Macra), which enters the sea a little east of the Gulf of Spezzia (Portus Lunensis) was the boundary of Liguria. Cisalpine Gallia is an immense plain drained by the Po (Padus) and by the rivers which flow into it from the Alps on the west and the north, and from the Apennines on the south. The Po rises in Monte Viso (Vesulus), and, descending through deep Alpine valleys, takes a northern course to Turin (Augusta Taurinorum). A little below this town it has a general eastern course, with considerable bends. After the junction of the Tanaro (Tanarus), which descends from the northern slope of the Apennines, it runs through the wide plain of Lom-

[6] We do not know the limits of the Illyricum; and the question does not any way concern the Gallic war. Caesar mentions Illyricum (B. G. ii. 35; iii. 7; v. 1) several times. It was organized after Roman fashion, and divided into Conventus Juridici (B. G. v. 2).

bardy past Piacenza (Placentia) and Cremona, and enters the Hadriatic in a low swampy country, after having divided into two principal branches, of which the left has a course of about 20 miles to the sea from the point of bifurcation. This noble river is swelled by numerous large streams from the Alps, and smaller streams from the Apennines. There are periodical floods in the summer when the snows on the Alps melt. The plain o the Po, the embankments of the river, its floods, and the delta of this, one of the largest of European rivers, are matter for a volume. The whole course of the river is above 450 miles. From Piacenza to the sea, the fertile plains are protected against the floods by embankments, the origin of which is more ancient than the Roman conquest of Italy. The length of this plain, from Turin to the outlets of the Po and the Adige, in the Hadriatic, is about 300 miles, direct distance; and the width from north to south, measured across the lower course of the Adige and the Po, is above 100 miles. The area of the basin of the Po and of the Adige is about 40,000 square miles, which is considerably less than that of the Loire.

The Adige (Athesis, or Etsch, as the Germans call it), which descends in a long narrow valley through the Alps, has a southern course as far as Verona, where it enters the great plain of North Italy. It then takes a south-east and eastern course to the Hadriatic, which it enters north of the mouths of the Po. The Adige formed the boundary between Gallia Cisalpina or the country of the Galli, in its narrower sense, and the Veneti or Heneti, whose country extended from the Adige to Trieste (Tergeste). Strabo (p. 212) thought that the Veneti were a colony from the Veneti of Gallia Transalpina, who occupied the west coast of Bretagne north of the mouth of the Loire; but Polybius (ii. 17) was of a different opinion, and the fact of the enmity between these Veneti and their Gallic neighbours, as well as other facts, are in favour of the opinion of Polybius. Aquileia, at the head of the Hadriatic, was colonized by the Romans, the attempt of some Transalpine Galli to establish themselves in that neighbourhood having pointed it out as a suitable position for a garrison (Liv. xxxix. 22). Caesar (B. G. i. 10) had three legions stationed there, which he carried over the Alps (B.C. 58) to strengthen himself against the Helvetii

Genoa was a Ligurian city. The Ligures in the time of Caesar were confined within much narrower limits than they once possessed; but they still occupied the Maritime Alps and their southern slope; also part of the south-western angle of the basin of the Po; and the Apennines east of Genoa as far as the Macra, and part of Gallia west of the Var along the coast as far as the Rhone. The Ligures were a distinct people from the Galli; and according to the opinion of some writers an Iberian race. Others make them a different people both from the Galli and the Iberes. The question is not of easy solution; and it belongs to another place.

It was a Roman tradition (Livy, v. 33) that the Transalpine Galli first crossed the Alps and descended into the plains of the Po, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, or somewhere about B.C. 600. The Gallic invaders enumerated by Livy were drafted from the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Aedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci. They fixed themselves between the Ticino (Ticinus) and the Adda (Addua), both of them Alpine affluents of the Po, where they founded Milan (Mediolanum), which is the same name as the chief city of the Santoni in Transalpine Gallia, and perhaps also the name of a city in the territory of the Aedui (Liv. v. 34; Pliny, H. N. iii. 17). But the circumstances of this Gallic invasion, as they are told by Livy, are very improbable; and there are good reasons for supposing that there were Galli in Italy long before the time at which he fixes this immigration. According to Livy, after these invaders the Cenomani came, and settled themselves about the neighbourhood of Brescia (Brixia) and Verona. The Boii and Lingones followed, and the whole country north of the Po except the territory of the Veneti, was occupied by Gallic tribes. The Galli afterwards crossed the Po and finally drove the Etruscans out of all their settlements on both sides of the river. A tribe called the Senones penetrated into that part of Umbria which is on the Hadriatic, and occupied it as far as the Aesis; and their name is still perpetuated in the town of Sinigaglia (Sena Gallica). Sena Gallica was made a Roman colony after the Romans had exterminated the Senones (about B.C. 283).

From the time of the Gallic settlements in Italy till their extermination or complete subjugation, they were the terror of

all the Italian peoples. Their marauding habits and desperate courage made them most dangerous neighbours. In B.C. 390 they sacked and burnt Rome, after totally defeating the Roman army on the Allia. In B.C. 224 the Romans defeated the Boii, and two years afterwards the Insubres. According to their policy the Romans secured their conquests by founding two colonies, Piacenza (Placentia) on the south bank of the Po, and Cremona, east of Placentia, not far from the north bank of the river. Hannibal's object in crossing the Alps to invade Italy (B.C. 218) was to rouse the Galli against Rome; and under his direction, these undisciplined, but desperate fighters, contributed largely to the defeat of the Romans at the Trasymenus and Cannae. The Boii were completely subjugated by the Romans B.C. 191; and two years later the Latin colony of Bologna (Bononia) was founded. The Roman colonies of Parma and Mutina were founded B.C. 183; and thus the Romans had a line of posts extending from Placentia along the Via Aemilia to Ariminum on the Hadriatic. The establishment of the colony of Aquileia B.C. 181 secured the north-eastern frontier; and from about this time we may date the secure establishment of the Provincia of Citerior Gallia.

Caesar includes Citerior Gallia in the term Italia (B. G. i. 10. 54; ii. 35); and Citerior Gallia forms a part of the peninsula of Italy, when we view merely its physical boundaries, as Polybius (ii. 14) does in his description. The Lex Pompeia of B.C. 89 gave the Roman citizenship to the cities south of the Po (Cispadani) and the Latinitas to those north of the Po (Transpadani). In B.C. 49 the Transpadani received the Roman citizenship; and in B.C. 41 Citerior Gallia ceased to be a province, and was made a part of Italy (Dion Cass. xlviii. 12). Caesar therefore applied the term Italia to Citerior Gallia in a geographical, not a political sense; for all Citerior Gallia was under his government.

Caesar divides Transalpine Gallia into three parts, one of which was inhabited by the Belgae; a second part by the Aquitani; and a third by the people who called themselves Celtae, and were called Galli by the Romans. Gallia in this passage does not include the Provincia: it is used as a geographical term to designate the whole territory occupied by

three different nations, one of which has the particular name of Galli ('Gallia . . . omnis . . . tertiam . . . Galli.' B. G. i. 1).

The Provincia in Caesar's time, Provincia nostra (B. G. i. 33) and Gallia Provincia (i. 44), contained Celtae, Ligures, Greeks in the Phocaean colony of Marseille (Massilia), and in the colonies of Marseille along the coast, Antipolis, Agathe, and others.

The Aquitani occupied the greater part of the country between the Pyrenees and the Garonne. They differed from the Celtae in language and personal appearance. They resembled the Iberians more than the Galli (Strabo, p. 176); and it seems that they were Iberians. The representatives of these Iberians at the present day are the Basque population of the French side of the Pyrenees. The Bituriges Vivisci, who occupied the tract between the aestuary of the Garonne and the ocean, were Celtae (Strabo, p. 190).

The country between the Garonne and the Seine was in the possession of the Celtae, as they called themselves in their own tongue (B. G. i. 1). The eastern boundary of the country of the Celtae was the Rhine; and the territory of two Celtic nations, the Helvetii and the Sequani, extended to the banks of this river (i. 2). Caesar says that these Celtae were the same people that the Romans called Galli; the Romans, it seems, never called the Galli of Italy by the name of Celtae, so far as we know. Strabo (p. 189) says that the people of Gallia Narbonensis (the Provincia) were originally called Celtae, and that from them the name Celtae was given by the Greeks to all the Galli, or Galatae, as he calls them. It seems most likely that the term Celtae was a local name, and that Celtica was properly the country between the Garonne and the Seine[7].

[7] Polybius describes (iii. 39) the Pyrenees as the boundary between the Iberes and the Celtae (Κελτοί); and in another passage he says that the Transalpini Galatae (Γαλάται) are so called only on account of their position north of the Alps, and that they differ in no respect from the Galatae south of the Alps. There are passages in which he appears to intend to designate by the term Celtae those who crossed the mountains to invade Italy (ii. 23, &c.), as distinguished from the Galatae settled in the north of Italy. Yet there are passages (ii. 18) in which he uses the terms Celtae and Galatae indifferently; and it really seems as if there was some confusion

The Belgae inhabited Gallia north of the Seine and the Marne (B. G. i. 1), and differed in language and in other respects from the Celtae. Caesar also distinguishes them from the Germani, whose country was east of the Rhine. Before Caesar's time, however, the Germans had crossed the Rhine. The Remi, whose chief town was the origin of Rheims, and who, in those parts, were the nearest of the Belgae to the Celtae, told Caesar that most of the Belgae (B. G. ii. 4) were of German origin, which implies that all were not; that they came from beyond the Rhine, and expelled the Galli from Belgium, as Caesar on one occasion calls the country of the Belgae (v. 24), if the reading 'Belgio' is to be preferred to 'Belgis.' Some tribes who lived between the Rhine and the Maas were called by the general name Germani; these tribes were the Condrusi, Eburones, Caeraesi, and Paemani. In another passage (vi. 32) Caesar mentions the Segni with the Condrusi as Germans; and he places these two tribes between the Eburones and the Treviri. Tacitus (German. c. 28) says that the Nervii and Treviri prided themselves on their Germanic origin; but neither individuals nor nations are always entitled to that descent which they claim with most pretension. He adds that the Vangiones, Tribocci, and Nemetes, who inhabited the Gallic bank of the Rhine, were certainly Germans. The expressions attributed to the Remi by Caesar (B. G. ii. 4), seem to imply that the Remi and Suessiones did not consider themselves Germans. There were also Belgae on the coast of Britain (v. 12), who had passed over the sea for the purpose of booty. Most of the British Belgae retained the names of the tribes to which they belonged, after they settled in Britain. Caesar and other writers include among the Gallic Belgae all the people who lived within certain geographical limits west of the Rhine and north of the Seine, both people of Germanic race and others. But it is exceedingly difficult to say who the Belgae were, who were not Germans. An ingenious French historian[8] considers them of the same stock as the population of Britain, and that they were a branch of the Gallic race, whose

in his mind about these two terms. Livy (v. 34) speaks of the Celtae of Transalpine Gallia as 'pars Galliae tertia.'

[8] A. Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois.

general name is unknown to us, but whom we know to be Kymri. He observes that Strabo (p. 194), who might have derived his information from Posidonius[9], who had travelled in Gallia, speaks of the Paroceanitic Belgae, and adds that the Veneti were one division of these Belgae. These Paroceanitic Belgae are the Armoricae Civitates of Caesar (B. G. v. 53 ; vii. 75). The word 'Armoric' is apparently a compound of two Gaelic words, *ar*, 'on,' and *mor*, 'the sea;' and Caesar, in fact, explains it so (vii. 75 ; viii. 31).

The Greeks of Phocaea, in Asia Minor, established themselves on the south coast of Gallia about B.C. 600, in the territory of the Segobrigae[1], where they founded Marseille, which the Greeks called Massalia, and the Romans Massilia. On the conquest of Western Asia by Cyrus the Persian, many of the Phocaeans quitted their home, and a part of the emigrants were received by their brethren of Marseille. The city was strengthened by this addition; and though it had often to maintain a contest with the neighbouring Ligurians, it became a flourishing commercial town, and a seat of learning. All the arts connected with maritime affairs were cultivated. Pytheas, a Massaliot, and a contemporary of Alexander the Great, sailed northward along the coast of the Atlantic; but how far his discoveries extended it is difficult to determine. Marseille established its colonies along the coast of Liguria, Gallia, and the north-east part of Spain. East of the Var were Monaco (Portus Herculis Monoeci) and Nizza (Nicaea, 'the city of victory'). Between the Var and Marseille were Antibes (Antipolis), Eaube (Olbia), and others. Between Marseille and the Pyrenees were Rhodanusia and Agde (Agathe); and south of the Pyrenees, Rosas (Rhoda), Ampurias (Emporiae), and Denia (Dianium). Cavaillon (Cabellio) on the Durance was also a Massaliot settlement (Artemidorus, quoted by Stephanus, Καβελλίων).

In B.C. 154, the Ligures Oxybii and Deciates, who occupied the entrance of Gallia, west of the Var, were besieging Antipolis

[9] Fragments of Posidonius are in Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. They contain the most valuable information that we possess on Gallia, after the Commentaries of Caesar.

[1] Aristotle, in his treatise on the Political Constitution of Massalia, quoted by Athenaeus, p. 576.

and Nicaea, which seem to have still been dependencies of Massilia, for the Massaliots called in the aid of the Romans. The consul Q. Opimius came to their help, defeated these Ligurians, and gave part of their territory to the Massaliots. A second time the Massaliots implored the aid of Rome, for they were now attacked by the Salyes, also a Ligurian tribe (B.C. 125). The consul M. Fulvius Flaccus, a friend of C. Sempronius Gracchus, came and defeated the Salyes, and he also attacked the Vocontii. Flaccus had a triumph over the Ligures and the Vocontii (B.C. 123). His successor, C. Sextius Calvinus (consul B.C. 124), completed the subjugation of the Salyes (B.C. 123), plundered their territory, and sold the people for slaves. During his stay in southern Gallia (B.C. 122), being pleased with the agreeable position of his winter camp, which was a few miles north of Marseille, on a hill where there were warm springs, he converted the site of his camp into a permanent settlement. This was the origin of Aix, which the Romans called Aquae Sextiae, a Colonia Latina, and their first establishment in Transalpine Gallia.

About this time the Aedui and Allobroges were at war. The Allobroges had for their allies the Arverni, then the most powerful of the Gallic nations. The Aedui made a treaty with the Romans, and received the magnificent title of brethren and kinsmen of the Romans (i. 45; vi. 12; vii. 54). This alliance was followed by a war between the Romans and the Allobroges, who were aided by the Arverni and the Ruteni. The consul Cn. Domitius (B.C. 122) came to demand of the Allobroges the chiefs of the Salyes who had escaped into their territory. The consul was met on the road by the ambassador of the Allobroges, sent by their king [2]. The ambassador was richly dressed, and had a train of attendants and dogs, which the barbarians used for protection. He was followed by a minstrel, who sung the praises of the king, of the Allobroges, and of the ambassador. Notwithstanding all that the minstrel said of the noble blood, the courage, and the wealth of his patrons and countrymen, the consul turned a deaf ear, and rejected the ambassador's prayer

[2] Appian is probably mistaken about the king's name. He calls him Bituitus.

for the pardon of the chiefs (Appian, De Rebus Gallicis, Excerpt. xii.). Domitius in the following year fought a battle with the Allobroges, who were too impatient to wait for their friends, the Arverni and Ruteni. The battle was fought at the confluence of the Sorgue (Sulgas) and the Rhone, at Vindalium, a little above Avignon, and the Allobroges were signally defeated. In the same year (B.C. 121) the consul Q. Fabius Maximus had the command in the Provincia, and Domitius still remained there with a large force under him. The Gallic confederates were again defeated by the Romans with terrific slaughter, near the junction of the Rhone and the Isère (Strabo, p. 191), and a large number of Celtae were drowned by the breaking of a bridge across the Rhone, which they were crossing in their flight. Bituitus, king of the Arverni (as the best authorities call him), was treacherously seized by Domitius, and sent to Rome. The senate kept him a prisoner on the lake Fucinus; and his son, Congentiatus, was also taken and kept a prisoner in Italy. The Arverni and Ruteni lost none of their territory, nor were they made tributary (B. G. i. 45); in fact, their country was not easy to invade. But the Allobroges were made Roman subjects, and their country was reduced within the limits of a province, according to the Roman phrase. The original Provincia seems to have comprehended the country between the Alps and the Rhone, from the Leman lake to the Mediterranean. Massilia, however, still retained its independence. The succeeding consuls carried the Roman arms west of the Rhone, as far as the Pyrenees; and thus they secured the route from Italy to Spain, along the coast of Genoa, and through the passes of the eastern Pyrenees. But they still wanted a road from the upper valley of the Po into Transalpine Gaul; and, accordingly, they got possession of the route over the Alpes Graiae. The consul Q. Marcius Rex (B.C. 118) extirpated the brave Alpine tribe of the Stoeni, and thus secured the passes in these parts. This was followed by the settlement of the Roman colony of Narbonne (Narbo Marcius) on the Aude, which secured the Roman power on the west side of the Rhone.

The Romans had often been alarmed by the incursions of the Cisalpine and Transalpine Galli. But a more terrible enemy appeared for the first time in B.C. 113. The Cimbri and Teu-

tones, a whole people in a state of migration, came from the country east of the Rhine, and north of the Danube. They fell upon Noreia, to the north of the Tridentine Alps; and the possession of Noreia secured the entrance of Italy on this side. The consul Cn. Papirius Carbo was sent against them; and, as the barbarians did not advance towards him, he entered the Alpine regions in search of them, his pretext being that the Norici were Roman allies. The Teutones pretended that they were ignorant of this fact, and they promised by their deputies not to molest the Norici. The consul received the deputies kindly, and gave them guides to conduct them back. The guides were instructed to lead the Teutonic deputies by a circuitous route, and the consul, taking a short cut, fell on the barbarians unexpectedly. But his treachery was punished, for he lost many of his men, and he would probably have been destroyed with his army, if a storm had not separated the combatants. The Romans, scattered in the confusion, did not rally till the third day; and the Teutones, making no further attempt, retired into the country of the Celtae, as Appian says; but it is difficult to determine whether he means Celtica, or whether his statement is of any value (Appian, De Rebus Gallicis, Excerpt. xiii.). Livy (Epit. 63) calls these invaders Cimbri. A few years later the Cimbri and Teutones were in Belgium, where they appear to have found a people with whom they recognized some relationship. Caesar (B. G. ii. 4) says that the Belgae were the only Galli who kept the Teutones and Cimbri out of their territories; but this is not consistent with what he says in another place (ii. 29), that the Aduatuci, who were in or near the country of the Eburones in Belgium, were the descendants of 6000 Cimbri and Teutones, who were left here by their brethren to guard their cattle and baggage, when they set out for the invasion of the Provincia and Italy. These invaders ravaged Celtica most pitilessly; and the Celtae, shut up in their towns, were reduced to the extremity of living on human flesh (B. G. vii. 77). When Celtica could no longer feed them, the Cimbri and Teutones entered the Provincia. In B.C. 109 they defeated the consul M. Junius Silanus. Two years later (B.C. 107), the Tigurini, one of the Helvetic cantons, passed into the territory of the Allobroges, under the command of Divico. The consul L. Cas-

sius Longinus, who marched to oppose them, was killed, and his army was compelled ignominiously to go under the yoke (B. G. i. 7). In this battle fell L. Piso, a legatus of Cassius, and the grandfather of Caesar's father-in-law, L. Calpurnius Piso (i. 12). The soldiers who survived the defeat bought their escape by giving hostages, and a half of all that they had (Liv. Epit. 65; Orosius, v. 15). M. Aurelius Scaurus, a Roman legatus, was also routed by the Cimbri, and taken prisoner. Being called to the council of the barbarians, who were meditating the invasion of Italy, Scaurus advised them against the attempt, remarking that the Romans were invincible. A ferocious barbarian named Boiorix, irritated by the remarks of the Roman, killed him on the spot (Liv. Ep. 67).

During his consulship (B.C. 106) Q. Servilius Caepio sacked Toulouse, the capital of the Volcae Tectosages, who, it seems, had formed a league with the Cimbri and Teutones. In B.C. 105 the consul Manlius was in the Provincia, and Caepio also remained there. Manlius and Caepio, each at the head of an army, were opposed to the invaders near the banks of the Rhone; and the camp of each successively, that of Manlius first, was stormed by the enemy. The Romans are said to have lost the incredible number of 80,000 men and 40,000 slaves and camp-followers (Liv. Epit. 67)—in fact, both their armies, for it is said that ten men only escaped from this terrible massacre. One of the few who escaped was Q. Sertorius, who afterwards held Spain for several years against all the power of his own countrymen of Rome.

The Cimbri, separating from the Teutones, ravaged all the country between the Rhone and the Pyrenees. They also passed the defile of the Pyrenees, probably at the eastern extremity of this range, and extended their ravages into Spain; but being driven back by the Celtiberi, a people of mingled Celtic and Iberian stock, they returned to join the Teutones. In B.C. 102 the Cimbri tock the route to Italy across Switzerland and by the Alps of Tridentum down the valley of the Adige. The Teutones and a people called the Ambrones directed their course along the east side of the Rhone, with the design of crossing the Maritime Alps or the Apennines of Genoa. The two nations, it is said, agreed to meet on the banks of the Po. But the Ro-

mans had still a general, C. Marius, in whom they could trust (Sallust, Jug 114). Marius, now consul for the fourth time (B.C. 102), posted himself in his camp on the east side of the Rhone, and the Roman soldier for several days watched from his rampart this countless host of savages pass by him with menaces and insults. The Roman followed the enemy, and came up with them at Aquae Sextiae (Aix), where he gave them a decisive defeat. Thousands fell on the bloody field, and the remainder who were dispersed were cut off by the people of the country. Teutobocchus, the Teuton king, was seized in his flight, and carried to Marius, who made the gigantic barbarian walk in his triumphal procession at Rome. The putrefying carcases were left to fertilize the ground (Plutarch, Marius, c. 21), and the name of Pourrières, which the place retains to this day, is supposed to be a corruption of Putridi Campi. A pyramid was erected on the field of battle to commemorate the victory of Marius. The bas-reliefs represented C. Marius standing on a shield supported by soldiers, and in the attitude of a general proclaimed Imperator [3].

In the following year C. Marius, consul for the fifth time, and his colleague, Q. Catulus, met the Cimbri near Vercellae, north of the Po. The Cimbri had made their way over the eastern Alps, in the expectation of joining their friends the Teutones. Instead of them they met the victorious Roman army, and, after a most desperate resistance, thousands were destroyed (Plutarch, Marius, c. 25). Many of the women perished either by the sword of the Romans or by their own hands. The dogs of the Cimbri still kept the soldiers at bay, and defended the waggons after their masters had fallen. The Romans despatched the dogs with arrows. Thus the military ability of one man saved Rome from a ferocious horde who had defeated seven armies and threatened the destruction of the Roman state.

In the civil wars which ended in the usurpation of L. Cor-

[3] This interesting monument of antiquity is said to have existed until the fifteenth century (Amédée Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, Deux. Partie, chap. 3). The tradition of this victory seems to be not yet effaced on the spot.

nelius Sulla, many of the exiled Romans fled to the Provincia; and about the time of Sulla's death some of them joined Q. Sertorius in Spain, who maintained there the interests of the party of C. Marius (B.C. 78). The Aquitani also were in arms, probably instigated by Sertorius (B. G. iii. 23). The proconsul, L. Manilius Nepos, who came against them, fled and left all his baggage: his legatus, L. Valerius Praeconinus, was killed (B. G. iii. 20). Caesar clearly means that Nepos was defeated in Aquitania; but Orosius (v. 23) says that Manlius, who was proconsul of Gallia, having gone into Spain, was defeated by Hirtuleius, a commander under Sertorius, and made his escape to Ilerda (Lerida on the Segre, in Catalonia). Livy (Epit. 90) tells the story of the defeat of the proconsul L. Manlius (Manilius) and the legatus M. Domitius by Herculeius (Hirtuleius), but the Epitome mentions no place.

Sertorius still held out in Spain against the Romans. In B.C. 76, the senate sent their favourite general Cn. Pompeius into Spain, to assist Q. Metellus, who had begun the war against Sertorius in B.C. 78. Pompeius found the passes of the Alps occupied by the partizans of Sertorius, but he forced his way by a road hitherto unused, between the sources of the Po and the Rhone, and reached Narbonne[4], exterminating all the Galli on his road, as his panegyrist Cicero says (Pro lege Manilia, c. 11). Pompeius punished the Volcae Arecomici and the Helvii, who had been most active in their resistance, by giving their lands to the town of Massilia (Caesar, B. C. i. 35; Pro Fonteio, c. 6). When he went to Spain he left M. Fonteius as governor of the Provincia, which groaned beneath the tyranny of a proconsul, while it had to furnish supplies to the Romans for the war

[4] About the sources of the Po and the Rhone, says Appian (Bell. Civ. i. 109), who adds, after the fashion of his geographical ignorance, that the sources of these two rivers are near to one another. Pompeius speaks of this passage of the Alps in his letter to the senate (Sallust, Frag. iii. p. 964; ed. Cort.). Walckenaer (i. 226) assumes that Pompeius passed by the Col de Tiniers, and so came into the valley of Barcelonette on the Gallic side of the Alps. It is probable that he crossed by some southern pass, for his object was to reach Spain as soon as he could. But Walckenaer makes a monstrous blunder to support his opinion. He supposes that Lauron mentioned by Appian is Laurès in the valley of Barcelonette, whereas it is a place in Spain. There is nothing to show by what pass Pompeius went.

against Sertorius in Spain. When affairs were more settled, Fonteius was prosecuted at Rome (B.C. 69) on the complaint of the Volcae and the Allobroges. He was charged with cruelty, and getting money by those illegal means which constituted the offence of Repetundae. His advocate was M. Tullius Cicero, who had gained distinction (B.C. 70) by acting as the prosecutor of C. Verres, the governor of Sicily. He now gained distinction the other way by defending Fonteius, who was probably acquitted[5]. C. Calpurnius Piso was governor of the Provincia B.C. 66. We do not know exactly what were his services there. Cicero (Ad Att. i. 13) calls Piso 'pacificator Allobrogum,' but he is sneering. Piso was charged with mal-administration in his province. Caesar was the prosecutor; Cicero defended him, and he was acquitted.

During the consulship of Cicero (B.C. 63) L. Sergius Catilina formed a revolutionary plot at Rome. He and his associates were men of desperate fortunes; and their motives, as far as we can understand them, were the same as in any modern society might induce an insolvent adventurer to effect a revolution—the hope of gain and love of power. There happened at this time to be at Rome some deputies of the Allobroges, who had been sent on behalf of their countrymen to obtain redress for their grievances. They got nothing, and were preparing to return in great ill humour, when they were addressed by the conspirators, who promised freedom to their state and the abolition of the debts with which the Allobroges were burdened to Roman creditors, if they would secure to the conspirators the assistance of their people. The bargain was made; but the deputies through fear betrayed the conspirators to the consul Cicero, or perhaps with the hope that they might get their demands as a reward for the service. Their countrymen at home do not seem to have been satisfied with the result of the mission, for they took up arms (B.C. 62) and fell upon the town of Ventia, as Dion Cassius names it[6]. Manlius Lentinus, a legatus of the governor C. Pomptinus, was defeated by the

[5] The speech for M. Fonteius is extant, but it is not complete.

[6] Ventia may be a blunder of Dion, or a corruption of the text. The only place in the territory of the Allobroges with a similar name is Vienna (Vienne).

Allobroges, under Catugnatus, on the Isère. But Pomptinus, collecting his forces, attacked the Allobroges under the walls of Solonium (which has been conjectured to be Sallonaz, in the department of Ain, near the small river Brivas); and his victory was rewarded with a triumph by the Roman senate (Liv. Epit. 103; Dion Cassius, lib. 37, c. 47, &c.).

The Romans had planted themselves in Gallia on the south, and a new enemy had assailed the Galli from the north and east. The people east of the Rhine who were known under the general name of Germani, as already observed, had not succeeded in crossing the river in any considerable numbers. Celtica was still in possession of the Celtae. Internal divisions introduced the enemy. The Aedui, proud of their Roman alliance, tyrannized over their neighbours, particularly the Sequani; and an old quarrel, apparently about the title to the tolls payable on the navigation of the Saône (τὰ διαγωγικὰ τέλη), the boundary of the Aedui and the Sequani, embittered the hostility (Strabo, p. 192). The tolls on the Gallic rivers, which were at least as old as the first century before the Christian aera, and existed under the Roman empire, obstructed the internal commerce of France even to the revolution of 1789.

The Sequani formed an alliance with the Arverni, and also invited Ariovistus from the east side of the Rhine, the king of some of the Suevic tribes. The German came with his hardy soldiers, whose only dwelling-place was under the bare sky, and the Aedui were compelled to unconditional submission. Their head, entitled Vergobretus, whose name was Divitiacus, escaped into the Provincia and thence to Rome, where he implored the senate to assist their allies, his countrymen (B. G. i. 31). At Rome he became acquainted with Cicero, who conversed with the Celtic Druid on matters of philosophy and religion (De Divin. i. 41).

The Sequani soon found that their new ally was their master. The land and climate of Gallia were better than the German side of the river. Ariovistus liked his quarters and would not move. He demanded of the Sequani a third part of their lands. This demand appears to have been resisted by the Sequani, but the German king made a terrible slaughter of the

Celtae in a battle at Magetobriga (B. G. i. 31), and from this time ruled them with intolerable tyranny[7].

In B.C. 60 a rumour reached Rome that the Helvetii, like the Cimbri and Teutones, were preparing a grand migration. The design was formed by Orgetorix, a rich Helvetian, in B.C. 61 (B. G. i. 2). The Helvetii were not satisfied with their country between the Jura and the Rhine. It was too small for their number, and they wished to remove further from their German neighbours on the other side of the river. Their plan was to march through the Provincia with their families and moveables and seize the country of the Santoni, between the aestuary of the Garonne and the river Charente. There was an alarm of a Gallic war at Rome, and the senate sent three commissioners to the Gallic states to prevent them from uniting with the Helvetii (Cic. ad Att. i. 19). In the year before (B.C. 61, M. Messala, M. Pisone Coss.) the senate had passed a decree to the effect that the governor of Gallia for the time, whoever he might be, should protect the friends and allies of the Roman people (B. G. i. 35). This decree appears to have been made on the occasion of the ineffectual efforts of the Aedui to oppose Ariovistus. In the next year (B.C. 59) C. Julius Caesar was consul. During his consulship, on the proposal of the tribune P. Vatinius, whom Caesar probably bought, he received by a vote of the tribes for five years the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with three legions. This measure was contrary to the provisions of the Lex Sempronia, which gave to the senate the appointment of the consular provinces. Yet the senate added Gallia north of the Alps and one legion more; for which we should have a difficulty in finding a reason, if

[7] The site of this place, called Magetobria and Admagetobria, probably Magetobriga or Magetobriva, is fixed by D'Anville (Notice de la Gaule Ancienne) at Moigte de Broie. The reading Magetobriae is said to be confirmed by a broken urn found in the Saône in 1802, with the inscription MAGETOB. Walckenaer does not agree with D'Anville. "As to the urn," he says, "care was taken to lose it almost as soon as it was found." Such evidence is certainly suspicious. Walckenaer thinks that a place called Amage, on the Brenchin, near to Sainte Marie en Chânois, west of Faucogney and east of Luxeuil, satisfies best all the conditions required by the text of Caesar. But there is nothing in Caesar's text which gives the slightest indication of the site of Magetobriga.

Suetonius (Caesar, c. 22) had not told us that the senate did this for fear that the people would do it. Caesar endeavoured to secure the tranquillity of Gallia during his consulship by keeping on friendly terms with Ariovistus, who received the title of friend and ally of the Romans [8]. Caesar's object and the policy of the senate was the complete subjugation of Gallia (B. G. i. 35; Cicero, De Provinc. Cons. c. 13). In the spring of B.C. 58 Caesar was still in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he waited till Cicero was driven into exile (Cicero, Pro Sestio, c. 18). Hearing that the Helvetii were preparing to move, he hastened from Rome in the beginning of April, and crossed the Alps to Geneva.

[8] Plutarch's expression might mean (Caesar, 19) that Ariovistus came to Rome, but perhaps it does not; and if it does, we should not easily believe the fact.

DE BELLO GALLICO.

LIBER PRIMUS.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. 1.—General description of Gallia. 2. The Helvetii prepare to emigrate from their country, at the suggestion of Orgetorix. 4. Death of Orgetorix. 5—9. The Helvetii attempt to pass through the Provincia, but are prevented by Caesar; they then take their route through the country of the Sequani. 10. Caesar goes to Italy and returns with five legions. 12. He follows the Helvetii, and overtakes one of their divisions, the Tigurini, at the passage of the Arar. The Tigurini are slaughtered and dispersed. 13. Conference between Caesar and the deputies of the Helvetii. 15. The Helvetii proceed on their march through the country of the Aedui, followed by Caesar. 16—18. The Aedui do not furnish the supplies which they promised to Caesar. The treachery of Dumnorix, the Aeduan: he is pardoned by Caesar on the intercession of his brother Divitiacus. 21, 22. Caesar's operations against the Helvetii fail through the blunder of P. Considius. 23—26. Caesar marches towards Bibracte to get supplies; the Helvetii turn from their route, follow him, and are defeated. 27, 28. The surviving Helvetii surrender, and are compelled to return to their country, with the exception of the Boii, who are allowed to settle in the country of the Aedui. 29. The number of the Helvetii who attempted to emigrate, and the number that returned. 30—32. Caesar is congratulated on his victory by most of the states of Gallia, who complain to him of the tyranny of the German king Ariovistus. The story of Ariovistus and his settlement in the country of the Sequani. 33—36. The messages between Caesar and Ariovistus: the demands of Caesar and the refusal of Ariovistus. 37, 38. Caesar advances towards Ariovistus, and takes possession of Vesontio on the Dubis, the chief town of the Sequani. 39—41. Great alarm in Caesar's army at the prospect of a battle with the Germani. 42—46. Conference of Caesar and Ariovistus interrupted by the treachery of Ariovistus. 47. Ariovistus invites Caesar to another conference: Caesar sends two men, whom Ariovistus puts in chains. 48—50. Caesar forms two camps; attack of the smaller camp by the Germani: superstition of the Germani about not fighting before the full moon. 51—54. Battle between Caesar and Ariovistus; defeat of the Germani, who are pursued to the Rhine; escape of Ariovistus over the river in a boat: Caesar returns to Citerior Gallia.

The events in this book belong to A.U.C. 696, or B.C. 58; and the consulship of L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius.

GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam in-

Gallia est omnis] See the Introduction, pp. 1. 23. 'Gallia is, the whole of Gallia, divided.' 'Gallia omnis' is opposed to one of the di-

colunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important; proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt: qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere quotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, quum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad sep-

visions inhabited by the Galli or Celtae; and it does not include the Provincia.

aliam] 'another.' In an enumeration of this kind, 'unus,' 'alter,' 'tertius,' is the form, when the order of the parts is to be determined. Here Caesar merely makes three divisions; and means nothing more.

cultu atque humanitate] In viii. 25 there is 'cultu et feritate;' whence it appears that 'feritas' is opposed to 'humanitas,' or the habits of civilized, that is, Roman life. 'Cultus' indicates the externals, such things as a people daily use and have about them (vi. 19).

mercatores] The 'mercatores' are often mentioned (i. 39; ii. 15; iii. 1; iv. 2; vi. 37; vii. 55). They were traders who followed the Roman camp (vi. 37), both Italians and Greeks from the Provincia. These 'mercatores' even penetrated into parts where the Romans had not carried their arms (iv. 2). In all countries where the Romans established themselves, the Italian 'mercatores' found their way. They carried their goods about in waggons and on pack horses; and, like modern traders with savage tribes, they supplied the barbarians with arms, wine, and other luxuries. They were different from the 'negotiatores' (vii. 3).

Eorum una] This word refers to 'Hi omnes' and 'Horum omnium:' he means 'one part of their country (the country of all the Galli), which it has been said that the Galli (the Celtae) occupy.'

ab Sequanis] This is a mode of expression usual both in Greek and Latin, and in some cases in French. In iii. 26 'clamor ab ea parte auditus' expresses the shout as coming from a certain part to those who heard it. In vii. 83, 'erat a septemtrionibus collis,' denotes the position of a hill, which presented itself on the north to the eye of the spectator. This 'una pars' is said to touch the Rhine 'ab Sequanis et Helvetiis,' at or in the country of the Sequani and Helvetii; in those parts, but no where else. So in the next passage 'Belgae ab extremis,' &c., the Belgae begin where the Galli terminate; they begin at the boundaries of Gallia, of Gallia in the limited sense, the country of the Celtae.

temtriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur: pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septemtrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septemtriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is M. Messala et M. Pisone Coss. regni cupiditate inductus conjurationem nobilitatis fecit, et civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent; perfacile esse, quum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius eis persuasit quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Jura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia

septemtrionem] This word is used both in the singular and the plural. The two 'triones' (Virg. Aen. iii. 516) are the Great and the Less Bear. The Great Bear (Arctos) or Hamaxa, the waggon as it was called even in Homer's time (Iliad xviii. 487), consists of seven conspicuous stars, four of which form a quadrangle, and the other three lie in a right line, attached to the quadrangle. A line drawn through the two stars which are furthest from the three, and produced, passes near the star called the polar star, which is in the constellation of the Less Bear. There are seven stars in the Less Bear placed similarly to those in the Great Bear. The word 'trio' seems to contain the root 'tri,' three, but the explanations given of the word Septemtrio are unsatisfactory (Gellius, ii. 21; Varro, L. L. vii. 74; Festus, v. Triones). The explanation of Voss (Georg. iii. 381) founded mainly on Varro is this: the waggon, which now consists of seven bright stars in the trunk and tail of the Great Bear, appeared to the old Greek and Roman farmer as a wain (ἅμαξα, plaustrum) with two oxen, which in the old Roman language were called Triones; the five stars of the wain being included, it was called Septemtriones, and hence Septemtrio, an obsolete word, as if we were to say 'Seven-ox.'

ad Hispaniam] In i. 7, 'pontem qui erat ad Genevam:' v. 13, 'Cantium quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus.' 'At,' 'near,' and 'upon' is the meaning of 'ad' in these passages.

2. *M. Messala et*] M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus and M. Valerius Messala Niger were consuls in B.C. 61. Introd. p. 35. Coss. is a usual abbreviation of Consulibus. The Romans generally omitted 'et' in this form of expression.

conjurationem] See vii. 1.

nobilitatis] 'Nobilitas' is the rank or condition of one who is 'nobilis,' a term which among the Romans had a political signification. 'Nobilitas' is also used, as in this passage, to express the body of 'nobiles.' The Galli were divided into rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed. See vi. 13. 'Civitas' is a word of the same kind as 'nobilitas.' It means 'the condition or state of a citizen,' and also a 'political community,' a State.

lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; qua de causa homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

3. His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent comparare, jumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere, sementes quam maximas facere ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt: in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix

provinciam nostram] See Introd. p. 28. The Provincia is the basin of the Rhone south of Lyon to the Mediterranean Sea. It extended along the sea from the Var to the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees. Tolosa in the basin of the Garonne was also in the Provincia.—'qua de causa:' 'qua ex parte,' Kraner, 'from which side,' 'in which respect.'

angustos fines] The direct distance from the point where the Jura reaches the Rhone at Fort L'Ecluse to Chur or Coire, where the Rhine begins to have a northern course, is about 180 English miles: and the distance from the same point on the Rhone to the junction of the Aar and the Rhine, in a north-east direction, is about 160 English miles. We cannot be sure in what directions Caesar estimated the length and breadth; nor can we be sure that the numerals in the MSS. are correct. A Roman mile (mille passus, a thousand double steps) is about 142 yards shorter than an English mile. Caesar's information was from hearsay, and there is no reason to find fault with his dimensions as some have done, or to make any excuse for him. Walckenaer estimates from Fort L'Ecluse on the Rhone to the junction of the Aar and Rhine where the Jura terminates, 144 geographical miles, which, as he observes, is exactly 180 Roman miles. And from Fort L'Ecluse to Bregenz, at the southern extremity of the Lake of Constanz, the longest direct line that we can draw in the Helvetia of Caesar, he makes 180 geographical miles, or 230 Roman miles, which gives an error of 10 miles only in Caesar. This is a fair way of measurement, for it follows the boundaries of the Helvetii as Caesar describes them: on the west the Jura, on the south the Lake of Geneva and the Rhone, on the east and on the north the Rhine: 'undique loci natura Helvetii continentur.' Caesar says nothing of the southern boundary east of the lake, and probably he knew nothing about it. The Helvetii did not occupy the southern and most elevated parts of Switzerland. They possessed the lower parts where there is much good land (c. 28).

3. *sementes facere*] 'sementem facere,' Liv. 25, c. 13.—'suppeteret,' see c. 16, 'suppetebat.'—'lege:' 'by a formal enactment.' Caesar uses a

deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaloedis filio, Sequano, cujus pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat et a S. P. R. amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi Aeduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset; non esse dubium quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. Hac oratione adducti inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant, et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

4. Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere

Roman term. The thing was confirmed in some meeting or assembly.

Is sibi] Elberling has 'Is ubi . . . in eo itinere,' but 'in eo itinere' seems to be the beginning of a new sentence.

S. P. R.] 'Senatu Populi Romani.' Whether Caesar used the abbreviations or not we cannot tell. Oudendorp has 'S. P. Q. R.' which is 'senatu populoque Romano,' an expression which would mean that there was a Lex enacted to confer this title, which is not likely. In other cases (i. 35, 43; iv. 12; vii. 31) Caesar speaks only of the Senatus. A Senatus consultum was drawn up in the name of the Senatus only.

Aeduo—Divitiaci] Introd. p. 34. The forms 'Heduus,' 'Haeduus,' and 'Aeduus,' all appear to have been used; and are all found in inscriptions. 'Qui' refers to 'Dumnorigi.'

principatum] 'The first place' in power and influence. 'Principatus' does not necessarily mean any legal authority or any office. Compare i. 17, 'privatim . . . magistratus.' But Dumnorix may have been the Vergobretus at this time (c. 16).

adducti] This word of course only refers to Casticus and Dumnorix, for they were persuaded by the arguments of Orgetorix, and he was not persuaded by his own arguments. But 'inter se dant' means all three. It is a careless way of writing.—'firmissimos:' 'most resolute,' 'most steady and constant.' See how he uses 'infirmitas' iv. 5.

4. *Ea res*] 'Ea res ut est . . . enuntiata, moribus suis,' Elb.; but the text is after Caesar's fashion.

per indicium] 'By information,' that is by 'indices,' informers, as the Romans called those who gave information of some plot to which they were privy.

ex vinculis] So in Liv. xxix. 19, 'ex vinculis causam dicere;' and in i. 43, 'ex equis colloqui.' The context shows that Orgetorix was not imprisoned before his trial: and 'coëgerunt' must mean that he was told that he must appear in chains to make his defence.

coëgerunt: damnatum poenam sequi oportebat ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta causae dictionis Orgetorix ad judicium omnem suam familiam ad hominum milia decem undique coëgit, et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos ne causam diceret se eripuit. Quum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis jus suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post ejus mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant.

damnatum — cremaretur] 'Poenam' is explained by 'ut igni cremaretur:' burning alive was the penalty, if he was condemned (damnatum).

Die constituta] 'On the day appointed for making his defence.' See c. 6. 'Causam dicere' is the usual Roman expression. In vii. 38, 'indicta causa.'

familia] Caesar uses a Roman expression, which in its widest sense includes slaves, as it does here. Orgetorix was rich, and he had his slaves and clientes, or dependants. The 'obaerati' appear to be debtors reduced to a state of slavery (vi. 13), and the term is equivalent to 'nexi,' Varro, L. L. vii. 105, "Liber qui suas operas in servitutem pro pecunia quadam debebat, dum solveret nexus vocatur, ut ab aere obaeratus." The strict condition of 'nexus' did not exist at Rome at this time (Liv. ii. 23; viii. 28). In an insurrection among the Treviri in the time of Tiberius (Tacit. Ann. iii. 42), a 'vulgus obaeratorum' is mentioned, who betook themselves to the defiles of the Ardennes, where the Romans dispersed them.

jus suum] Orgetorix intimidated the court that had to try him, and in fact there was no trial; and he was at liberty. But the 'magistratus' summoned the people to arms to maintain their authority. 'Jus' may perhaps be used here in the sense of 'their rights,' to prosecute or to maintain which the people were summoned to arms. It is true that a 'civitas' cannot be strictly said to prosecute 'its rights,' for the state has authority or power, and is the source of rights. But in a sense a state may be said to maintain its rights against a man who refuses obedience to the law; and that is what we call maintaining 'the law.' Livy (iii. 25) has 'Deorum hominumque simul violata jura exsequemur,' where it means law divine and human.

quin—consciverit] An example of 'quin' with the subjunctive after 'neque abest,' as above (c. 3) after 'non esse dubium.' He says here: 'And suspicion was not wanting that he was privy to his own death,' died by his own hand. Kraner says that Orgetorix died in prison, and accordingly I suppose he means that Orgetorix was put in chains. If that was so, he did not get his dependants together himself; and yet Caesar says that he did. Besides, if his dependants were strong enough to prevent his being tried, one would suppose that they might have taken him out of prison, if he was in prison. If he died in prison, it must have been known whether he died a natural death or not.

5. *ut—exeant*] An explanation of

Ubi jam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt, frumentum omne praeter quod secum portaturi erant comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis una cum iis proficiscantur; Boiosque,

'quod . . . facere,' after Caesar's fashion. See c. 13, 'ut flumen transirent.'

praeter quod] Schneider has 'praeter quam quod;' and he adds that this is the only instance in the Commentarii. There is MSS. authority for both readings. 'Praeter quod' is 'praeter id quod.'

reditionis] Examples of nouns formed from the root 'i,' to go, which govern the accusative, occur in other writers. Cicero (De Divin. i. 32) has 'reditum ac domum itionem.'

Rauracis] D'Anville (Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule) remarks that some inscriptions agree with the text of Pliny and Ptolemy in the form 'Raurici.' The position of this people is represented by the Diocese of Bâle (Basilia). A colonia named Augusta Rauracorum was settled among the Rauraci by L. Munatius Plancus, in the time of Augustus. The modern site of Augst is that of Augusta Rauracorum. The Rauraci seem to have been included in the territory of the Sequani by Caesar. The Tulingi and Latobrigi are called 'finitimi' as well as the Rauraci. But Walckenaer places the Tulingi east of the Rauraci, beyond the Rhine, in the district of Thiengen and Stühlingen in Baden; and the Latobrigi in the neighbourhood of Donaueschingen, where the Briggach and the Bregge join the Danube. Whether he has rightly placed these two tribes, I do not know; but, if they were neighbours, it is probable that they were near the German side of the Rhine. The name of the Latobrigi, if the people were Celtic, would denote a position on a river, for 'brig' is ford, or pass, or bridge. As, however, they are not Celtic, we must look for some German name like 'brig,' and Walckenaer finds it in Brugge, a small place on the Bregge. Some editions have Latovicis.

una cum iis] He does not say 'secum.' He might, I suppose, have said either; but Caesar is giving his own statement and so he says 'cum iis.'

Boiosque] Perhaps the descendants of some of the emigrants who crossed the Alps into Italy (Liv. v. 34; Introd. p. 23). The Boii were one of the tribes of Galli whom the Romans drove from Cisalpine Gaul. Their name like that of the Senones and Lingones disappeared from Italy. The remnant of the Boii crossed the Carnic Alps, and settled in the parts about the Danube among the Taurisci (Strabo, p. 213). They were driven from this country by a war with the Dacae; or they were all destroyed, as Strabo says (p. 213), without fixing any time for this event. Another body of this wandering people is said to have settled in Bavaria, to which they gave their name, though the country was afterwards occupied by the Marcomanni. Carinthia and Steiermark are part of the ancient Noricum. We cannot tell from Caesar's words at what time he fixes this invasion of

qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

6. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Juram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod

Noricum and the attack on Noreia. He does not seem to have in his mind the Boii, who had so long before crossed the Alps from Italy; at least there is no indication that he has, for he says, 'qui trans Rhenum incoluerant,' who had settled east of the Rhine; which implies an emigration direct from Gallia; and he may refer to other migrations of the Gallic Boii. Noricum, however, corresponds pretty well with the country which Strabo describes the Boii as having emigrated to, when they were driven from Italy. Caesar, it has been well observed, was more occupied with beating the Gallic nations than with their history. It seems probable, from his narrative, that these Boii were on the move, and were approaching the Helvetii, when they were invited to join them ('receptos'); for it seems unlikely that the Helvetii sent so far to invite them. Walckenaer (ii. 71, &c.), after an ingenious discussion, places Noreia at Noring, near Gmund, in Upper Carniola: and he maintains that it is the same Noreia which Strabo (p. 214) and Pliny mention. Other critics place Noreia at Neumarkt in Steiermark.

6. *quibus itineribus*] This repetition is a Roman usage, and very common in Caesar (i. 29; ii. 18; v. 2, &c.), and in Cicero. Schneider follows Moebius in supposing that the Roman writers adopted this phraseology from the style of their 'leges,' in which it often occurs; but it is more reasonable to suppose that the 'leges' were drawn up in the popular language. This repetition is made both to prevent ambiguity, and for greater emphasis. He says: 'There were two roads and two only by which they could get out of their country;' by which it was possible to get out ('possent'). It has been objected to Caesar's text, that there are other practicable passes through the Jura; but that is nothing to the purpose. All he says is that there was only one road through the Jura by which the Helvetii could leave the country, encumbered with their women, children, and waggons. The Helvetii had formed their plan to go through the Provincia, as the shortest and easiest way, and accordingly had mustered their thousands in the neighbourhood of Geneva. If they had anticipated opposition, they might have mustered somewhere else, and crossed by the road that leads to Pontarlier in Doubs, or by any other, if there was any other waggon-road at that time, and at this season of the year. But they would choose the shortest route to the Santones, and not the longest. See Note I. at the end of this Book.

vix qua] More emphatic than 'qua vix.' Compare iii. 4, 'vix ut his rebus.'

altissimus — ut — possent] This means 'a mountain so high that very few could' &c. In c. 12 he has 'incredibili lenitate ita ut:' and in ii. 25, 'confecto ut;' and iii. 4, 'brevi spatio . . . vix ut.'

inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nonnullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Geneva. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant: is dies erat a. d. v. Kal. Apr. L. Pisone A. Gabinio Coss.

7. Caesari quum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genevam pervenit. Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat: erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una: pontem qui erat ad Gene-

pacati] 'Reduced to subjection.' Introd. p. 28.

Geneva] There is little MSS. authority for 'Geneva,' though the name is written thus in an inscription of uncertain date. The MSS. authority is in favour of 'Genua,' which makes the name the same as that of the Ligurian town 'Genua.' The German name 'Genf,' and the French 'Genève,' prove nothing either way. Schneider has 'Genua,' and Kraner has 'Genava.'

suos fines eos] After saying 'suos fines' he could not say 'se,' for 'se' would mean the Allobroges. See c. 14. In c. 20 'per se crevisset' and 'suam uteretur' occur, both of which passages would be clearer if Caesar had written 'per eum' for 'per se,' and 'ejus' for 'suam;' or he might have written here 'se per ipsorum fines,' as Kraner remarks.

qua die—is dies] The feminine form expresses the day as a fixed period, a day fixed by authority or by legal form. See c. 4, 'die constituta.' 'Is dies' is simply 'the day,' the natural day, 'the time.'

a. d. v.] That is, 'ante diem quintum Kalendas Apriles,' which, according to Roman fashion, means 'before the Kalends of April, the fifth day;' that is, on the fifth day before the 1st of April, which is the 28th of March, according to the unreformed Calendar. This consul, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, was the father-in-law of Caesar (i. 12). Caesar married his daughter Calpurnia in B.C. 59.

7. *ab urbe*] 'Ab urbe,' 'ad urbem esse, accedere,' and the like, when 'urbs' is thus used alone, means Rome. Caesar crossed the Alps, though he says nothing about them. See Note II. at the end of this Book. He used to travel with great rapidity, at the rate of a hundred Roman miles a day, says Suetonius (Caesar, 57).

quam—potest] This is the Latin order. Again he says, 'quam maximum potest numerum.'

Provinciae—imperat] He imposes on the province a requisition for troops. This is the usual Roman term for demands of men and other contributions, such as corn. Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 21): "frumentum Mamertinis imperavit."

vam jubet rescindi. Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cujus legationis Nameius et Verudoctius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, Sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum; rogare ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoria tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum exercitumque ejus ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat, neque homines inimico animo data facultate per provinciam itineris faciundi temperaturos ab injuria et maleficio existimabat: tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites quos imperaverat convenirent, legatis respondit Diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum; si quid vellent, ad Idus April. reverterentur.

8. Interea ea legione quam secum habebat, militibusque qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem

legatos — cujus legationis] He might have said 'inter quos;' but he often uses this kind of expression. See c. 13.

aliud iter—nullum] 'Other road they had none.' So he places 'nullus' and 'nemo' emphatically. See ii. 35, 'quod ante id tempus accidit nulli;' and i. 18, 'audeat nemo.'

L. Cassium] Introd. p. 30.—'sub jugum.' The 'yoke,' 'jugum,' which passed over the neck of a pair of beasts of draught, was the symbol of servitude; and to pass under a yoke of this kind, or a representation of one made by two upright spears supporting another spear laid across them, was the mode of sending a conquered army under the yoke. It was a Roman or an Italian fashion which barbarous nations may have adopted. The ceremony is described by Livy, iii. 28; ix. 5, &c.

temperaturos ab] 'Would refrain from.' In c. 33, he has 'sibi . . temperaturos . . . quin.'

Diem] 'Time for consideration,' as in Cicero, Verr. Act. i. 2: "itaque quum ego diem in Sicilia inquirendi perexiguam postulavissem." See i. 4. 6, and c. 40, 'in longiorem diem.'

si quid vellent] 'If they wanted any thing' of him or with him. 'If they had any thing to say to him.' See c. 24.

ad Idus] 'a. d. Idus' (Elb.). But the MSS. appear to have 'ad,' which is the proper word here: 'on or about the Ides.' Where there is no numeral, one does not see how 'a. d.' can be used. See c. 6.

8. *qui in flumen &c.*] Davis and Clarke have adopted the conjecture, 'quem flumen Rhodanus influit,' which spoils the sense; for Caesar is speaking of that part of the lake where, as we say, the river flows from it. He could say just as well that the lake flows into the river.

decem novem] Caesar formed his earthen wall from the point where the Rhone flows from the lake to a point on the south side of the river, which was opposite to the abutment of the Jura on the north bank of the river, at the Fort L'Ecluse. Fort

novem murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere posset. Ubi ea dies quam constituerat cum legatis venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare, et si vim facere conentur prohibiturum ostendit. Helvetii ea spe dejecti navibus junctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo

L'Ecluse, in the French department of Ain, commands the pass between the Jura and the Rhone, which is on the road from Lyon to Geneva. The number 'decem novem' has the authority of the best MSS. Some editors have preferred 'decem,' or 'novem,' in pure ignorance of the facts, which, in such a case as this, are decisive. The length of Caesar's intrenchments along the Rhone, as determined by an examination of the ground, is perfectly correct (Walckenaer, who has written a mémoire on it). A great difficulty has been raised by those who place Caesar's lines north of the Rhone, but it is removed by the fact that his 'vallum' was on the south side. When Caesar says 'ad montem Juram, qui . . . dividit' he has not made the matter clearer, because it is only the range north of the river, which divided the Helvetii from the Sequani. But as the heights are continued in the same direction on the south of the river, he gives them the name of Jura also, and his narrative shows that the Jura, of which he speaks here, is the mountains south of the river; which mountains are divided from those on the north by the long narrow gorge through which the Rhone runs. The distance from Geneva to Fort L'Ecluse is 18.750 passus; which agrees with the 150 stadia of Appian (Gall. Exc. xiii. De Leg.), if we take the stadium at 125 passus. The rampart was probably extended a little further than Fort L'Ecluse, so as to make up Caesar's 19,000 passus (Roesch, see Preface). The earth wall was made in a short time. Caesar had his legion of between 4000 and 5000 to work at it, and also the soldiers from the Province. See ii. c. 30, note.

in altitudinem] The height would be measured from the bottom of the ditch.

posset] 'Possit' Schn.: 'Possit' agrees better with the present 'communit;' but Roman usage in these matters was not fixed. 'Communit' is, in effect, a past tense.

alii vadis] The Helvetii attempted to pass the Rhone by bridges of boats ('navibus junctis') and by rafts; but some ('alii') attempted to ford it. Schneider remarks that if the 'alii' had been repeated, the passage would signify that about equal numbers attempted to pass by bridges of boats and by the fords; whereas Caesar means that those who attempted the fords were fewer. The ditch ('fossa') and rampart ('murus') seem to have been formed near to the river.

The Rhone is very rapid, particularly below the junction of the Arve; and Caesar says it is fordable in some parts; but this has been denied. In the absence of exact information on this point, I would believe Caesar more readily than those who deny the fact. It was now the spring, and the waters are often low at that time. At Fort L'Ecluse the river is impassable, for the mountains rise on both sides; and Caesar, having

fluminis erat, nonnunquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatu destiterunt.

9. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua Sequanis invitis propter angustias ire non poterant. His quum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Aeduum mittunt ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent. Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat, et Helvetiis erat amicus quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo sibi beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequanis impetrat ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. Caesari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Aeduorum iter in Santonum fines

extended his lines to this place, had cut off the passage through the Provincia, unless the river were first crossed and the rampart stormed.

9. *una via*] 'The one way.' There was only one way left, the narrow road along the right bank of the Rhone, between the river and the mountains which rise above it (c. 6).

sua sponte] By themselves or their own means; as in Cicero, Ad Fam. vii. 2: "magnum quiddam spectavit, nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio." Its common meaning is, 'of one's own proper motion or choice:' "satius esse sua sponte recte facere quam alieno metu" (Ter. Ad. i. 1. 50).

deprecatore] One who uses an earnest entreaty; which, in this case, was to allow them to pass, or not to prevent them. We have no noun which corresponds to 'deprecator.' The context will always explain the precise meaning of 'deprecari.' See ii. 31.

novis rebus studebat] 'He was setting his mind on change,' political change, revolution and usurpation.

suo sibi] There is MSS. authority for this. 'Suo sub,' which is in some MSS., is merely a corruption of 'suo sibi.' Schn. omits 'sibi,' and Elberborg places it thus '[sibi].'

10. *renuntiatur*] Reported by men whom he had sent to inquire, as 're' implies. See c. 22, 'renuntiasse.'

Santonum] The name is Santones or Santoni (i. 11; vii. 75). Their chief town, Mediolanum Santonum, is Saintes on the Charente, in the department of Charente Inférieure. The former provincial denomination of Saintonge is a corruption of the name Santones. The Santones occupied the country on the right bank of the lower Garonne. The direct distance from Saintes to Toulouse is 180 miles; and the territory of the Santones did not extend in the direction of Toulouse as far as the river Dordogne. Caesar is accordingly supposed by the commentators, who know better than himself, to indicate a degree of proximity which did not exist be-

facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia. Id si fieret, intelligebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas ei munitioni quam fecerat T. Labienum legatum praefecit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit, et tres quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant ex hibernis educit, et qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones et Graioceli et Caturiges locis superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit, inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

tween the Santoni and the Tolosates. But there is no obstacle to an army marching from Saintes to Toulouse; the road is open; and the Helvetii would have been dangerous neighbours to the Provincia, if they had planted themselves on the lower Garonne. It has been suggested, by way of explaining Caesar, that he considered the Nitiobriges and Petrocorii, who lie between the Santones and the Tolosates, as belonging to the Santones. As to Toulouse, see Introd. p. 30.

Tolosatium—quae civitas] 'And this state is in the Provincia. 'Quae' agrees with 'civitas,' but it contains an indirect reference to 'Tolosates.' See ii. 1.

T. Labienum] T. Labienus, tribunus plebis, B.C. 63, was one of Caesar's ablest and most faithful officers in the Gallic war. Labienus deserted Caesar when he invaded Italy, B.C. 49.

Italiam—Aquileiam] Introd. p. 23. Caesar found one legion in the province, and he ordered a levy to be made there (i. 7). In Italy (Gallia Cisalpina) he raised (conscripsit) two new legions, and took three which were in quarters in Aquileia. He would therefore have six legions for his Helvetic war, besides the forces raised in the Provincia. Caesar never tells us what was the complement of a full legion. Polybius (iii. 107) fixes the regular force at 4000 men in B.C. 216, and 5000 on extraordinary occasions; and Livy (21, c. 17) states that the force of a legion was 4000 in B.C. 218. Cicero (Ad Att. vi. 1, 14) estimates Deiotarus' legions at 4000 men. Caesar's legions must often have been incomplete during his Gallic campaigns. In one passage (v. 48, 49) he makes two legions to contain only 7000 men. His legionary force at the commencement of this Helvetic campaign may have been 30,000 foot. Each legion had its cavalry, but the number of the cavalry attached to Caesar's legions is uncertain. His cavalry consisted of Galli, c. 15, 42.

Ocelo] Introd. p. 10. These Centrones and the rest were mountain tribes, who, it appears, combined to stop Caesar. See the Note at the end of this Book on Caesar's passage over the Alps, No. II.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias transduxerant, et in Aeduorum fines pervenerant eorumque agros populabantur. Aedui, quum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: Ita se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. Eodem tempore Aedui Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Aeduorum, Caesarem certiorem faciunt sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesarem recipiunt, et demonstrant sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non exspectandum sibi statuit dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Aeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat judicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus junctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est tres jam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen transduxisse, quartam vero

11. *transduxerant*] The Saône was the boundary of the Sequani and Aedui, at least in the lower part of its course. The Helvetii were near 400,000, men, women, and children, and they had waggons. They moved so slowly through the defile of the Jura and the muddy roads of the department of Ain, that Caesar had time enough to go to Italy, to return, and to overtake them. It is difficult to say whether Caesar means that some of the Aedui were on the east side of the Saône. Perhaps he does; and if we take his words literally, they ought to mean that.

liberi eorum] He might have written 'sui.' See c. 6, note.

Aedui Ambarri] A better reading than 'Aedui Ambarrique,' for the Aedui have been already mentioned. Oudendorp compares 'Aedui Ambarri' with 'Ligures Salyes,' 'Dalmatae Scordisci,' and other like expressions, where the first name is generic. The Ambarri seem to have been on the east side of the Saône.

12. *Flumen est Arar*] This is a common expression both in Caesar and Cicero, as Verr. ii. 1, c. 24, 'Oppidum est in Hellesponto Lampsacum.' See also B. G. ii. 9, 'palus erat;' vii. 19, 'collis erat.'

As the rest of the rivers of Gallia retain their names, it seems strange that the Arar should now be the Saône. But the genuine name, Sauconna, is preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 11) in his description of Gallia. In his supplement to Livy (lib. ciii. c. 130) Freinshemius says: "Ad Ararim sive Sagonam (utroque enim nomine appellatur flumen) prima commissa pugna est."

tres jam] 'Full three parts.' 'Jam' is often so placed.

transduxisse] Caesar does not say where the Helvetii crossed the river

partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus ad eam partem pervenit quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes adgressus magnam partem eorum concidit: reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus; nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quatuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus quum domo exisset patrum nostrorum memoria,

Saône. If they had crossed at Cabillonum or Matisco, he might have said so, for he mentions both these places afterwards (vii. 90). There was no occasion for them to cross the Saône further north than some point which should be the nearest to a waggon-road through the hills which separate the basins of the Saône and the Loire. Caesar was in the country of the Segusiani (c. 10) in that part of it which was in the angle between the Saône and the Rhone. He set out at night to surprize the enemy, and therefore he had not far to go.

de tertia vigilia] The Romans had a civil day, which began at midnight, in which we have followed them; and a natural day, which was divided into daylight and night. The daylight and night were respectively divided into twelve hours, the length of which would vary with the season. The night was divided into four 'vigiliae' of three hours each, a division used for civil as well as for military purposes.

The expression 'de tertia vigilia' seems to mean immediately after the beginning of the third watch (Bell. Civ. i. 64): it indicates that the third watch had commenced, and perhaps no more. At least 'de media nocte' (ii. 7; vii. 45. 88) must be explained so. In ii. 33 Caesar has 'tertia vigilia,' without 'de,' and also in other places, where he simply means in or during the division of time which is indicated.

Eos—eorum concidit] 'Eorum' is omitted in a few MSS.; but Oudendorp quotes six instances of a like usage in these Commentaries (ii. 10. 23, &c.). Plutarch (Caesar, 18) and Appian say that Labienus defeated the Tigurini.

pagus] Caesar uses this word to express a territory or the people of a territory, as in i. 13. 37 and iv. 1. 22, and elsewhere. Saumaise (Hist. Aug. p. 456) derives from it the French word 'pays,' which is often used in the same sense, as 'Pays de Vaud, de Beauce,' and so forth.

The Tigurini were one of the four Helvetic peoples mentioned by Caesar. They joined the Cimbri and Teutones in their movement towards Italy (Introd. p. 29). It has generally been assumed that the town of Zürich was in their territory; but it appears from an inscription that Zürich was called Turicen in the Roman period; in the middle ages it was Turegum or Turicum. It has been conjectured that the Tigurini occupied the canton of Uri and adjacent parts; but the reasons for this supposition are not sufficient (D'Anville, Notice 4). An inscription found near Avenches, south of the lake of Morat, in the canton of Waadt or Pays de Vaud, with the words 'Genio Pago Tigor,' proves that the Tigurini were in the neighbourhood of Lake Morat. This 'pagus,' therefore, may have comprised the south-west part of the Helvetia of Caesar. Aventicum is known to be Avenches by inscriptions found there, and by the measures of three Roman roads, which intersect at this place. Tacitus (Hist. i. 68) calls Aventicum the capital or chief town of the Helvetii (Walckenaer, i. 314).

L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et ejus exercitum sub jugum miserat. Ita sive casu, sive consili odeorum immortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas sed etiam privatas injurias ultus est, quod ejus soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio quo Cassium interfecerant.

13. Hoc proelio facto, reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset pontem in Arare faciendum curat, atque ita exercitum transducit. Helvetii repentino ejus adventu commoti, quum id quod ipsi diebus viginti aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intelligerent, legatos ad eum mittunt, cujus legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesare egit: Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset: sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, quum hi qui flumen transissent suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magno opere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret: se ita

L. Cassium] See c. 7.—'L. Pisonis:' see c. 6, and Introd. p. 30.

13. *pontem*] If he means a bridge such as he made over the Rhine, he could not make it and take his army over in a day. He had vessels (c. 16), and I suppose he made a bridge of them.

ut—transirent] See c. 5, 'conantur, ut . . . exeant.'

ita—egit] 'Agere cum aliquo' is to have any dealings or transactions with a person. 'Agere cum populo' is to bring some matter before the 'populus' for their vote or opinion. See i. 34. 47.

Divico must now have been an old man (B.C. 58), for he commanded the Tigurini in the war against Cassius, B.C. 107 (Introd. p. 29).

reminisceretur] This form of the subjunctive is common in cases where the words of a speaker are indirectly used, as they are here. It does not depend on 'egit.' The same word and the same form occur in Livy (iv. 2): "Reminiscerentur quam majestatem senatus ipsi a patribus accepissent." Thus also (c. 42): "uterque cum exercitu veniret."

Quod — adortus esset, — possent,] This refers to what follows 'ne ob eam rem,' and it is placed first. We may say 'because;' and there are other ways of translating it.

virtuti tribueret] The complete expression is 'aliquid' or 'multum virtuti tribuere,' as Schneider observes. He quotes Cicero (Ad Fam. xiii. 9): "Quum universo ordini publicanorum semper libentissime

a patribus majoribusque suis didicisse ut magis virtute quam dolo contenderent aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret ut is locus ubi constitissent ex calamitate populi Romani et internecione exercitus nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

14. His Caesar ita respondit: Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari quod eas res quas legati Helvetii commemorassent memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: qui si alicujus injuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum quod neque commissum a se intelligeret quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium injuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim tentassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur quodque tam diu se impune injurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commuta-

tribuerim." See vii. 37. 53, and Cicero, De Prov. Cons. c. 20.

internecione] Schneider prefers 'internicione,' because there is the word 'pernicies,' which contains the same element 'nec.' There is a reading 'interitione;' and other variations.

'Memoriam proderet' means 'transmit the remembrance,' as in Cicero, Verr. ii. 5, c. 14, "ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam;" and Tacitus, Agric. 1, "ad prodendam virtutis memoriam."

14. *Eo — dubitationis*] 'Eo' is the ablative to which 'quod . . . teneret' refers: 'He had the less reason for hesitating (what to do), because.' Again there is 'eo gravius' to which 'quo minus' corresponds. 'Merito' is the ablative. The whole means, 'That (he) was the more indignant (at this), because (quo minus, the less), it had not happened through any fault (desert, deserving) of the Roman people.'

eo invito] Caesar is represented as the subject of the remark, not as making it himself. See i. 5, 6, and 11.

num] 'Num' is one of the words used in direct interrogation; and where the words of a speaker are introduced indirectly, as they are here, it is used with the accusative and the infinitive. But if the second person would be used with the direct form, the subjunctive is used with 'num' in the indirect form; as in c. 40, 'quid tandem vererentur' (Kraner).

se—tulisse] These words refer to the Helvetii. 'As to the Helvetii boasting in such insolent terms of their victory, and thinking it a great thing that they had so long done wrong without suffering for it, the two things had both one meaning;' both pointed the same way, as he proceeds to explain, to their approaching punishment.

quo gravius] 'In order that men whom they intend to punish may be more severely pained by a change of circumstances.'

tione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Quum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur uti ea quae polliceantur facturos intelligat, et si Aeduis de injuriis quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum. Divico respondit: Ita Helvetios a majoribus suis institutos esse uti obsides accipere non dare consuerint: ejus rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit.

15. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem ad numerum quatuor milium, quem ex omni provincia et Aeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit qui videant quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo prœlio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere nonnunquam et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat, ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passum interesset.

16. Interim quotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum quod essent publice polliciti flagitare. Nam propter frigora,

15. *novissimum*] This word is often used by Caesar as equivalent to 'extremum' (iv. 16; v. 36). Cicero only uses it once in this sense (Pro Rosc. Com. 11). Varro (L. L. vi. 59) says that he could remember a time when this was considered a novelty (Schn.).

in praesentia] 'For the time,' 'at the actual time;' the same as 'in praesenti tempore.' The expression is used by Terence and Cicero (Tusc. i. 7; Verr. ii. 3, c. 1).

quinis aut senis] 'Not more than five or six miles' each of the fifteen days.

16. *publice*] The corn which the state, the Aedui, acting by their chiefs, had proffered; for that is the meaning of 'polliceri.' 'Publice' occurs in the same sense in vi. 12; vii. 55.

Schneider explains the subjunctive 'quod essent' to indicate that Caesar reminded the Aedui of their undertaking; but this is not a clear explanation. The word 'flagitare' expresses the demand, and Caesar might have used 'erant . . . polliciti,' but the sense would not be the same.

quod Gallia sub septemtrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat: eo autem frumento quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Aedui; conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem

With the indicative it would mean that he demanded the corn which the state had promised; with the subjunctive the expression is less definite, and differs little, if at all, from 'quum essent . . . polliciti.' It is not very easy, in English, to mark this difference between the subjunctive and the indicative. The meaning is, that, 'as they had proffered a supply of corn, Caesar now demanded the fulfilment of their engagement.'

propter frigora, &c.] 'The cold climate.' Caesar uses the plural also in vi. 22. It was still early in the year when Caesar was pursuing the Helvetii.

subvexerat] 'Had carried up.' Compare 'supportari,' iii. 3; and Virg. Aen. viii. 58, "Adversum remis superes subvectus ut amnem." We should have heard nothing of these ships, if the Aedui had done what they promised. Caesar never speaks of any thing, unless it is a part of his military operations. Here he tells us the reason why he could not use the corn that he had in the ships; and this is all that he tells us about them. We may conjecture that the ships came from the Rhone with supplies from the Provincia, and we now see why Caesar passed into the country of the Vocontii (c. 10), and then into the territory of the Allobroges. He went to meet these ships. See Note II. at the end of this book.

ab Arare Helvetii] They were moving through the hilly country west of the Saône.

Diem ex die] The Aedui were putting off Caesar, as we say, from day to day: they had daily some new lie for him. The meaning of 'ducere' is explained by 'se duci.' 'Diem ex die' is used in the same way by Cicero, Ad Att. vii. 26: "diem ex die expectabam ut statuerem quid esset faciendum." We must supply 'Caesarem' after 'ducere.' Terence, Andr. ii. 1. 9, has: "Id voluit, nos sic necopinantes duci falso gaudio." Kraner also suggests that 'ducere' may refer to the delivery of the grain, as in vii. 11: "longius eam rem ductum iri."

metiri] As Caesar uses 'oportere with an accusative of the subject, when he employs an active verb, Schneider concludes that 'metiri' has a passive sense here; but it is easier to suppose that he omitted 'eum' here and in c. 23, because 'eum' would be almost superfluous.

Polybius, speaking of the Roman soldiers in his time, says (vi. 39), "the infantry have measured out to them about two-thirds of an Attic medimnus of wheat, and the cavalry seven medimni of barley monthly, and two medimni of wheat." See vi. 32. Livy (44, c. 2) names the allowance 'menstruum.' 'Frumentum' comprehends wheat ('triticum') and barley ('hordeum') and other cerealia (Dig. 50. 16. 77).

praeerat] All the MSS. are said

Vergobretum appellant Aedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat quod, quum neque emi neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur; praesertim quum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit, multo etiam gravius quod sit destitutus queritur.

17. Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesaris adductus quod antea tacuerat proponit: Esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus. Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere ne frumentum conferant quod praestare debeant; si jam principatum Galliae obtinere non possent, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperia perferre; neque dubitare debeant quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Aeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab eisdem nostra consilia quaeque in castris gerantur hostibus enuntiari: hos a se coërceri non posse. Quin etiam quod necessario rem coactus Caesari enuntiarit, intelligere sese quanto id cum

to have 'praeerant;' but as there appears to have been only one Vergobretus (vii. 32), the correction 'praeerat,' which is a very old one, has been accepted by the editors. The word 'quem' must refer to the whole phrase 'qui . . . praeerat:' they name the supreme magistrate 'Vergobretus.' 'Vergobrit' is doubtless a compound Celtic word. It is said that the chief magistrates of Autun were called 'Vierg,' even up to the latter part of the eighteenth century. The authorities for this fact are cited by Schneider and Herzog. It is curious, if true.

quum neque emi—posset] If we omit the words 'quorum . . . potestatem,' we see that a nominative 'frumentum' to 'posset' is easily supplied from what precedes.

17. *conferant—dubitare debeant*] This passage appears to be corrupt. Schneider reads 'conferant: quod praestare debeat, si jam,' &c.; and he translates, 'that the subjection to a Gallic people must be preferable to subjection to the Romans.' But most of the MSS. have 'debeant,' and none have 'debeat.' Faernus altered the first 'debeant' into 'dicant.' Kraner has 'possint, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperia præferre, neque dubitare [debeant].' The meaning may be, that 'they deterred the people from supplying the corn which they ought to supply; that if they had lost all chance of the supremacy of Gallia, they had better endure the government of the Galli than of the Romans; and they should not hesitate to conclude, that if the Romans defeated the Helvetii, they would deprive the Aedui, as well as the rest of Gallia, of their liberty.' It is easy to make many objections to the text as it stands, and it seems to be past restoration.

necessario] 'Necessariam' Kraner, 'a matter of necessity,' 'an urgent matter.'

periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam quam diu potuerit tacuisse.

18. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed quod pluribus praesentibus eas res jactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet: quaerit ex solo ea quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: Ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum: complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Aeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatus suo sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse, atque hujus potentiae causa matrem in Biturigibus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo

18. *Ipsum*] He ascertains that Dumnorix is the very person 'quem designari sentiebat;' that he was a man of the greatest audacity, &c.

cupidum rerum novarum] 'Eager for change,' revolution, usurpation. He afterwards says, 'summam in spem . . . regni obtinendi venire.'

vectigalia — redempta] That he had farmed the revenues for many years at a low rate. 'Vectigalia' is used here for taxes or contributions generally. The Aedui had the Roman fashion of letting or selling, as the Romans often expressed it, the taxes to contractors ('publicani'). The farmer was said 'conducere,' 'redimere,' 'emere.' The state was said 'locare,' 'vendere.' The taxes were let publicly, as among the Romans, and when Dumnorix bid ('illo licente') no one dared to bid against him. The Roman 'vectigalia' in the provinces were the tenths ('decumae') of grain, of oil, and wine, and of 'fruges minutae,' or 'legumes' (Cic. Verr. ii. 3, c. 7); also the 'scriptura,' or tax paid for the feeding of cattle on the public pastures, and the 'portoria.' 'Portoria,' in the Roman system, are dues paid on goods going in or coming out of seaports: also tolls on rivers and bridges, and payable at frontiers. The Roman 'portoria' at Syracuse, as we learn from Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 75), were a twentieth part of the value of the goods. The English word 'toll' ('telonium') was originally applied to all kinds of payments made on the transit of goods, persons, or beasts. The levying of tolls on merchandise, as it passes through certain places, has been the simplest mode of raising money among all barbaric people, and one of the most injurious to commerce. It seems that the Galli had devised these taxes and systems of collection, which remained in principle unaltered to the revolution of 1789 (De Tocqueville, L'Ancien Régîme, p. 443; and Introd. p. 34).

largiter posse] 'Had much influence.' The Romans also said 'multum posse' and the like (ii. 4).

Biturigibus] The Bituriges were a Celtic people, separated from the

collocasse, ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse. Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam affinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarem et Romanos quod eorum adventu potentia ejus deminuta et Divitiacus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire; imperio populi Romani non modo de regno sed etiam de ea quam habeat gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugae factum a Dumnorige atque ejus equitibus; nam equitatui quem auxilio Caesari Aedui miserant Dumnorix praeerat; eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, quum ad has suspiciones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios transduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo injussu suo et civitatis

Aedui by the Loire. Their chief town was Avaricum (Bourges, B. G. vii. 13), on the Avara (Evre).

ex Helvetiis uxorem] Orgetorix's daughter. See c. 3, 'sororem ex matre,' a half sister on his mother's side.

collocasse] 'Collocare in matrimonium' is the complete expression (Cic. De Divin. i. 46); to which 'nuptum . . . collocasse' is equivalent. The Romans also said 'collocare in matrimonio.' It seems that we must understand 'nuptum in alias civitates collocasse' as signifying 'nuptum in alias civitates,' for 'nubere' is so used with 'in' and an accusative.

cupere] 'Was well disposed to the Helvetii.' Cicero (Ad Q. Fr. i. 2) has "Ego Fundanio non cupio;" and (Ad Fam. xi. 4) "tibi cui maxime cupio." — 'Suo nomine,' 'on his own account,' 'on personal grounds,' as in vii. 75; and Cicero (Ad Fam. xiii. 21), "et ipsum suo nomine diligas," 'love him for his own sake.'

Divitiacus] Divitiacus was a Druid, one of a class who had preeminence (vi. 13). The Romans had restored him to what he had lost. He had gone to Rome apparently to sue for assistance. See Introd. p. 34.

imperio populi Romani] 'Under the dominion of the Roman people,' 'while the Roman people had the supremacy.' It is a common use of the Latin ablative. See c. 30, 'florentissimis rebus;' and ii. 1; iii. 12.

ejus fugae] Schneider observes that one would expect 'proelii' in place of 'fugae.' Every man best knows what he expects himself, but he can't answer for others. 'Ejus' may refer to 'proelium;' and the meaning may be 'the beginning of flight in it,' that is, 'in that battle.' If this interpretation is not adopted, 'ejus' must be taken as a pronominal adjective, and we may translate thus, 'the beginning of that flight,' and 'ejus fugae' will refer to 'proelium adversum.'

sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat quod Divitiaci fratris summum in populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat; nam ne ejus supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet verebatur. Itaque prius quam quidquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet et quotidianis interpretibus remotis per C. Valerium Procillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur: simul commonefacit quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur ut sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa cognita statuat vel civitatem statuere jubeat.

19. *ipsis*] Caesar and the Aedui, the notion of his fellow citizens the Aedui being contained in 'civitatis.'

in eum—animadverteret] 'Punish him.' It is a mild way of speaking. With an accusative only, 'animadvertere' means to see or observe, as in c. 24, where it is 'animum advertere;' and in c. 32 'animadvertit Caesar.'

studium] 'Studium' (Cic. De Invent. i. 25) is a constant and active mental effort applied to a thing with hearty good-will.

quotidianis interpretibus] He sent away the ordinary interpreters whom he employed, and kept only C. Valerius Procillus, a distinguished person ('princeps,' the word means nothing more here) of the Gallia Provincia (i. 47). Divitiacus, it appears, had not learned Latin; nor did Caesar know the Gallic language. Interpreters were employed by the Romans in the provinces (v. 36), even in the Greek provinces. Schneider conjectures that this Valerius was a brother of C. Valerius Donotaurus (vii. 65), a citizen of the Helvii, a people of the Provincia. But it was not usual for two brothers to have the same praenomen. The gentile name Valerius might be common to hundreds of persons, for all those Galli who took Roman names would take the gentile name of their patrons (Cic. Verr. ii. 4, c. 17). C. Valerius however in vii. 65 is called the son of Caburus; and so is this Procillus (i. 47).

cui summam] 'To whom he gave the greatest confidence in all things.' Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 53) has, "populus cui maximam fidem suarum rerum habeat maxima cura deligit." Schneider cites a similar instance (vi. 23); and he correctly explains 'fides rerum' to signify the entrusting a person with a thing.

vel—vel] A little before, Caesar has used 'aut . . . aut,' conformably to the sense of the passage, for the one thing in that passage excludes the other. Caesar thought that there was reason enough either for himself punishing Dumnorix, or ordering the Aedui to do so. Here by 'vel . . . vel' he means that Divitiacus had the choice of either of two things (Schneider).

causa cognita] 'Causam cognoscere' is 'to hear a cause.' 'Statuere'

20. Divitiacus multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus obsecrare coepit Ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, quum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adolescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Caesare gravius accidisset, quum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec quum pluribus verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar ejus dextram prendit; consolatus rogat finem orandi faciat; tanti ejus apud se gratiam esse ostendit uti et rei publicae injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat ostendit, quae ipse intelligat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit ut quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo,

is 'to determine.' Cic. (Divin. c. 17): "Verres . . . rem cognoscit: factum improbat."

20. *per se crevisset*] This is, like Terence, Heaut. Prol. 28, 'date crescendi copiam.' Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 67) has another use of 'crescere,' with 'de' in a different sense: "de uno isto voluisse crescere."

condonet] The simplest use of this word is in Cicero (Off. ii. 22): "qui pecunias creditas debitoribus condonandas putant;" which is a remission of a debt to a debtor. Here it expresses the remission of a merited punishment. not to the guilty person. but nominally to another, for the benefit of the guilty.—'Fratrem adhibet,' 'he has his brother present as a witness.'

Dumnorigi] Caesar let Dumnorix go, because it was not safe to punish him now, but Caesar put him to death afterwards (v. 7).

21. *milia passuum—octo*] The text of Caesar is not consistent in this usage. He might have used the ablative, 'milibus passuum' here, by which case the Romans usually express an interval of any kind (i. 31, 'paucis mensibus ante'). In v. 47 he has the accusative with 'consedisse.' In iii. 17, 'decem milium spatio consedisset.' In i. 41. 43. 48, the ablative is used. The last passage is exactly like this, except that it has the ablative. Even with 'abesse' Caesar's usage is not consistent. See ii. 6, 7; iv. 7.

qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus qui cognoscerent misit. Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertia vigilia T. Labienum legatum pro praetore cum duabus legionibus et his ducibus qui iter cognoverant summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere quo hostes ierant ad eos contendit equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

22. Prima luce, quum summus mons a T. Labieno teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Labieni cognitus esset,

qualis in circuitu ascensus] 'What kind of an ascent there was, if a man went round,' that is, to the back. As to the order of the words compare 'ex omnibus in circuitu partibus,' ii. 29. Caesar intended to attack the Helvetii at once in front and in the rear. Considius' blunder spoiled his plan.

pro praetore] Caesar was praetor, for the names 'praetor' and 'proconsul' were often used indifferently in the provinces. Labienus is the next to Caesar, and his immediate representative. 'Legatus pro praetore' was an honorary title, which was in use under Augustus, to denote those who were his legati in the provinces; and it appears from this passage to have been a term also used in the republican period.

quid sui consilii] Schneider compares vi. 7; vii. 77. He also cites "quid esset suae voluntatis ostenderet" (Bell. Civ. iii. 109). He considers this genitive to signify the origin or that from which a thing proceeds, and he compares it with a similar German usage of the genitive: 'thu was deines Amtes ist,' 'do what belongs to thy office.' He considers (vii. 5) 'quibus id consilii,' and the like, as different from this, and as depending on the pronoun, which can be omitted in the example 'quid sui consilii.' Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 25) has the expression, "quid ejus sit vos conjectura assequi debetis," which means, 'how much truth there is in it.' In this passage, then, 'quid consilii sui' is not like 'certi quid' (vii. 45), or 'multum,' 'paulum,' and 'nihil,' with a genitive; but 'quid' is the subject, and 'consilii sui' is in the place of a predicate.

P. Considius] Sulla is the dictator L. Cornelius Sulla, and M. Crassus is M. Licinius Crassus who defeated Spartacus and his rebel slaves in Lucania, B.C. 71. Considius may have served under Crassus on this occasion. We hear no more of Considius. In the next chapter he is charged with cowardice.

22. *Prima luce*] 'At daybreak,' 'when the light was beginning.' When 'primus,' 'summus,' stand absolutely, that is, when there is no comparison with another thing of the kind, the adjective can have no other meaning than to express a part of the thing which it qualifies; as 'a prima obsidione' (v. 45), 'upon the commencement of the siege;' 'primo vere' (vi. 3); 'prima nocte' (Horace); "primos Eburonum fines adeunt" (vi. 35). 'Summus mons,

Considius equo admisso ad eum accurrit, dicit montem quem a Labieno occupari voluerit ab hostibus teneri; id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat proelioque abstinebat. Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit et montem a suis teneri et Helvetios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiasse. Eo die quo consuerat intervallo hostes sequitur, et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

23. Postridie ejus diei, quod omnino biduum supererat quum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a

'the summit of the mountain,' and like expressions, often occur.

equo admisso] With his horse at full speed, the reins slackened to let him go. See Bell. Civ. ii. 34; and Ovid, Amor. i. 8, "Et celer admissis labitur annus equis."

insignibus] 'Insigne' is a sign or something to mark, distinguish, or to give a signal, as ii. 20. As 'armis' are mentioned here, 'insignia' may mean 'standards' or 'colours.' But in vii. 45 it cannot mean this, for the 'signa militaria' are also mentioned. There is nothing inconsistent in this word meaning different things in different places. Schneider thinks that it means the 'galearum ornamenta' here.

Multo—die] The expression 'prima luce' might perhaps justify the interpretation that 'multo denique die' does not here mean more than full, complete day. It ought, however, conformably to usage, to mean when a good part of the day was spent. 'Multa nocte' occurs in vii. 28, and iii. 26. Livy (iii. 45; and xxiii. 27. See also B. G. i. 26) has 'ad multum diei.' The latest French translation of this passage is: 'Il était enfin tout-à-fait jour.' Forcellini has the other meaning: 'Essendo il dì avanzato di molto.'

quo consuerat intervallo] This position of the relative and its noun is common in Caesar.

23. *quum exercitui*] The 'quum' marks a time at the end of which the corn was to be given out; and the time is determined by the 'biduum.' The expression of Cicero (Ad Fam. xv. 14), "Multi enim anni sunt quum ille in meo aere est;" and (Ad Att. ix. 11) "Aliquot enim anni sunt quum vos delegi quos praecipue colerem," are of the like kind. Schneider says, that in the first of these two examples from Cicero 'quum' marks the first part of the time, 'multi anni.' But the time is not defined unless both the beginning and the end are taken into the account. Virgil has the same, Aen. ii. 36:

"Tertia jam lunae se cornua lumine complent
Quum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum
Lustra traho."

The French language has a like form of expression by means of 'que.'

Bibracte, oppido Aeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit, iter ab Helvetiis avertit ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

24. Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit, equitatumque qui sustineret hostium impetum misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranorum, ita uti supra se in summo jugo duas legiones quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat et omnia

Bibracte] Caesar at first followed the Helvetii up the right bank of the Saône. Then the Helvetii turned away from the river (c. 16). Whether their course was due west, or north or south of west, we do not know. Caesar, who still followed them, was now within eighteen miles of Bibracte, afterwards Augustodunum (Autun), which is in the basin of the Loire, on the Arroux, a branch of the Loire, and in the department of Saône et Loire. Autun afterwards became a Roman colony. It contains numerous Roman remains.

fugitivos] The context implies that they were Gallic horsemen, who deserted from their commander. The Galli were good horsemen, and they were employed by Caesar (vi. 6). Herzog and Kraner take 'fugitivi' in its ordinary sense of runaway slaves. 'Decurio' is a commander of a body of cavalry. The cavalry was divided into 'alae,' the 'alae' into 'turmae,' and the 'turmae' into 'decuriae.' It does not appear what was the number of one of Caesar's 'decuriae.'

24. *triplicem aciem*] A legion contained ten cohorts. In Caesar's order of battle each legion had four cohorts in front, three at an interval behind the four, and then three more cohorts behind the first three. The intervals between the cohorts in each line are supposed to have been equal to the length of the front of a cohort. This is Caesar's 'triplex acies.' The depth of the cohorts was ten men in the army of C. Marius, who raised the legion to 6000 men. We do not know what the depth was in Caesar's cohorts.

veteranorum] There is some authority for the reading 'veteranarum;' but Caesar could say 'legiones veteranorum,' as he says 'legiones tironum' in B. C. iii. 28, 29 (Schneider).

ita uti supra se] Schneider has 'ita uti supra: sed in . . . collocari . . . compleri.' He supposes 'ita uti supra' to refer to c. 22, and such a word as 'demonstravimus' is to be supplied. I have followed Elberling. 'Sarcinas' is different from 'impedimenta,' the heavy munitions of the army. The 'sarcina' is what each soldier carried.

auxilia collocaret, ac totum montem hominibus compleret; interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri et eum ab his qui in superiore acie constiterant muniri jussit. Helvetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi confertissima acie rejecto nostro equitatu phalange facta sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore pilis missis facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Ea disjecta gladiis destrictis in eos im-

auxilia] The soldiers which were not Italian.

phalange facta] This means a compact mass, which Schneider supposes that the Helvetii learned from the Germans, as the Galli were not accustomed to form such columns (c. 52). This was strong enough to drive back the cavalry, and the Helvetii began to force their way up to the first line of the Romans ('sub primam aciem successerunt'). Their shields were close locked, for the Roman 'pila' sometimes nailed several of them together.

Plutarch (Marius, c. 27) describes the desperate fight between the Romans and the Cimbri near Vercellae, in North Italy. He says: "Now the greater part of the enemy, and their best soldiers, were cut to pieces in their ranks; for, in order to prevent the line being broken, the soldiers of the first rank were fastened together by long chains which passed through their belts." Those who suppose that this Helvetic phalanx was a Macedonian phalanx are misled by a name. The Galli could only resist by keeping close together. If they were broken, they were beaten.

25. *suo—omnium*] The cavalry was not dismounted. Caesar had a horse, and others of his staff; and they dismounted to encourage the soldiers of the legions.

pilis] The soldiers, says Polybius, had two 'pila.' Some of the 'pila' were thick, others thin. The 'pilum' consisted of a wooden shaft with a recurved iron head (ἀγκιστρωτόν). The shaft was about three cubits long. The iron part was of the same length as the wood, and it was fitted to it in such a way that the iron extended to the middle of the piece of wood, where it was fastened with strong clasps. Thus the whole length was four cubits and a half, or above six feet (Polybius, vi. 23; Lipsius, De Militia Romana, iii. Dial. 4). The 'pilum' was thrown (B. G. i. 52).

The sword, which was called Spanish (Iberian), was worn on the right side. It was made both for thrusting and cutting with either edge, the blade being very strong (Polyb.; Dion, 38, c. 49). The Romans killed their enemies chiefly by the straight thrust. The Gallic swords were long and not pointed. Machiavelli (Dell' arte della Guerra, lib. ii.) observes that the Roman soldiers were taught to thrust with the sword, because a thrust was better both for offence and defence.

destrictis] Many good MSS. have 'districtis.' In the passage of Horace (Sat. ii. 1, v. 41) Heindorf has

"——— me veluti custodiet ensis
Vagina tectus, quem cur distringere coner?"

petum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, quum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant, multi ut diu jactato brachio praeoptarent scutum manu emittere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi et pedem referre, et quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto monte et succedentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum millibus circiter XV agmen hostium claudebant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto adgressi circumvenere, et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima ac secunda acies ut

And he takes 'distringere' to mean 'to draw apart stringendo,' so that it means to draw the sword from the scabbard. Both 'destringere' and 'distringere' appear to be genuine forms, and it is sometimes indifferent which is used, as in this case. Polybius says of the 'hasta' of the 'velites:' "The head of the spear was hammered out, and it was very sharp; when bent in a shield, it could not be pulled out and thrown back again." Caesar's 'pila' acted in a similar way. See Plut. Mar. c. 25.

multi ut] As we say 'so that many preferred.' See c. 6, 'vix qua.' 'Nudo corpore' means 'with their bodies exposed,' when the shield was thrown away.

suberat] Compare iii. 27, 'subesse Rhenum:' v. 23, 'quod aequinoctium suberat.' If 'mille' is an adjective, the expression 'mille passuum' seems strange. 'Suberat' expresses proximity, and the genitive seems to mean a proximity of about one thousand paces. Schneider compares 'tridui viam,' c. 38, and other like expressions (see ii. 8, 'fossam obduxit,' &c.). If this explanation is not accepted, 'mille' must be taken as a noun depending on 'circiter.' Gronovius (Forcellini, Mille) denies that 'mille' is ever a noun, but there are many passages (as Liv. 23, c. 44) which are very difficult to explain if 'mille' is not a noun Gellius (i. 16) proves by many examples that 'mille' was used as a noun: it represents χιλιάς, he says, and not χίλιοι. He quotes from Cato (Origines, i.), "Inde est ferme mille passuum:" where he takes 'mille passuum' to mean a thousand of paces. He also quotes from Cicero (Pro Milone, c. 20), "mille hominum versabatur:" and observes that the true reading is 'versabatur,' not 'versabantur.' His explanation seems to be indisputable. The Romans said both 'mille hominum' and 'mille homines.'

Capto monte] 'The mountain being reached by the enemy.' Comp. iv. 26 and 36, 'portus capere.'

ex itinere] 'On their march:' as they were marching they fell on the Roman flank. See ii. 12.

latere aperto] 'On the exposed flank.' He does not say which flank. We must not suppose that he means the right side, as some assume, because the soldiers carried their shields on the left side. See ii. 23.

conversa—bipartito] The first and second line of cohorts kept their

victis ac summotis resisteret, tertia ut venientes sustineret.

26. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius quum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se ut coeperant in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt: nam hoc toto proelio, quum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros objecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela conjiciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subjiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu quum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia CXXX superfuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, quum et propter vulnera militum et propter sepulturam occisorum nostri triduum morati eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingonas literas nuntiosque misit ne eos frumento neve alia re juvarent; qui si juvissent,

place to oppose the men who had been driven back (summotis); the third changed their position so as to face the enemy who had fallen on their flank. Accordingly the cohorts now presented two fronts to the enemy (signa bipartito intulerunt), and this was a consequence of the 'signa' being 'conversa.' It is true that only the 'signa' of the cohorts in the third line were 'conversa.' The battle now was fought on two different fronts, and so he calls it 'anceps' (c. 26). See Note III. at the end of the Book.

26. *e loco superiore*] 'From higher ground,' where they had placed their waggons. 'Matara,' which signifies a pike or something of the kind, is probably a Celtic word. 'Tragula,' which is perhaps a Latin word, was a pointed missile (v. 35. 48).

Orgetorigis filia] The waggons contained the women and children, most of whom were probably slaughtered (Plut. Caesar, 18). As to the Lingones (Langres), see Introd. p. 6. It appears from c. 23 and the subsequent narrative that the battle was fought about 18 miles from Bibracte, and probably south of Bibracte or nearly so.

nullam partem noctis] The night after the battle, as Kraner explains it; not all the nights of the time during which they were flying.

qui si juvissent] 'And if they should aid them.' The relative which refers to 'Lingonas' is made the nominative to 'juvissent,' and the objective case (eos) to which 'habiturum' refers is omitted. See c. 44, 'qui nisi . . . sese illum . . . pro hoste habiturum.' 'Eodem loco,' 'just like.' See c. 42, "in cohortis praetoriae loco."

se eodem loco quo Helvetios habiturum. Ipse triduo intermisso cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

27. Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui quum eum in itinere convenissent seque ad pedes projecissent suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco quo tum essent suum adventum exspectare jussisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos qui ad eos perfugissent poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa circiter hominum milia VI ejus pagi, qui Verbigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti ne armis traditis supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti quod in tanta multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

28. Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant, his uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit:

27. *intermissa*] The hostages, arms, and slaves were not all produced in one day; a night intervened, and at the commencement of this night these six thousand made their escape to avoid the surrender.

There is a reading 'Urbigenus.' A city 'Urba' is placed in the Antonine Itin. between Aventicum (Avenches) and Ariolica (Pontarlier). Urba or Orbe is in the canton Waadt, or Pays de Vaud. But this place, it has been shown, belongs to the 'pagus' of the Tigurini. There is an inscription at Solothurn, on the Aar, of the year A.D. 219, in which GENIO VERBIG. occurs. It seems, then, that we thus obtain a fixed point in the territory of the Pagus Verbigenus, which bordered on the Tigurinus, and was north of it.

circiter] This word is here used as an adverb and 'hominum milia' is the nominative, with which the nominative 'perterriti' must be connected. The Romans used to write thus: "Sex millia . . . ignari omnium," Livy, 22, c. 6.

dediticii] 'Deditio' is the absolute surrender of a people and all that they have to the Romans (Liv. vii. 31). 'Dediticii,' according to Gaius (i. 14), are those who have taken up arms against the Roman people, and, being vanquished, have surrendered (se dediderunt). See i. 44. 'In tanta multitudine' is a Roman way of saying, 'when there was so large a number.'

28. *resciit*] 'When Caesar found this out.' The word is used, according to Gellius (ii. 19), only in cases where a man comes to the knowledge of a thing that has been concealed from him, or a thing that is contrary to expectation. See Terence, Andr. i. 5, 23; ii. 2, 3; ii. 3, 26.

sibi purgati] 'Cleared, excused in his opinion.' See iv. 13. Kraner quotes Cicero (Ad Fam. xii. 15), "quod te mihi purgas."

reductos in—numero] 'In numero hostium' means 'as enemies' (vi.

reliquos omnes obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis in deditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos unde erant profecti reverti jussit, et quod omnibus frugibus amissis domi nihil erat quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit ut iis frumenti copiam facerent: ipsos oppida vicosque quos incenderant restituere jussit. Id ea maxime ratione fecit quod noluit eum locum unde Helvetii discesserant vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus

32). 'In hostium numero duci, haberi' is a common Latin formula (Livy 25, c. 10; Suetonius, Nero, c. 2; Cicero, in Cat. iii. 10). All the six thousand were massacred. This is the meaning of the expression of Caesar; and it follows from the context. These men were not sent back to their homes, they were not sold as slaves, and they were not kept as prisoners by the Romans. The passages of Livy (xxx. 7; xxxvii. 32) show the different treatment of 'dediti' and 'hostes.' Xenophon (Cyrop. vii. 5, 27) has ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο in the same sense. Dion Cassius (xxxviii. 33) speaks of this body of men being destroyed, but the story, as he tells it, is different from Caesar's; and it is either founded on a different authority, or is a careless version of Caesar's text.

Helvetios] The Rauraci (c. 5. 29) are not mentioned here. The name is said to occur in one MS. All were not killed, for the Rauraci are mentioned on another occasion (vii. 75). Caesar has only mentioned the names of two of the four Helvetic 'pagi,' the Tigurinus and the Verbigenus. It appears from Strabo (p. 293) that a third was called Tugenus; and Walckenaer observes that the name is preserved in Tugen, a village at the eastern extremity of the lake of Zürich, and in the name of the valley of Toggenburg, which is drained by the Thur. Thus the Tugeni are east of the Verbigeni, and the rest of the territory of the Helvetii must be assigned to the fourth 'pagus,' the name of which is unknown. The reasons for supposing that the Ambrones, who were defeated near Aix by C. Marius with the Teutones, were the fourth 'pagus,' are not satisfactory.

iis frumentum] 'His frumentum,' Sch. 'Hi' and 'ii' are continually confounded in the MSS., and though the general use of these words is easily distinguished, 'hic' being a demonstrative or emphatic word, there are cases in which either may suit the sense of a passage.

copiam] 'Pecoris copiam' (vii. 56), a sufficient supply of cattle. 'Copiam facere,' with a genitive, is to supply a person with a thing, or to let him have it. Comp. Ter. Phorm. i. 2. 63; and 'sui potestatem fecisset,' B. G. i. 40.

quos incenderant — jussit] The towns and villages mentioned before (c. 5); and this is the reason why he uses the indicative. He could have said 'quos incendissent,' if he meant 'any towns that they had burnt.' This distinction may be observed in many passages of Caesar. In the expression (c. 27) 'qui ad eos perfugissent poposcit,' Schneider observes that the subjunctive merely reports the words of Caesar, which I do not believe to be the true explanation. It means 'any fugitives.'

Germani, qui trans] Caesar ordered the Helvetii to rebuild the towns and villages; but men cannot rebuild without means. The Helvetii had lost every thing, and were reduced to about one third of what they had been. There was more land

in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios petentibus Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum

now than they wanted, and we may assume that the Germans settled in Helvetia in great numbers after this campaign. The population of the country which the Helvetii occupied is now chiefly Germanic.

Boios] 'Boios' depends on 'collocarent,' and 'ut collocarent' depends on the ablative 'petentibus.' What Caesar 'concessit' was 'ut collocarent.'

The Boii (vii. 9) were placed, as D'Anville (Notice, &c.) infers, in that part of the territory of the Aedui which is between the Allier and the Loire. They are called 'stipendiarii' of the Aedui in vii. 10.

parem—atque] V. 13, 'pari spatio . . . atque.' Ter. Phorm. v. 9, 38. He also uses 'alia ratione . . . atque,' vii. 14.

29. *tabulae*] Caesar merely means that Greek characters were used by the Galli, as he does in another place (vi. 14). We assume that the Celtae of Gallia learned the use of letters by their intercourse with the Greeks of Marseille and their settlements on the south coast. In the time of Strabo some of the Galli learned Greek and had their education at Marseille. He also says their written contracts were in Greek (p. 181). But this may apply to the Galli who were near to Marseille and her settlements, without being applicable to the Helvetii. Besides, more than half a century may have intervened between the time when Caesar wrote this passage and Strabo wrote what has just been referred to. There is no doubt that the language of the Greeks was learned by many of the Galli, and probably even before the Romans entered Transalpine Gallia. But, even if any of the Helvetii knew Greek, there appears no reason for writing their muster-rolls in the Greek language, while there would be good reason for writing them in Greek characters, as we have no evidence that they had any other characters. There are Gallic coins of a period earlier than Caesar's with Greek legends on them. For instance, copper coins with the legend BITOYKOC BACI and BITOYIOC BAΣIΛEOC, which are referred to Bituitus (Int. p. 27). Whether they are genuine, I do not know. (Orosius, Hav. 319.)

ratio . . . qui numerus] This means 'ratio numeri . . . qui numerus;' and 'eorum . . . qui possent' is a general expression, which means 'fighting men.' He then puts 'pueri, senes,' &c., in the same case with 'qui . . . possent,' instead of saying 'puerorum,' &c.

Quarum — rerum] Caesar frequently uses 'res,' and particularly with the relative. This is a general expression which comprehends things and persons. He says 'capita,' 'heads,' a word which the Romans used in their returns of the 'census.' They said so many 'heads' where we say 'souls.'

summa erat, capitum Helvetiorum milia CCLXIII, Tulingorum milia XXXVI, Latobrigorum XIV, Rauracorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII: ex his qui arma ferre possent ad milia XCII. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum qui domum redierunt censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C et X.

30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum convenerunt: Intelligere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis populi Romani ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse, propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, Uti sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicere idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Ea re permissa diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

Summa—fuerunt] He has just used 'summa' with the singular, which is the common usage. It seems that the different position of 'summa' and that of 'omnium' have led to the use of the plural verb in this passage. He also has said 'summa erat,' 'the summing up was;' and then he says 'fuerunt,' 'the whole number amounted to.' The number of Swiss who perished at Marignano in North Italy in the battle against Francis I. (A.D. 1515) was ascertained by inspecting the muster-rolls.

The number of fighting men, if the numerals are correct, was about one in four of all the population, which, in a nation where all the men are fighters, is possible. Out of this immense number of 368,000 only 110,000 returned home.

30. *totius—Galliae*] Gallia here means Celtica. See c. 1.

tametsi—tamen] These two words are very often so placed by Cicero and by Caesar (v. 34; vii. 43. 50). But Caesar uses 'etsi . . . tamen' still more frequently.

pro veteribus—Romani] 'For the old wrongs done by the Helvetii to the Roman people.' Kraner compares vii. 76, 'universae Galliae,' &c.

ex usu] 'To the advantage of,' i. 50.

florentissimis rebus] See c. 18, and iii. 12.

et jurejurando] A reader might suppose that the precautions were taken before the meeting was held; but the first words of the next chapter speak of the meeting being broken up, and I conclude that the oath was taken, when the council met and the

31. Eo concilio dimisso, iidem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant ad Caesarem, reverterunt petieruntque uti sibi secreto in occulto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. Ea re impetrata sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes projecerunt: Non minus se id contendere et laborare ne ea quae dixissent enuntiarentur, quam uti ea quae vellent impetrarent; propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Aeduus: Galliae totius factiones esse duas; harum alterius principatum tenere Aeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi quum tanto opere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter milia XV Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad C et XX milium numerum. Cum his Aeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio atque amicitia plurimum

members were bound not to divulge what was said, 'nisi quibus,' &c.

31. *fuerant ad*] 'Had been to Caesar,' as we might say. Davis compares Cicero (Ad Att. x. 16): "Ad me bene mane Dionysius fuit." Kraner has 'fuerant, ad Caesarem reverterunt,' &c.

secreto, &c.] 'Apart by themselves, and in a place where nobody could observe them.' There is no reason to doubt that all the words are genuine, and are intended to express the greatest caution. Many English words do not express the meaning of their Latin originals. 'Secreto' is simply the same as 'arbitris remotis;' there were no persons present. Besides this, the matter was managed so that the conference was concealed ('in occulto,' c. 32).

factiones] Two parties, as we say (vi. 12; vii. 4), such as exist in all countries, where men are allowed any political action. See Livy (i. 35). The Arverni are described by Strabo as having once extended their power over all Gallia. 'Galliae totius' means Celtica.

arcesserentur] This is the genuine form 'arcess-ere,' not 'accers-ere.' Priscian gave the true explanation. *Ar* is an old form equivalent to *ad:* so the Romans said 'arvena,' 'arvocatus,' 'arfines,' and 'arfuerunt' (in the Bacchanalian inscription). As we have 'cap-ere,' 'capess-ere,' so we have 'arcess-ere,' a lengthened form of the root of 'ci-re' or 'cie-re,' with the *ar* prefixed. See v. 11, note, as to the form 'arcessiri.'

clientes] 'Their dependent states,' vi. 12.

hospitio] Ambassadors of the Haedui would be received and entertained at Rome, if there was 'hospitium' between Rome and the Haedui.

ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare, nobilissimos civitatis, et jurejurando civitatem obstringere sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a populo Romano imploraturos neque recusaturos quo minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio essent. Unum se esse ex omni civitate Aeduorum qui adduci non potuerit ut juraret aut liberos suos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed pejus victoribus Sequanis quam Aeduis victis accidisse; propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset, et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere juberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum XXIV ad eum venissent quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent; neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium; non posse ejus im-

Romam — venisse] See vi. 12, and Introd. p. 34. He came to claim ('postulatum') assistance. 'Postulare' is a forensic term, applied to the legal claim or demand of a man. It is also applied to the claims or petitions of the provincials (c. 42, note), and to asking for something that is reasonable or equitable, as in c. 34. The word 'demand' does not express the meaning of 'postulare.'

agri Sequani] The territory of the Sequani lay between the Saône, the Rhone, the Jura, and the Rhine. Accordingly it comprehended the southern part of Alsace, or the Suntgau, on the Rhine, Franche Comté, part of Bourgogne, and Bresse; or the following departments, part of Haut Rhin, Haute Saône, Doubs, Jura, Ain, and part of Saône et Loire. Within these limits there is much good land, especially in Alsace and along the Saône.

hanc consuetudinem] The 'consuetudo' of the Galli.

Magetobriam] Introd. p. 35.

exempla] 'Exempla' means such things as would be a warning to others. It is thus used with 'edere' by Terence, Eunuch. v. 7. 21. 'Edere' expresses publicity, 'to put a thing out,' 'to exhibit.'

peria diutius sustinere. Nisi quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes remotas a Germanis petant, fortunamque quaecunque accidat experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare quin de omnibus obsidibus qui apud eum sint gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine populi Romani deterrere posse ne major multitudo Germanorum Rhenum transducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere.

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita, omnes qui aderant magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demisso terram intueri. Ejus rei quae causa esset miratus ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Quum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Aeduus respondit: Hoc esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum quam reliquorum quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare auderent, absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem velut si coram adesset horrerent, propterea quod reliquis ta-

sustinere] Many MSS. have 'sustineri;' but the active form seems preferable, and 'se' is easily supplied; as with 'rogare ut ejus voluntate,' in c. 7, and with 'non dubitare,' a little further on.

Nisi quid] 'Nisi si quid:' Elb., Kraner. The MSS. are of about equal authority on both sides. 'Nisi si' does not appear to be used by Caesar elsewhere, though there are examples in Cicero and Terence (And. i. 5. 14), even when a negative has not preceded (Schn.).

32. *vocem exprimere*] 'Upon his putting the same question to them several times, and not being able to get a word out of them, Divitiacus, who spoke before, made answer.' Cicero, Ad Att. ii. 21: "Multa seditiose quum diceret, vocem exprimere non potuit," he could not get a word from the assembly; and Pro Plancio, c. 6.

Hoc — quod] Comp. i. 2, 'id hoc facilius quod.' In these cases 'hoc' is the ablative, and, connected with 'quod,' expresses the degree by which the greater ease or greater measure is measured.

coram adesset] 'As if he were present.' See 'coram perspicit,' v. 11. The word 'coram' is also used with an ablative of the person.

reliquis tamen] 'Still the rest had the opportunity of escaping.' There is a reading 'tantum,' which spoils the sense. The confusion may have arisen from the similarity of the abbreviations $t\bar{m}$. and $t\bar{n}$. There is the same confusion in Cicero

men fugae facultas daretur. Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.

33. His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit, pollicitusque est sibi eam rem curae futuram; magnam se habere spem et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret; imprimis, quod Aeduos, fratres consanguineosque saepenumero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intelligebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire populo Romano periculosum videbat; neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat quin, quum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent,

(Verr. ii. 5, c. 30), where the true reading is: 'Nunc quum vivum nescio quem istum producis, tamen te derideri vides;' where 'tamen' has the same sense as in this passage. 'Tamen' and 'tum' are also confounded, as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 41), where the true reading is: Apponitur his tamen accusator.'

33. *beneficio suo*] Introd. p. 36; and c. 35. 42.

secundum ea] 'Next to these things that he had heard.' The matter urged by Divitiacus was the main consideration. Then came other things, which he mentions.

quare] Schneider explains this by 'ut propterea,' and refers to 'quare,' v. 31. It does not differ from 'quare ne committeret,' c. 13.

fratres consanguineosque] It is intelligible enough that the Romans should give them the name of 'fratres,' a mere form of speech, like the modern French 'fraternité.' But consanguinei' is beyond the formula of political cant: it means of the same stock. And yet the Romans, and the Aedui too, knew that it was false. But the Romans never objected to claim a kinsman if they could make any use of him. Thus they allowed the kinship of the Segestani of Sicily through their common ancestor Aeneas (Cic. Verr. ii. 4, c. 33). The Arverni are said by Lucan (Phars. i. 428) to have falsely claimed a descent from Iliac blood.

in tanto imperio] 'When the Romans had so great an empire.' Cicero, Pro Caelio, c. 19, 'cur in tantis praemiis eloquentiae,' 'when there are such rewards for eloquence.' See B. G. iii. 8, 'in magno impetu.'

sibi—temperaturos] It is doubtful if any MS. has 'temperaturos.' The reading is 'obtemperaturos,' which cannot be explained. In c. 7 he has 'temperaturos' without 'sibi.' Cicero (Ad Fam. x. 7) has "Sed usque mihi temperavi."

ut ante Cimbri] Introd. p. 31.

in provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent, praesertim quum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret; quibus rebus quam maturrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat ut ferendus non videretur.

34. Quamobrem placuit ei ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret qui ab eo postularent uti aliquem locum medium utriusque colloquio diceret: velle sese de re publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: Si quid ipsi a Caesare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse: si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque emolimento in unum locum contrahere posse; sibi autem mirum videri quid in sua Gallia quam bello vicisset aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset.

35. His responsis ad Caesarem relatis, iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: Quoniam tanto

34. *medium utriusque*] 'Midway between the two camps.' In iv. 19 there is 'medium fere regionum earum,' &c.

de re publica] Elb. writes 'republica,' a bad mode of writing, for the Romans said 'Res Romana,' 'Res privata,' 'Res publica,' and so on.

si quid ille se velit] 'If he had any thing to say to him,' or 'if he had business with him.' It is a usual Roman formula, as in Terence, Andria, i. 1. 2, "paucis te volo;" and Phormio, i. 2. 101, "Numquid, Geta, aliud me vis?" 'Se' is the accusative. It is an elliptical form, common in the language of daily life. See c. 7. Ariovistus had said 'si quid . . . esset,' which implies that he had nothing to say to Caesar. It means, 'If he had wanted any thing of Caesar, he would have come.' 'Si . . . velit' means that 'Caesar did want something of him.'

in eas partes] These words imply that Ariovistus was some distance from Caesar. He was probably between the Rhine and the Vosges.

emolimento] 'Emolimentum' is sometimes profit, advantage, as opposed to 'detrimentum' (Cic. De Fin. iii. 20), a sense that will not suit this passage, where the word seems to mean the labour and trouble of moving, a great effort. There is a word 'molimentum' (Liv. v. 22; xxxvii. 14, 15) which contains the root, 'moli,' of 'moliri,' to move with labour or toil; and this seems to be the sense of 'emolimento' here. Whether there are two words 'emolŭmentum' or 'emolĭmentum' from 'mol' (molere), and 'emolīmentum' may perhaps be doubted. The word 'molīmen' is used by the poets, and by Livy (ii. 56). All the MSS. in this passage of Caesar are said to have 'emolumento,' except perhaps one, which is said to have 'molimento;' and Schneider would like 'molimento' if he were certain about this one MS. It is worth notice that the final *e* of 'atque' renders the initial *e* of 'emolimento' doubtful.

35. *mandatis*] 'Instructions.'

suo populique Romani beneficio affectus, quum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec esse quae ab eo postularet: primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam transduceret; deinde obsides quos haberet ab Aeduis redderet, Sequanisque permitteret ut quos illi haberent voluntate ejus reddere illis liceret; neve Aeduos injuria lacesseret neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. Si id ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese, quoniam M. Messala M. Pisone consulibus senatus censuisset, uti, quicunque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo rei publicae facere posset, Aeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, se Aeduorum injurias non neglecturum.

'Mandatum' is that which one person instructs another to do for him gratuitously. In its proper sense, it is not a word of command. 'Mandatum' is a Roman technical word employed to express what an agent does for another. Here it is simply the message sent by the messengers. If it ever means a command, it is because a man may send a command by another as well as give it himself. Comp. i. 47, 'his mandavit,' and i. 28, 'Allobrogibus imperavit.'

Si id ita fecisset] This form is generally used in reference to a future event, the happening of which is to be followed by another. In place of 'impetraret' there is a false reading 'impetrasset.' A simple absolute fact is expressed by 'si fecisset.' 'Si non impetraret,' conformably to the use of the imperfect, is not absolute and conclusive; but it leaves Ariovistus, or the reader, to suppose that Caesar might make more than one peaceable effort to get what he wanted. Comp. i. 36: "Quos vicissent quemadmodum vellent."

senatus censuisset] Introd. p. 35. 'Censere' is one of the words applied to the resolutions of the senate. 'Placere' is another. Caesar availed himself of this resolution of the Senate (B.C. 61), and made war on Ariovistus without any formal permission.

provinciam obtineret] This is the usual phrase to express a governor having, not getting, the government of a province.

quod commodo] See v. 46; vi. 33. 'Quod,' says Schneider, is put for 'quantum.' Others take it as equivalent to 'quoad.' I think that 'quod' is put for 'quod.' Caesar could have used 'quantum.' The whole passage means that 'whoever should have the government of the province of Gallia, if he could do it consistently with the public interest, should' &c. This is a usual formula in cases where the senate gives a man a commission to do something.

'Commodo' is the ablative, as in v. 46; vi. 33. Cicero has "quod tuo commodo fiat," Ad Div. iv. 2. The form 'per commodum' also oc-

36. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: Jus esse belli ut qui vicissent iis quos vicissent quemadmodum vellent imperarent: item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consuesse. Si ipse populo Romano non praescriberet quemadmodum suo jure uteretur, non oportere sese a populo Romano in suo jure impediri. Aeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam tentassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem injuriam facere qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque his neque eorum sociis injuria bellum illaturum, si in eo manerent quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent: si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum nomen populi Romani

curs in the same sense, as in Livy, xxii. 57.

36. *Jus esse belli*] The law of war, the rule of war. The expression occurs in i. 44; vii. 41. Cicero (Pro Balbo, c. 19) writes 'bellicum jus.' This is what is sometimes called the objective sense of 'jus,' that sense in which it is contemplated as a general binding rule. The other sense of 'jus' is that of a legal right or faculty, in which sense a person is conceived as the subject or living agent to whom the right (jus) is said to belong. In 'suo jure uteretur,' and in 'suo jure impediri,' the notion of a right is conveyed; for, though a state or sovereign has not a right in the sense in which an individual member of a state has a right, yet the law of war having been spoken of, and the rule or law being that a conqueror treats the vanquished as he pleases, we may in a sense speak of a right which a conqueror possesses or acquires by virtue of having done an act, that is, beaten an enemy, which act combined with the general rule, the law of war, confers on him the right or faculty which Ariovistus calls 'suum jus.'

iis quos] 'His quos,' Schn. If 'his' stands, it must be taken as emphatic. 'Iis quos vicissent' is equivalent to 'victis,' and 'qui vicissent' to 'victores.'

stipendiarios] Subject to 'stipendium.' Caesar uses a word well known to the Romans. The 'stipendium' was a 'vectigal certum,' a fixed imposition, an amount payable whether there was a crop or not. Ariovistus probably laid a tax on the land, not regulated by the amount of the produce, like the Roman tenths of the 'Censoria locatio,' but an invariable tax (Cic. Verr. ii. 3, c. 6).

iis fraternum nomen] Schn. has 'his,' which he often prefers. 'Iis' seems the proper word here, as it refers to all who have been mentioned. 'Iis . . . abfuturum:' the old reading was 'ab his' or 'ab iis,' until Oudendorp rejected the 'ab,' following some of the MSS. 'Abesse,' with 'ab,' is the usual form to express simply any distance or separation from a thing; but the ablative is also used without the preposition. But here 'iis' is the dative, and the meaning is that the title of brothers of the Roman people would be a long way off for them, or of no use to them. Herzog compares Tibullus, i. 5. 2: "At mihi nunc longe gloria fortis abest." See also Ovid, Met. iv. 648. Schneider has an odd note on the words 'fraternum nomen pop.

abfuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum injurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Quum vellet congrederetur: intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

37. Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata referebantur et legati ab Aeduis et a Treviris veniebant: Aedui questum quod Harudes qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent fines eorum popularentur; sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse: Treviri autem, pagos centum Suevorum ad ripas Rheni consedisse qui Rhenum transire conarentur; iis praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunx-

Rom.,' in which he tells us that the genitive is not governed by 'nomen,' but by that which is latent in the adjective. I suppose, if the phrase were 'nomen populi Romani,' it would be allowed that 'nomen' governed 'populi Romani.' What difference does it make if we add 'fraternum?' This is one of the common forms of expression. See ii. 10; and 'signa probitatis . . domesticis inusta notis veritatis' (Cic. Pro Plancio, c. 12); 'persequetur in primis paternum auguratus locum' (Cic. Phil. xiii. c. 5); and many other examples. Also in Greek, see Sophocles, Elect. 1290, 1372.

inter annos] 'Inter' appears to be the true word, not 'intra,' which some MSS. have. 'For the space of fourteen years his men had never gone under the roof of a house.' Schneider compares the use of 'inter,' in 'interdiu,' which means so long as the day lasts, and Liv. i. 10: see also Cic. De Imp. Cn. Pomp. c. 23; B. G. vi. 21, as to the use of 'intra.' 'Inter,' says Herzog, expresses a continuous space; and 'intra' merely limits the space, that is, fixes a beginning and an end. Perhaps it might be contended that it would make no difference here whether we used one or the other.

The boastful language of Ariovistus must not be taken literally as to the fourteen years.

37. *eodem tempore — et*] Comp. ii. 6, "Gallorum eadem atque." It is a formula, like "in parem . . . atque," c. 28. A passage like this shows how it originated, for the literal and true translation is: This 'message at the same time was reported to Caesar, and deputies from the Aedui and Treviri came.'

Treviris] Whether the name is Treveri or Treviri is uncertain. Probably the Romans wrote it both ways. Cicero (Ad Fam. vii. 13), where he is making a joke on the name, of course writes it Treviri. They were a Belgic nation between the Maas and the Rhine. They possessed the valley of the Mosel. (See ii. 24.)

Harudes] They were therefore west of the Vosges, and had got as far as the Saône at least.

pagos centum] All the 'pagi' of the Suevi (iv. 1), if we take this passage literally. But there were some Suevi with Ariovistus (c. 51). These (c. 37) were probably detachments from the hundred 'pagi' (iv. 1).

isset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentaria quam celerrime potuit comparata magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Quum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, contendere triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. Id ne accideret magno opere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum quae ad bellum usui erant summa erat in eo oppido facultas, idque natura loci sic muniebatur ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Alduasdubis ut circino circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit; reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum DC qua flumen in-

magnis itineribus] A regular day's march is 'justum iter' (viii. 39). A 'magnum iter' is something more, as much more, we may suppose, as the men could do, for Caesar always went as hard as he could. I don't know whether a 'justum iter' is any where accurately defined; for what Vegetius says (i. 19) is hardly sufficient. He says, however, that 'with the military step (militari gradu) twenty Roman miles are completed in five hours,' summer hours, however; and that 'at quick march (pleno gradu) twenty-four Roman miles in the same time.' Lipsius (De Milit. Rom. v. Dial. 14) tells us to note this seriously, as showing what a 'justum iter' is in Caesar and other writers. Caesar's forced marches were twenty miles a day (v. 47), and twenty-five (vii. 40).

38. *Vesontionem, quod*] See ii. 1, note on 'tertiam . . partem.'

profecisse] This reading has better authority than 'processisse,' which is in some MSS. It seems to mean, had got the advantage of three days' march from his own territory, from his third part of the territory of the Sequani (c. 31). He was three days' march within the part of the territory of the Sequani which they still held. 'Tridui viam' occurs again (iv. 4).

muniebatur] See ii. 5, and the note.

Alduasdubis] The MSS. agree in this form, or in Alduadubis, and other like variations. Hadr. Valesius altered it to Dubis, because this river, the Doubs, is called Doubas by Strabo and Ptolemy. The Greek version of Caesar has Ἀλδουάσδουβις. The old name of the river appears to have been shortened. The position of Besançon (Vesontio) is accurately described by Caesar. The upper part of the present town occupies the peninsula, and is called La Ville. The isthmus of the peninsula is occupied by a steep rock, on which the present citadel is. The other part of the town, called the lower town, is on the opposite side of the river, at the part most remote from the citadel. There are many Roman remains at Besançon.

non amplius pedum] In i. 41 the form is "millium amplius quinquaginta." In ii. 7 there is the ablative. In ii. 16 'amplius' is connected with the accusative. In ii. 29 there is an example like this. And in vii. 15, "amplius XX urbes." These examples show that 'amplius' and 'non amplius' are used very loosely as to their grammatical construction. If we supply 'quam' in the last passage, as we may do, we

termittit, mons continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit, occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium collocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant, saepenumero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui ex urbe amicitiae

gain nothing by supplying it with 'non amplius' in some cases. 'Non amplius,' in fact, means 'so much and no more.'

pedum DC] D'Anville remarks that the distance is 1500 Roman feet, and that the MSS. ought perhaps to have MD. instead of DC. He also offers another explanation.

intermittit] 'Where the river is interrupted,' where it breaks off or ceases to be continuous. In vii. 17 it is applied to the space itself, where the water was not; but the same form of expression is substantially maintained by the passive form 'quae intermissa a flumine.' See vii. 70, "intermissam collibus."

continet] The simplest sense seems to be, that a hill forms the boundary where there is no river. The river surrounds almost all the town; the rest of the circuit is bounded or limited by a mountain. See i. 1, 'continetur;' and vii. 11.

montis] 'Ejus montis,' as Elb. and many MSS. have it. Caesar often uses 'is' when he repeats a word; but not always. I don't see any general rule that can be derived from his practice. There is some weight in Schneider's remark, that, as 'radices' is the accusative, it should not be separated from 'contingant' by more words than are necessary.

39. *rei frumentariae*] An attentive reader of Caesar will see that he was always careful about his supplies. See ii. 2.

vocibus] V. 36.—'congressos:' in battle, as the context shows. See 'congrederetur,' c. 36, and vii. 65.

mentes animosque] Schneider compares vi. 5. 41, whence the meaning of these two words in Caesar may be collected, and from iii. 19.

praefectis] Schneider observes that the officers of the cavalry are called 'praefecti equitum' (iii. 26; vii. 66; viii. 28. 48). But these 'praefecti' he supposes to have been commanders of the auxiliary troops; as Polybius (vi. 26) says that the officers appointed to the auxiliary troops by the consuls were called 'praefecti,' and there were twelve for two auxiliary legions. This is also the explanation of Lipsius (De Milit. Rom. ii. Dial. 10). Caesar mentions afterwards the commanders of the cavalry ('quique equitatui praeerant'). Caesar is speaking of men who followed him 'amicitiae causa,' or for profit's sake; idlers at Rome, who thought that they might mend their fortune a little in Gallia. A governor of a

causa Caesarem secuti [magnum periculum miserabantur quod] non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius alia causa illata quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret petebat ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret; nonnulli pudore adducti ut timoris suspicionem vitarent remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ii qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque, quique equitatui praeerant, per-

province, who had appointments to give, had plenty of applicants. Cicero sent Trebatius at a later period (B.C. 54) to Caesar with a letter of recommendation (Ad Fam. vii. 5). Trebatius was a lawyer, and of no use in Gallia. Caesar, it appears, offered him a tribuneship, with nothing to do (Ad Fam. vii. 8), which Trebatius for some reason declined. Cicero (Ad Q. Fr. ii. 15) in a letter to his brother, who was then with Caesar, says: "M. Curtio tribunatum ab eo (Caesare) petivi."

There were six 'tribuni' to a legion, and sometimes at least they were appointed in the 'comitia' at Rome (Liv. xlii. 31; xliii. 14). Caesar perhaps appointed his 'tribuni;' but in the Gallic war we read little about them. He used to put a 'legatus' at the head of each legion.

magnum—quod] These words are wanting in some MSS. and in the Greek version. Muretus proposed to read 'secuti magnum periculum esse rebantur quod.' There is perhaps something wrong in the text.

diceret petebat] 'Dicerent petebant,' Elb., which is Latin also.

vultum fingere] They could not command their countenance, they could not put on a look as if they were not afraid. 'Vulgo' means 'all among the men;' it does not refer to place, like 'passim.'

testamenta] Gaius (ii. 101) says that according to old usage Roman testaments were made either at 'calata comitia' or "in procinctu, id est, cum belli causa ad pugnam ibant; procinctus est enim expeditus et armatus exercitus." These two modes of making a testament went out of fashion, and the 'in procinctu,' even in Cicero's time, had ceased (De Nat. Deorum, ii. 31). A new fashion was introduced, which Gaius (ii. 103) describes. He adds, that in the imperial time less strict forms were allowed to soldiers. Whether it was so now does not appear. These testaments that Caesar alludes to were written, for they were sealed. The 'obsignatio' is the sealing with the seal of witnesses. 'Subscriptio,' or signature, came into use later, and it was required, by the imperial constitutions, at least in Ulpian's time, A.D. 211. The old military testament was nuncupative, that is, the soldier named his 'heres' or 'heredes' in the presence of a few comrades (Festus, v. in procinctu; Cic. De Or. i. 53; Plut. Cor. c. 9; Vellei. ii. 5; Justin. Inst. ii. Tit. 10, De Testamentis Ordinandis, and Schrader's notes). The alarm in Caesar's camp seems ludicrous, but, as he tells it, we may believe. The will-making affair may seem strange too; but it was a fashion at Rome for a man to make a will.

turbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum quae inter eos atque Ariovistum intercederent, aut rem frumentariam ut satis commode supportari posset timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Caesari renuntiabant, quum castra moveri ac signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos.

40. Haec quum animadvertisset, convocato consilio omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus vehementer eos incusavit: Primum, quod aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse: cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi cognitis suis postulatis atque aequitate conditionum perspecta eum neque suam neque populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur, aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, quum Cimbris et Teutonis a C. Mario pulsis non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam nuper in

rem frumentariam, &c.] This accusative, which is made the object of 'timere,' instead of the subject of 'supportari posset,' is common in Plautus and Terence. 'Ut,' after such verbs as 'timere,' 'vereri,' is the Roman form of expressing our notion of 'their fearing that the corn supplies could not be conveniently brought up,' that is, follow them. See iii. 23; and 'subministrare,' i. 40.

dicto audientes] 'Obedient to command.' 'Dicto' is the dative.

40. *consilio*] See iii. 23.

ordinum] Since Marius' time all the soldiers of the Roman legion had the same armour. The division of 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii' no longer existed, and Caesar never uses these terms. Every cohort of the ten cohorts which composed a legion was distributed into six 'centuriae' or three 'manipuli.' Each 'centuria' had a 'centurio.' In each 'manipulus' one 'centuria' was superior in rank to the other. As the cohorts had rank from one to ten, so the 'centuriae' had rank from one to sixty. The 'primorum ordinum centuriones' were summoned (v. 30; vi. 7) with the 'legati' and 'tribuni' to councils of war; but on this occasion Caesar summoned all the 'centuriones' to tell them his mind, not to deliberate with them.

C. Mario] Introd. p. 31.

videbatur] The Romans use only the infinitive and subjunctive when the words of a speaker are reported in this indirect form. There are instances in Cicero where indica-

Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina quam a nobis accepissent sublevarent. Ex quo judicari posset quantum haberet in se boni constantia; propterea quod quos aliquamdiu inermes sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi non solum in suis sed etiam in illorum finibus plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos si quaererent reperire posse diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis Ariovistum, quum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum magis ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse.

tives occur, if the texts are right; and this is an instance. As 'quum' here marks the time when the army gained no less credit than the general, it ought, conformably to Latin usage, to be followed by an indicative; and the indicative is retained, even in this indirect form of speech, perhaps in order to express what the subjunctive cannot express. 'Videbatur' implies no doubt. It is the same as 'it was so considered,' 'it was the opinion.' The Roman 'judices,' when they gave their opinion on oath (jurati), used the form 'videri;' and the Roman jurists, when they gave their opinion on a case, used the same word (Dig. 15. 3. 16).

servili tumultu] In the servile war in Italy, when the slaves rose under Spartacus, B.C. 73, and resisted the Romans for three years (Plutarch, Crassus, c. 8). The Romans bought slaves from all the barbarian nations. Plutarch speaks of Thracians, Galli, and Germani in the army of Spartacus; and Caesar also means to say that there were Germans (Livy, Epit. 97). Kraner says that the servile war was carried on from B.C. 73 to 71 chiefly by the German prisoners whom Marius took; but these prisoners made in B.C. 102, 101, would not be alive or in fighting condition thirty years after their capture, except those who were children in B.C. 101.

'Tumultus' is a rising or disturbance in Italy or Gallia Cisalpina; for, as Cicero says (Phil. viii. 1), the Romans applied the name to no other war.

quos tamen] The word 'servos' is easily supplied from 'servili.' Comp. i. 44, "Sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis (Gallis) concessos;" and Livy (v. 40), "Muliebris fletus . . . nunc hos nunc illos sequentium."

sublevarent] 'Helped, assisted.' 'Sublevare' is to raise up, as in c. 48. To raise up or to take up may be either to keep or preserve, or simply to remove out of the way; and hence 'sublevare' has both these meanings.—'judicari posset:' 'judicari posse,' Kraner.

inermes] 'Inermos,' Elb. and Kraner. Both forms were used.

quibuscum—superarint] 'Quibuscum' depends on 'congressi,' and 'superarint' is left without an object, but the accusative (eos) is easily supplied.

neque sui potestatem] 'And had not given them the opportunity of fighting him.'

subito adortum] In the battle at Magetobria probably, c. 31.

Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itinerum conferrent facere arroganter, quum aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare, jamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore judicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri; scire enim quibuscunque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam: suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se quod in longiorem diem collaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intelligere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium an timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni Caesar

Leucos] They are not mentioned again by Caesar. The Leuci were between the Mediomatrici and the Lingones. Their chief town was Tullum (Toul) on the Mosel.

convictam] Many good MSS. have 'conjunctam,' but it is a mistake. 'Conuictam' and 'coniunctam' are sometimes confounded, as in Cic. Verr. Act. i. c. 4, where 'convictam' is the true reading. The expression 'avaritiam convictam' is rather unusual, for 'convinci' is generally followed by a genitive of the offence of which a man is convicted. The words 'ea re' refer to all that precedes, 'Quod non . . . dicantur;' he was not at all disturbed at what he had heard, for he did not believe it. He adds, 'for he knew that those generals whose army had not obeyed their commands, had either been deficient in good fortune, as proved by want of success, or that by the discovery of some crime their avarice had been made manifest.' So Cicero says, Pro P. Quintio, c. 25: "Volo inauditum facinus ipsius qui id commisit voce convinci."—'perpetua vita:' 'all through his life without any interruption.'

collaturus fuisset] There is a reading 'collaturus esset.' See c. 6, note on 'dies.'—'repraesentaturum:' would do forthwith, 'in praesenti.' Comp. Cic. Ad Fam. v. 16, "Neque expectare temporis medicinam quam ratione repraesentare possimus;" 'we ought not to wait for a remedy from time, if by the exercise of reason we can get it at once.' See also Cic. Phil. ii. 46.

valeret] Some MSS. have 'plus valeret.'

praetoriam cohortem] The commander's 'comites,' his immediate staff, which consisted of the chief

et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est; princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit quod de se optimum judicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt uti Caesari satisfacerent: se nec umquam dubitasse neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum judicium sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione accepta, et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die quum iter

persons about him. Cic. Ad Q. Fr. i. 1, c. 3. He may also mean 'his guard.'

41. *Hac oratione*] In place of this brief, energetic address, Dion Cassius (38, c. 36—46) with infinite bad taste puts into Caesar's mouth a long, rambling, unmeaning piece of fustian, worthy of Dion's age. Dion also calls Ariovistus an 'Allobrox,' and his men 'Celtae,' but he means 'Germans.' He also says that the soldiers murmured that the war with Ariovistus was unjust, that it was begun without the authority of the senate and to satisfy the ambition of one man. Dion may have found this somewhere.

cum tribunis, &c.] Elb. has 'Per tribunos . . . et centuriones.' The text means: 'they urged the tribunes and centurions to make their apology to Caesar;' the apology of the tribunes and centurions, as well as that of the soldiers, for the tribunes and centurions were equally culpable or more culpable. Elberling's text would imply that the soldiers only asked to be pardoned, whereas they were not the only culprits. The 'primorum ordinum centuriones' are the six centurions of the first cohort of a legion.

summa belli] 'Summa' is often used with a genitive, as 'summa rerum.' A passage of Cicero, quoted by Forcellini from Nonius, places 'summa,' the total of a reckoning, in opposition to the 'singula aera,' or items of an account. So the 'summa belli' means the whole campaign, the conduct of the whole war.

exquisito—ut] 'Divitiacus having discovered a route which would take them by a circuit of more than fifty miles through an open country.' Caesar marched from Besançon, and on the seventh day he was within four-and-twenty Roman miles of Ariovistus. The direction of the route is not indicated here. He made a circuit to avoid the forests. The whole march must have been more than fifty miles in seven days. Caesar may mean that the circuitous path added fifty miles to the road, but fifty miles added to the march by the circuitous road is too much. There may be an error in the numbers. The place which he finally reached was an extensive plain (c. 43).

non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum IV et XX abesse.

42. Cognito Caesaris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: Quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere quoniam propius accessisset; seque id sine periculo facere posse existimare. Non respuit conditionem Caesar, jamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, quum id quod antea petenti denegasset ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem veniebat pro suis tantis populique Romani in eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est, ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe ultro citroque quum legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit ne quem peditem ad colloquium Caesar adduceret: Vereri se ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur: uterque cum equitatu veniret; alia ratione sese non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, ha-

42. *per se*] So far as he was concerned, he would put no obstacle in the way. This is the use of 'per' with 'licet,' and in other cases, where a thing is mentioned that might be a hindrance. Key's Latin Gram. 1350; and B. G. v. 3, 'per aetatem.'—'propius accessisset,' that is, Caesar.

ad sanitatem] 'To better thoughts,' to such a way of thinking as befits sound sense. See vii. 42.

ultro polliceretur] 'Polliceri,' to make an offer or proposal; 'ultro' strengthens the expression, not because it means voluntarily, for it means towards an object, viewed as the remoter. Accordingly 'ultro polliceri' is to make a proposal directed to a given object or person. 'Ultro citroque,' which follows, means, as we say, 'backwards and forwards,' that is, with reference to Caesar's position, who is the narrator (citro), and with reference to the position of Ariovistus (ultro). As to 'ultro,' see iv. 13. 27; v. 28. 40; vi. 24. 35.

uterque—veniret] See c. 13, note on 'reminisceretur.'

interposita causa] Ariovistus 'interposuerat causam;' he had urged something which would have prevented the conference, if Caesar had not yielded.

eo] Refers to 'omnibus equis,' and is the same as 'in eos,' which some MSS. have. Comp. i. 51. These Gallic 'equites' were four thousand (c. 15).

si quid opus] 'Opus' may be taken in its literal meaning and as a noun, which it always really is; and we may render this literally, 'if

beret. Quod quum fieret, non irridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit, Plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem facere; pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum nunc ad equum rescribere.

43. Planities erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo ut erat dictum ad colloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus ex equis ut colloquerentur et praeter se denos ut ad colloquium adducerent postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, Quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa; quam rem et

there should be any work in action,' that is, 'if there should be any need of their active services.'

non irridicule] 'Ridiculum' is that which makes a laugh or smile, which may be either because of its cleverness or its silliness. This word, which is said to occur no where else, means that there was some humour in the soldier's saying. Jokes, however, have their place and time, and out of place and time generally appear frigid. The humour consisted in this. Caesar said that he would have the tenth legion in the place of his 'praetoria cohors;' but he had done more than that: he was converting the legion into cavalry—he was even raising them to the rank of Roman 'equites.' Caesar does not tell us what kind of figure the infantry made on horseback. It would seem to us a hazardous experiment, but he was often rash. Still it would have been more dangerous to trust to the Gallic cavalry. The expression 'rescribere' means to make some entry or writing which shall have the effect of changing what is written or done. So it may mean to discharge a debt, because in one Roman form of obligation an entry in writing made the 'obligatio,' and another entry annulled the effect of the first. Here the soldiers were to be entered in the roll as 'equites' in place of their present entry as foot soldiers. Schn. has 'habiturum ad equum rescribere.'

43. *ab castris—Caesaris*] 'Ab castris utrisque:' Elb.

ex equis—colloquerentur] 'Hold the conference on horseback.' See 'ex vinculis,' c. 4.

amplissima] 'Amplissime:' several MSS. Schneider quotes Livy (30, c. 15) to explain these 'munera.' Scipio conferred on Massinissa these honours: "Primum regem appellatum eximiisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli et scipione eburneo, toga picta et palmata tunica donat." The word 'missa' seems to show that these presents were sent to Ariovistus. The 'aditum,' access to the senate, applies probably to the ambassadors of Ariovistus at Rome. In v. 40, "aliquem sermonis aditum."

The 'postulata' (c. 31) of the provincials appear to have been handed in to the consuls (Cic. Verr. ii. 2, c. 60. 64). Caesar says that Ariovistus had no sufficient ('justa') reason or grounds for applying to the senate.

paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, quum neque aditum neque causam postulandi justam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam quam veteres quamque justae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Aeduis intercederent; quae senatus consulta, quoties quamque honorifica in eos facta essent; ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Aedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam appetissent. Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani adtulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem quae legatis in mandatis dederat, ne aut Aeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

44. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: Transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure belli quod victores victis imponere consuerint.

consuetudinem, ut—velit esse] Kraner compares Liv. 37, c. 25: "praeter consuetudinem perpetuam populi Romani augendi omni honore regum sociorum majestatem." The Romans gave their foreign friends fine names and titles, took them under Roman protection, and finally annexed their territories to the empire. —'honore auctiores:' Cicero says (Ad Att. i. 2): "filiolo me auctum scito."

at] Schneider observes that this use of 'at' is not common in these Commentaries. Caesar generally uses it at the beginning of a sentence. There is an instance in B. G. vi. 40, 'et si' &c., which is like this, but differs in not containing the negation with 'si.' The following sentence of Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 4) will explain this passage: "Si non virtute, non industria, &c.; at sermone, at literis, at humanitate ejus delectamini." 'At' certainly denotes addition, and not direct opposition. In such a case as this, it indicates that, if one thing is to be conceded or allowed, yet there is something which must be claimed or insisted on.

44. *victores victis*] Comp. c. 36, "qui vicissent (victores) iis quos vicissent (victis)."—'stipendium capere:' 'he said that he took tribute' by the law of war. Ariovistus had said (c. 36), "Aeduos sibi . . . stipendiarios esse factos." As to 'jure belli,' see c. 36.

Non sese Gallis sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse: eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio non detrimento esse oportere, idque se ea spe petisse. Si per populum Romanum stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicitiam quam appetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam transducat, id se sui muniendi non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: ejus rei testimonio esse quod nisi rogatus non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit sed defenderit. Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum. Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae fines egressum. Quid sibi vellet cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos quod in suo jure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres [e senatus consulto] Aeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum ut non sciret

ac contra] Caesar never uses 'ac' before a vowel, never before 'q,' once before 'g' (vii. 81); and he seems to have used it three times before 'c,' in this passage and in B. C. iii. 75. 78 (Schneider).

testimonio] There is a reading 'testimonium,' which Elb. and Kraner have. 'Testimonio' occurs in v. 28; vi. 28, where there is no variation; but it is not connected with a genitive as it is here. Cicero (Pro Rosc. Com. c. 4) has it however: "ejus rei ipsa verba formulae testimonio sunt."

defenderit] 'Repelled.' 'Defendere crimen' is to repel a charge, to answer it (Cic. Verr. ii. 3, c. 91)..

fines egressum] Most of the MSS. have 'finibus egressum.' Schneider observes that Caesar uses 'egredi' with an ablative, except in B. C. iii. 52.

Quid sibi vellet cur &c.] 'What did Caesar want that he came into his possessions?' Schneider observes that 'sibi' refers to Caesar, a remark that would seem superfluous, if some interpreters had not supposed that it referred to Ariovistus. 'Sibi,' 'tibi' are often thus used with 'velle,' and the object is to mark more emphatically the subject of the verb. Elberling has 'quid sibi vellet? cur in suas,' &c. I prefer Schneider's explanation, that 'cur' must be referred to 'quid sibi vellet,' and considered as equivalent to 'quare' at the beginning of c. 45.

e senatus consulto] Oudendorp's reading is 'fratres a senatu Aeduos.' The words in [] may not be genuine.

neque bello Allobrogum proximo Aeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Aedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico sed pro hoste habiturum. Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam ejus morte redimere posset. Quod si decessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum, et quaecumque bella geri vellet sine ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum.

45. Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt quare negotio desistere non posset, Et neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati uti optime meritos socios desereret, neque se judicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus populus

bello Allobrogum] Probably the allusion is to the war after B.C. 63. See Introd. p. 33.

morte redimere] 'Whose favour and friendship he could purchase by Caesar's death.' 'Redimere' and 'conducere' have a technical signification, and are terms used in the contract of 'locatio' and 'conductio.' 'Emere' is not an admissible word here, for 'emere' is used in the contract of 'emptio' and 'venditio.' To buy a thing ('emere') is not the same as 'redimere,' to enter into a contract to do any thing for hire ('merces'). Or as in c. 18 ('vectigalia redempta habere'), to bargain for the right of collecting the taxes by paying a sum of money. Here the supposed hire would be the favour of certain Romans, earned by doing the death of Caesar.

decessisset] 'Discessisset' is the reading of the older editions; and Kraner also has it. 'Decedere' is the Latin word to express absolutely quitting a country or territory. Thus a governor who was retiring from his province, when his term expired, is said 'decedere,' as in Cicero, Divin. c. 1: "Quum . . . ex ea provincia decessissem." If we read 'discessisset,' it means 'if Caesar would go away and leave him.'

45. *quare*] Schneider correctly refers 'quare' to 'eam sententiam, and not to 'multa' as some do. 'A good deal was said by Caesar to the effect of showing why he could not desist from what he had undertaken.'

Rutenos] See vii. 5, and the note.

Q. Fabio Maximo] Introd. p. 28. 'Redegisset:' this is the Roman expression for reducing a conquered country to that form of administration which the Romans called a 'Porvincia.' This word 'provincia' has originally no territorial signification. It is an abbreviation of 'providentia,' and is often written in the MSS.

Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani justissimum esse in Gallia imperium: si judicium senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

46. Dum haec in colloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conjicere. Caesar loquendi finem facit, seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit ne quod omnino telum in hostes rejicerent. Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat ut pulsis hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem in colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum

'provintia.' The 'praetor urbanus' at Rome was said to have the 'urbana provincia,' or administration of the city.

quibus—redegisset] The case after 'redegisset' must be supplied. But it is 'eos' not 'quos' which must be supplied here, the word 'is' being sometimes used in such a sentence instead of the relative. We ought to adopt the same form of expression, 'Whom the Roman people had pardoned, and had neither reduced them to the form of a province nor imposed taxes on them.' Kraner refers to Cicero, Brutus, c. 74. See also Cicero, Phil. i. c. 10, 'iisque legibus,' &c., and B. G. iv. 4, 'quas regiones . . . et ad utramque,' &c. Kraner refers to B. G. i. 28 for an example of a repetition of the relative, 'quibus . . . quosque.'

antiquissimum] The meaning of 'antiquus' or 'anticus' is the preceding or the foremost, as opposed to the following or the hindmost. Its opposite is 'posticus.' Caesar says that, if priority of time is to be considered, the supremacy of the Roman people in Gallia had the better claim. Some persons have amused themselves with comparing the justice of the arguments of the Roman general and the German king. The Galli would have been glad to be rid of both of them, and would see no justice in the claims of either.

suis legibus] This is a Roman expression used to signify that a conquered people were allowed to retain all they had before, or nearly all, except political independence.

46. *legionis delectae*] Caesar means to say that his legion was a match for the enemy's cavalry.

per fidem] This word implies two parties, and the mutual confidence that they have by virtue of the words of one or both parties. Here it refers to the words and acts of Caesar, which had been adapted to induce Ariovistus to come to a conference under the belief that he would get no harm. To say then that Caesar did not wish to give any ground for its being said that the enemy were deceived in the conference by his 'fides,' is the same as saying, by his not keeping his 'fides.' Schneider quotes a like example from Cicero (Q. Rosc. Am. c. 40): "Ad cujus igitur fidem confugiet, quum per ejus fidem laeditur cui se commisisset?" He also compares Liv. vi. 29: "Nobisque per vestrum numen deceptis."

est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecissent, eaque res colloquium ut diremisset, multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitui injectum est.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: Velle se de his rebus quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent agere cum eo: uti aut iterum colloquio diem constitueret, aut si id minus vellet e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis quod pridie ejus diei Germani retineri non poterant quin in nostros tela conjicerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris objecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est C. Valerium Procillum, C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem, cujus

interdixisset] This verb has two constructions. One is the dative and ablative, as here: to forbid a man a thing, to declare to him that he must have nothing to do with it. Conformably to this there is the passive form of expression: "Male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet" (Cic. Cat. Maj. 7), where 'patribus' is the dative and 'bonis' the ablative. In B. G. vi. 44 there is "quibus quum aqua et igni interdixisset." The verb 'interdicere' is also used with the dative and accusative, as in Liv. xxxiv. 7.

47. *quod—poterant*] There is a reading 'quod . . . potuerint;' and 'potuerant' has been proposed. This is not the attack mentioned in c. 46. There was a conference ('colloquium'); two days after the conference Ariovistus sends to propose another conference; that is, he sent on the third day after the conference; one day was interposed between the conference which was broken off and the proposal for renewing it. This stone-throwing was renewed on the day after the conference, or the day before Ariovistus made his new proposal ('pridie ejus diei').

Legatum e suis] In the passage 'e suis legatis,' Kraner incloses [legatis] thus; and so the text would in that part mean simply 'one of his men.' He correctly observes that 'legatum e suis' can only mean 'a commissioner from among his own men,' not 'one of his legati,' and that Ariovistus had only asked Caesar to send somebody, if he would not come himself. If we accept this explanation, we avoid the difficulty which arises from the word 'legatis' being first used in the sense of 'legati' (military commanders), and then in the sense of messengers or commissioners.

Procillum] This seems to be the person who is mentioned before (c. 19), though he is more particularly designated here. His 'humanitas' means his intellectual acquirements. He was an accomplished young man. When C. Valerius Flaccus was governor of Gallia (B.C. 83), he made the father of this Procillus a Roman citizen ('civitate donavit'). It was usual for Roman governors to confer this honour on provincials, but probably in pursuance of a power to that effect (Cicero, Pro Balbo, c. 13).

pater a C. Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa jam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et M. Mettium qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur. His mandavit ut quae diceret Ariovistus cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos quum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: Quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa? Cónantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas conjecit.

48. Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias transduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Aeduis supportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri proelio

multa] It would hardly be necessary to remark that 'multa' refers to 'lingua,' if Oudendorp, and probably others, had not supposed that it referred to 'scientiam.' It means the same as 'multum.'

hospitio — utebatur] 'hospitio . . . usus erat,' Elb. 'In eo peccandi' means to do any thing wrong in his person; as in Cicero, Ad Div. xi. 12: "In eo potissimum abuti libertate per quem eam consecutus sit."

conclamavit] He exclaimed with a loud voice, with great passion. Schneider compares Virgil, Aen. iii. 523: "Italiam primus conclamat Achates." Such compounds do not always mean that several persons are acting together. 'Contendere,' to make a great effort, is an example; and in Cicero (Ver. ii. 5, c. 31), 'concursare' is said of the activity, of the moving hither and thither of the governors of the province: "Nam aestate summa, quo tempore ceteri praetores obire provinciam et concursare consuerunt." Compare B. G. v. 50: "concursari . . . jubet."

48. *sub monte*] Ariovistus now advanced within six miles of Caesar's encampment. He encamped under some high land, to which Caesar gives no name. It does not appear whether Caesar advanced from his encampment mentioned in c. 41, unless the attack mentioned in c. 47 was made on the Romans while marching. I believe that Ariovistus encamped under the Vosges (Mons Vosegus, iv. 10).

ut, si vellet] 'And accordingly Ariovistus was not without an opportunity, if he had chosen to fight.'

his—diebus] Caesar has just expressed the five successive days ('dies continuos quinque') in the accusative, which is conformable to the usage of the Latin language. Here he means to say that Ariovistus kept within his camp on every single day.

quotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis causa delegerant. Cum his in proeliis versabantur, ad hos se equites recipiebant: hi si quid erat durius concurrebant; si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderat, circumsistebant: si quo erat longius prodeundum aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas ut jubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent.

49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab his castris idoneum locum delegit acieque triplici instructa ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire jussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum [numero] sedecim milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit quae copiae nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere jussit. Munitis castris duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quatuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

50. Proximo die instituto suo Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit paulumque a majoribus castris progressus aciem instruxit, hostibus pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum quae castra minora

Genus hoc erat] Compare Tacitus (Germ. c. 6), and what Caesar says of the Galli (vii. 80).

49. *ultra eum locum*] Caesar went back in the direction in which he had advanced, in order to have possession of a place which should prevent the German from intercepting his supplies. Caesar has taken pains to make this so clear that nobody can misunderstand it.—Elb. has 'sexcentos ab eis, castris.' Schneider says that he does not know the authority for 'eis,' which Clarke first placed in the text.—The 'acies triplex' (i. 24) is again mentioned (iv. 14), as being formed when Caesar was on his march and prepared for battle.

numero] This word is omitted by some MSS.

50. *castra minora*] Dion (38, c. 48) says that the Germans nearly forced the 'vallum' of this camp.

oppugnaret misit. Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus in castra reduxit. Quum ex captivis quaereret Caesar quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres familiae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne: eas ita dicere; Non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.

51. Postridie ejus diei Caesar praesidio utrisque castris quod satis esse visum est reliquit; omnes alarios in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quo minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse triplici instructa acie usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt, paribus intervallis, Harudes,

If this statement is true, he found it in some other authority than Caesar.

sortibus] The 'sortes' are described by Tacitus (German. 10). The Germans took a shoot ('virga') from a fruit-bearing tree and cut it up into short sticks ('surculi'). These short sticks were distinguished by marks, and then thrown indiscriminately on a white cloth. If the 'sortes' were consulted on the public account, a priest acted; if on a private matter, the head of a family acted. He made a prayer, and took up each three times, and he derived his conclusions from the marks that had been made on them. Caesar makes the women consult the 'sortes' as well as 'vaticinate.' The 'vaticinatio' was the answer, or prophetic response, given by the mouth of the women. The Germans, says Tacitus (German. c. 8), think that "there is something of a divine nature in women, and the power of seeing into the future; nor do they reject their advice, or disregard their answers." Plutarch (Caesar, 19) has a passage on this matter, either his own invention or derived from some source unknown to us: "The spirit of the Germans was still more blunted by the predictions of their wise women, who, observing the eddies in the rivers and drawing signs from the whirlings and noise of the waters, foreboded the future, and declared that the army ought not to fight before it was new moon."

utrum—necne] 'Whether it was to their advantage or not.' So 'utrum . . . necne' is used in indirect questions.

51. *reliquit*, &c.] 'Relicto, omnes alarios,' &c., in some editions.

alarios] These were the allied troops, whom in other places Caesar calls 'auxilia,' and 'cohortes alariae' (B. C. i. 73). The allied troops or auxiliaries formed the wings of the legion (Polyb. vi. 26); and hence they are called 'alae,' 'alarii.'

quo minus] 'Quod minus,' Oudendorp and Kraner. But 'quo minus' is probably the true reading. It is not necessary to understand 'eo magis' before 'quo minus.'

paribus] 'Paribusque:' Elberling.

Marcomanos, Triboccos, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios. Suevos, omnemque aciem suam rhedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus flentes implorabant ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

52. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animum adverterat, proelium commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt, itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt ut spatium pila in hostes conjiciendi non daretur. Rejectis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est. At Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites qui in phalangas insilirent et scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent. Quum hostium acies a sinistro

Ariovistus placed his men according to their tribes ('generatim'). See B. G. vii. 19, and Cicero (Ad Att. xi. 6). There was a space left between each tribe ('paribus intervallis'). On their flanks and rear they placed the waggons, with the women and children on them.—'Eo:' see c. 42, 'eo . . . imponere.'

passis manibus] 'Passis crinibus,' Elb. There is authority for both. I think with Schneider that 'manibus' is the right word here. Comp. Tacit. Germ. c. 8.

52. *quaestorem*] This passage contains some difficulty. The 'quaestor' had the care of the money and of the disbursements, and other matters of that kind. Caesar perhaps had only one 'quaestor' at present, but at a later time (v. 25) he seems to have had several, and he employed them as military commanders. The 'quaestor' is mentioned again (iv. 13 and 22). A 'legatus' was appointed for each legion, and the 'quaestor' was to keep an eye on all the legions, so that every soldier of every legion had 'legatus' to watch him, and the 'quaestor' looked over the whole. This is Schneider's explanation, and it is consistent with the order of battle. Caesar could not see all that was going on, for he commanded his right ('a dextro cornu'), which was opposed to the enemy's left ('eam partem minime firmam'). Kraner's explanation is this: Caesar placed each of five legions under a 'legatus,' and the sixth, which he on other occasions certainly immediately commanded himself, he placed under the 'quaestor,' while he directed the whole.

Ita nostri] 'Ita . . . acriter . . . itaque . . . repente celeriterque;' so the passage must be understood.

spatium] 'Time,' as we should say, and the Romans often expressed time by 'spatium.' The idea of space is prior to that of time. In v. 15 he uses 'spatium' for 'time,' and 'spatium loci,' when he means 'space.'

complures nostri] So they wrote. We say 'many of our men.' In vii. 47 he says 'tres suos nactus.' See iv. 12.

cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id quum animadvertisset P. Crassus adolescens, qui equitatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt neque prius fugere destiterunt quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinque

P. Crassus] He was the son of M. Licinius Crassus, who destroyed the army of Spartacus (c. 21). Marcus was consul with Cn. Pompeius, B.C. 70. Publius was one of Caesar's legati in Gallia till the end of the campaign of B.C. 56. He is mentioned again (B. G. ii. 34; iii. 7), and his brother Marcus is mentioned (B. G. v. 24). His father, Marcus, was chosen consul a second time for B.C. 55, with Cn. Pompeius; and at the close of that year Publius went with his father to Syria, of which Marcus was proconsul. Both he and his father lost their lives (B.C. 53) in the plains of Mesopotamia, in the Parthian war (Plut. Crassus, c. 25).—On this occasion Crassus commanded the cavalry, which consisted of Galli; he made a move at the critical time with the 'tertia acies,' which appears not to have been engaged hitherto, and brought it up to support those who were engaged ('qui inter aciem versabantur').

53. *quinque*] All the MSS. and the Greek paraphrase have 'five' miles, except one MS., which has 'duo;' but Ciacconius and Hotmann changed 'quinque' into 'quinquaginta,' in which most editors have followed them. The change is founded partly on the text of Plutarch (Caesar, 19), who has, *ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους* (ed. Sintenis); but there is also a reading *τριακοσίους*: and on Orosius (vi. 7), who says that the Germans were routed and pitilessly massacred 'per quinquaginta milia passuum.' Orosius, however, does not mention the Rhine. Schneider thinks that five miles is too small a distance; an objection which is puerile.

Caesar's indication of the site of the battle would not be clear, if he had not told us that it was five miles from the Rhine. If the number 'quinque' is right, he has pointed out the place pretty clearly. We must suppose that the Germans made for the nearest part of the Rhine. A flight or pursuit of fifty miles after a hard battle is impossible, and so Caesar found it before (i. 26). Caesar was at Vesontio (i. 38—40), from which place he marched against Ariovistus, who had advanced from his country, which was the third part of the territory of the Sequani. The territory of the Sequani extended to the Rhine; and it is probable that Ariovistus had his portion there. The direct distance from Vesontio to the nearest part of the Rhine, about Bâle, is eighty miles. Caesar took a circuitous route from Vesontio of fifty miles, to avoid the dangerous parts of the roads and the forests, and he was then twenty-four Roman miles from Ariovistus. It was on the seventh day's march (i. 41) that Caesar found he was so near the enemy. Whether in these six days and part or the whole of a seventh he marched more than fifty miles or less, he does not tell us; but I assume that he marched more, for he was only going to fight a battle, and would have as little baggage as possible with him. If Caesar was advancing to the north-east, his route would bring him to some part of the plain which lies be-

pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt, aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem reppererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit: reliquos omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueva natione quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voctionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraeque in ea fuga perierunt. Duae

tween the Vosges and the Rhine, in the modern department of Haut Rhin. The interview between him and Ariovistus took place in a great plain (c. 43). After the interview Ariovistus approached within six miles of Caesar's camp (c. 48), and posted himself under a mountain. Caesar's march, then, as it appears to me, brought him into the long, narrow plain of Alsace; and here the battle was fought. He may have entered the plain from the basin of the Doubs, by the depression in which the Rhine and Rhone canal is cut. The Germans may have had more than five miles to run, and there may be an error in the numeral V; but they could not have run in any direction fifty miles to the Rhine, unless the battle was fought west of the Vosges, and there is no large plain in those parts. Caesar says nothing of night coming on; which would have stopped the pursuit in an unknown country, even if fatigue did not. But he says that the routed Germans did not stop and the horsemen pursued them to the Rhine: and some of the Germans swam the river; a thing impossible after a heat of fifty miles. I conclude that the German king was defeated in Alsace, near the banks of the Rhine. Beatus Rhenanus came nearer the truth than those who have since found fault with him. He thinks that the battle was fought 'ad aedem Apollinaris' (I don't know what this means), which is one German mile from Basle and the Rhine. Reichard, in his map, places the battle in the bend of the Doubs, between Mont Terrible and Montbéliard, and thus he gets a distance from the Rhine of fifty Roman miles, or near it; but that is all that he accomplishes.

pervenerunt] Elb. has 'pervenirent,' a bad reading, which he defends by the examples in i. 19; ii. 12; iv. 4. 14. 21; vii. 9, all of which are different. He might have added vii. 47, which, if 'appropinquarent' is right, is a passage to the purpose. Caesar here says that they did not stop till they reached the river, till that fact was accomplished, and the indicative is used in such cases (vii. 25). The instances of 'prius quam' in these Commentaries are very numerous; and I am not sure if Caesar's usage can be absolutely determined. In the present passage there is a reading 'pervenerint.'

reliquos omnes] Plutarch, who is fond of big sums, states the slaughtered at 80,000.

uxores] The king had two wives, one his regular German wife, the other probably he had from political motives. Tacitus (German. 18) says of the Germans: "Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur." The death of Ariovistus is mentioned v. 29.

utraeque—perierunt] There are also the readings 'utraque . . . periit' and 'utraque . . . perierunt,' which Schneider has. Schneider says that 'utraeque . . . perierunt' is contrary to Caesar's fashion. It is, however, Latin.—'Duae filiae,' he

filiae harum, altera occisa, altera capta est. C. Valerius Procillus, quum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostes equitatu persequentem incidit. Quae quidem res Caesari non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium sibi restitutum videbat, neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quidquam fortuna deminuerat. Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud tempus reservaretur; sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item M. Mettius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

54. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato, Suevi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos ubi ii qui proximi Rhenum incolunt perterritos senserunt, insecuti magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Cae-

mentions 'two daughters' as the subject, and then proceeds to speak of them severally.

C. Valerius] Schneider writes Gaius Valerius, for which there is the authority of many MSS.; which is worth noticing as an example of the forms Caius and Gaius. The Greeks, Plutarch for instance, always represent Caius by Γάϊος.—'Trinis:' a triple chain, chains enough for three men, or, as Kraner remarks, because 'catenae' is generally used in the plural, for the Romans said 'trina castra' (vii. 46).

54. *quos—ex his*] This is Caesar's way of writing. 'Ex his' makes the expression more exact than it would be, if 'ex his' were omitted. Kraner refers to c. 12, "eos impeditos . . . magnam partem eorum;" and to ii. 10, 11, 23, and iii. 19.

The MSS. have 'quos ubi,' except one MS. which has 'quos ubi hi.' Elberling, following those who have adopted the conjecture of Rhenanus, has 'quos Ubii . . . perterritos insecuti magnum,' &c., and also Kraner. But this reading omits 'senserunt,' which is in all the MSS. Schneider has 'quos Ubii, qui . . . incolunt, [ut] perterritos senserunt,' &c.: which is the reading of Glareanus, except that Glareanus has 'ubi' in place of 'ut.' Schneider thinks that 'ut' may have been accidentally omitted in the MSS. after 'incolūt,' the form of writing 'incolunt.' The name 'Ubii' and the word 'ubi' have been several times confounded in the MSS. of the Gallic war. Thus in vi. 9, where the common reading of the editions is 'Ubiorum,' most of the MSS. have 'Ubi horum;' and in iv. 3, in place of 'Ubii,' there is a corrupt reading 'ubi.'

Schneider thinks that there is little doubt that the Ubii are meant here, for Caesar places them on the Rhine, and informs us that they were often at war with the Suevi (iv. 3). But we may still doubt if 'Ubii' is the reading. In c. 37 the Treviri send to inform Caesar that the Suevi were on the Rhine and intending to cross it. There is no indication as to the part of the Rhine to which the Suevi had come; but we may assume that the Treviri were afraid, and that the

sar, una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo quam tempus anni postulabat in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

enemy was opposite to some part of their territory. Again, though the Ubii were on the east side of the Rhine, they were not nearer to the Rhine than many others; and the words 'qui proximi,' as a definition of their position, are not appropriate. There are difficulties in this passage both ways.

in Sequanos] If we take these words strictly, Caesar had gone out of the territory of the Sequani to find Ariovistus. He would have left the territory of the Sequani, if he had advanced some distance along the Rhine in the plain of Alsace. It is true that 'in hiberna . . . deducere' is the proper phrase, and it may be said that 'in Sequanos' may be used after 'in hiberna,' even if Caesar was 'in Sequanis.' But I think that he was out of the territory of the Sequani. Compare the expression in ii. 35: "Ipse in Carnutes . . . in hibernacula deductis."

ad conventus agendos] In another place (ii. 35) Caesar speaks of going into Italia. He uses the expressions Citerior Gallia and Italia indifferently, though Citerior Gallia is the correct term. He used to go every year in the winter (v. 1). In another passage (vi. 44) he set out for Italy 'ad conventus agendos.' His object was to be near Rome and know what was going on there.

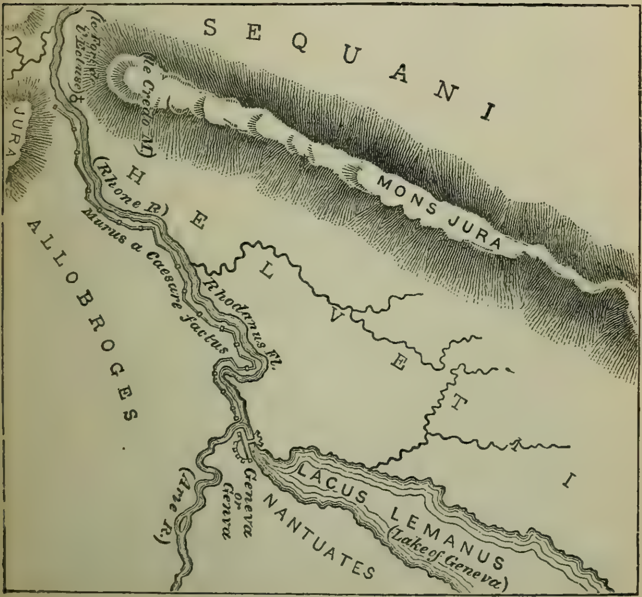
'Conventus,' or meetings, was the name of any assemblage of people for some purpose. The Romans divided their provinces into circuits, to which they gave the name of 'conventus' or 'conventus juridici,' circuits for the administration of justice. A 'conventus' or circuit took its name from some chief town in it. Thus the name 'conventus' expressed both the assembly, the territory from which the people assembled, and the place where the assembly was held. It also means 'jurisdiction,' for 'conventus agere' or 'conventum agere' (Cicero, Verr. ii. 5, c. 11) means to hold the meeting and do all that was usual at such meetings. One part of the business of a governor of a province at these 'conventus' was to hear and determine suits. But this was not all. There were many things, not matters of litigation, which could only be done in due form before a person invested with the authority of a proconsul or propraetor (Cic. ad Div. xv. 4, § 2). Caesar went round his circuits in the winter, after the campaign was over, as Cicero intended to do in Cilicia (Ad Att. v. 14). It is probable that the days for holding the courts were fixed, for Cicero (Ad Att. v. 21, § 9) names the different places where he intended to hold his courts ('forum agere'), and the times also.

Drumann (Geschichte Roms, iii. p. 252) truly remarks, that the question whether Gallia should be a German or a Roman province was decided for some centuries by the campaign of B.C. 58. It was not until after the overthrow of the Western Roman Empire that the Germans were able to get possession of Gallia.

NOTES.

I.

This plan shows the position of Caesar's rampart along the south side of the Rhone, from Geneva to the prolongation of the Jura on the south side of the Rhone (B. G. i. 8). It shows also the gap in the Jura through which the Helvetii passed by the site of Fort l'Ecluse into the territory of the Sequani. The position of the Nantuates (B. G. iii. 1. 6) is also marked. (From Roesch, Commentar über die Commentarien, &c.)



II. (i. 10).

Caesar left the neighbourhood of Rome in April B.C. 58 of the unreformed calendar, and travelling as quick as he could into Gallia Ulterior, reached Geneva (c. 7) in eight days, as Plutarch says (Caesar, c. 17). Caesar does not tell us where he crossed the Alps: he does not even mention them. It is his way to say nothing which does not concern the matter in hand. He may have crossed from Italy by the Great St. Bernard, which pass would bring him down to Octodurus (Martigny), and would be as short a road as any other, I suppose. In B.C. 57 he sent Galba to 'open,' as he calls it, this route over the Great St. Bernard, by which the merchants used to travel at great risk and not without paying heavy tolls to the mountain tribes who commanded the road (B. G. iii. 1). If Caesar went this way to Geneva in B.C. 58 he would become acquainted with the position of these mountain tribes, and with the heavy demands which they made on the Italian traders.

He stayed at Geneva in B.C. 58 only long enough to protect the frontier of the Rhone against the Helvetii, and then he again crossed the Alps into Italy (c. 10) without mentioning them. After getting together five legions in North Italy he returned into Gallia Ulterior across the Alps, as he now says, for he had reason for mentioning them. He crossed the mountains 'by the shortest road into Ulterior Gallia,' an expression which implies that there was at least another road. 'Shortest' must mean the shortest road to the place to which he was going, and this was the territory of the Vocontii in the Provincia. for he says that he left Ocelum, the last town in Gallia Citerior, and reached the territory of the Vocontii on the seventh day. If the site of Ocelum were certain, there could be no difficulty in determining by what road he crossed the Alps.

Three Alpine tribes attacked him on his march: the Centrones, who lived in the valley of the Tarentaise, down which the road leads from the pass of the Little St. Bernard into Gallia Ulterior; the Caturiges, who lived in the upper valley of the Durance, down which the road leads from the pass of the Mont Genèvre, also into Gallia Ulterior; and the Graicoeli or Garoceli, whose position cannot be ascertained. But it seems probable that the Garoceli occupied the long valley of the Maurienne, down which the road leads from the pass of the Mont Cenis to Chambéry and to Grenoble in the French department of the Isère. Thus the three great Alpine valleys from north to south, the Tarentaise or valley of the upper Isère, the Maurienne or the valley of the Arc, and the upper valley of the Durance, would be occupied respectively by the Centrones, Garoceli, and Caturiges. But as these tribes were separated by considerable intervals, and only one of the three lived on Caesar's route, whatever that route was. we must conclude that they combined to stop him on the road that he took; but the names and positions of the three tribes give us no help in ascertaining Caesar's road.

If Ocelum is rightly fixed by D'Anville at Usseau in Piedmont, Caesar went into Gallia over the Mont Genèvre. A road goes from Pinerolo in Piedmont up the valley of the Clusone to Fenestrelle, which in modern times has been a fort and a prison. A few miles beyond Fenestrelle the road brings us to Usseau or Usseaux, which D'Anville assumed to be Ocelum. From Usseaux the road continues along the upper valley of the Clusone, which valley is named Pragelas, and the road then passes over the Colle di Sestrières to Cesanne in the upper valley of the Dora Riparia. From Cesanne the road passes over the Col of the Mont Genèvre and descends to Briançon (Brigantio) in the valley of the Durance. Caesar

may have gone up the valley of the Clusone; and if Usseau is Ocelum, he did go up it.

Strabo (p. 179) describes a road from Tarascon on the Rhone up the valley of the Durance into Italy. This road, he says, passed through the country of the Vocontii. The towns which he mentions on this road are Caballio (Cavaillon) on the Durance, Ebrodunum (Embrun), and Brigantium (Briançon), the last place in the valley of the Durance. The next place to Briançon is Scincomagus, which is the first town on the Italian side of the Alps. Next to Scincomagus is Ocelum, which is 27 miles from Scincomagus, and 99 from Embrun, according to Strabo's text[1]. The site of Scincomagus is unknown, but if Ocelum be Usseaux, Scincomagus may be near the Colle di Sestrières, as D'Anville suggested. Caesar then marching from Ocelum to the country of the Vocontii would cross the Mont Genèvre, and this conclusion is certain, unless there was another road which would take him from Ocelum over the Alps into the country of the Vocontii, and it must also be the shortest road.

The pass of the Mont Genèvre may be reached from Turin by going to Susa (Segusio), and from Susa up the valley of the Dora Riparia past Exilles and Oulx to Cesanne, and thence over the Mont Genèvre. This is the road laid down in the Roman Itineraries, and if either Exilles or Oulx represents Ocelum, it is the road that Caesar took. But still he went into Gallia Ulterior by the pass of the Mont Genèvre. (See Note below.)

There is now a road from Susa to the pass of the Mont Cenis. This road does not follow a stream like the roads from Susa and Pinerolo to the Mont Genèvre. It is formed on the side of a mountain mass which is the western wall of a narrow valley, on the eastern side of which is the huge Rocciamelone. This steep road leads up to the lake at the base of the Great Mont Cenis, and thence over the neck of the ridge down into the valley of the Arc on the west side of the Alps. A track is also marked from Susa over the Colle of the Little Mont Cenis, which is south of the Great Mont Cenis. This road would also bring a traveller down into the valley of the Arc, and lower down in that valley than the road over the neck of the Great Mont Cenis. But Caesar did not take either of these ways, either that over the Great or that over the Little Mont Cenis, and these are the reasons why he did not. These ways would not be the shortest into the Roman Provincia, nor would they bring him into the country of the Vocontii. If he went either of these ways, Ocelum was either at Susa, which nobody has yet assumed, or at some place east of Susa on the road to Turin, and there is neither any direct evidence nor any probability in that. Lastly, there is no evidence that the Romans ever used the pass of the Mont Cenis; and there is evidence that they used the road over the Genèvre, which is the shortest and easiest way from Italy into France, as any one may see who will look at the map of the Sardinian dominions (1840), if he has knowledge enough of mountainous countries to interpret it right. I say the shortest and easiest way from Italy into France, if a man is at or near Turin, and simply wishes to get into France, without caring what part he reaches; and if he wishes to get into the country of the

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[1] I set no value on these numbers, which may be incorrect. In another place Strabo (p. 217) makes it only 60 miles from Placentia to Ocelum along the Po and the Duria; but the text is wrong. This Duria is the Duria Minor, the Dora Riparia, which runs past Susa. Strabo also speaks of this road from Placentia to Ocelum as running along the Druentia (Durance), which shows that he means the road through Scincomagus and Embrun, and the same road over the Alps which he has described above (p. 179).

Vocontii by the shortest road, it is the only way that he must take. I have also said 'if a man is at or near Turin,' and this was Caesar's case; for wherever Ocelum was, a man coming from those parts of North Italy, where Caesar had been collecting his troops, and passing the Alps by way of Ocelum, must have either gone through Turin, or north of Turin or south of Turin, and at no great distance from the site of that town. For if we admit that the exact site of Ocelum is uncertain, the site may still be determined within such limits as to show that Caesar crossed the Alps by a southern and not by a northern pass. Consequently Caesar went from Ocelum to Brigantium, and over the Mont Genèvre. Caesar's route was to the Vocontii, and the shortest road to the Vocontii from Italy, as I have said, is over the Mont Genèvre. Caesar does not say what part of the extensive territory of the Vocontii he was going to: he says simply that he did enter their territory after crossing the Alps, and that he went by the shortest road; and the short road to reach this territory from the east side of the Alps was over the Mont Genèvre, as Strabo says (p. 187).

It is difficult to fix the limits of ancient tribes, but we know that Vasio (Vaison) and Dea (Die) were the chief towns of the Vocontii, whose territory extended from Die southwards to some part of the Durance. Caesar might have reached the territory of the Vocontii by passing from Briançon to Embrun, and thence through Vapincum (Gap) to Dea in the north part of the Vocontian territory. There is no other pass than the Mont Genèvre which could bring him into the territory of the Vocontii, if the territory of the Vocontii did not extend east of the mountains which bound the west side of the valley of the Drac, a river which joins the Isère a short distance below Grenoble. I do not know that there is any evidence, and indeed there can be no evidence that the Vocontii were in the valley of the Drac; and it is very improbable that in those times the same tribe occupied the valley of the Drac and also the country west of the mountains which form the western boundary of the Drac valley. If Caesar got into the valley of the Drac either by taking the pass of the Mont Genèvre or by the pass of the Mont Cenis, he and his five legions would have gone a long way out of their road, which, he says, was to the territory of the Vocontii.

He had left Labienus to guard the rampart which extended along the south bank of the Rhone from the Leman Lake to the mountains where the gorge of the Rhone commences. If Labienus defended his lines, the Helvetii must either stay where they were on the north side of the Rhone, or take their road through the gap of the Rhone. If Labienus' rampart was forced, the Helvetii would enter the Provincia. In either case Caesar's road would be into the Provincia with the view of finding the Helvetii, either in it, or on the road through the country of the Sequani to the Saône; and this was the road which the Helvetii did take. We have no evidence that Caesar knew what had happened in his absence, but he might hear when he reached the territory of the Vocontii. If he did not hear in the territory of the Vocontii what the Helvetii were doing, it is certain that he heard when he entered the territory of the Allobroges; for he crossed the Rhone above the junction of the Rhone and Saône, and hearing of the mischief that the Helvetii were doing, he followed and caught them as they were passing the Saône.

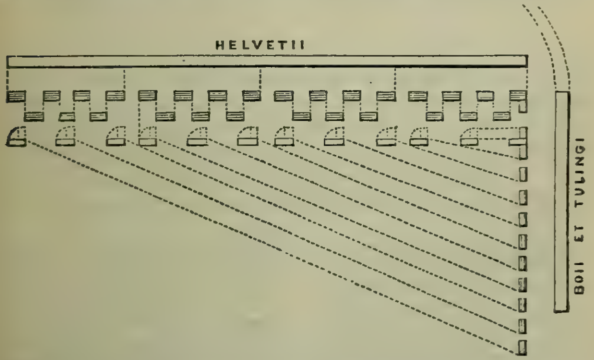
After cutting off one-fourth of the Helvetii at the passage of the Saône Caesar crossed the river in a single day by a bridge (c. 13). He does not say how he crossed it so quick, but we may guess. He had vessels which went up the Saône and carried his supplies (c. 16). He could not have found these vessels and his supplies any where except in the Provincia and along the Rhone, and if he had not given orders for the vessels and supplies

to be got ready, when he left Geneva for Italy, he got them ready when he reached the Rhone after his return over the Alps. But I suppose that he had given orders about these vessels and that he went to meet them. He had five legions to feed, and at the rate at which he moved it is plain that he had no great supplies with him.

There was then good reason for Caesar reaching the Rhone as soon as he could, whether he expected to find the Helvetii in the Provincia, or north of the Provincia between the Rhone and the Saône, where he did find them: and his 'shortest road' as he calls it was over the Mont Genèvre. The vessels which he had got together in the Provincia contained his supplies and took him across the Saône (c. 13), for I assume that a bridge which took his six legions and all his auxiliaries across the Saône in one day was a bridge of boats. He could not have built a bridge and got all his men over by it in one day, which he says that he did. It is probable that the vessels had also taken him over the Rhone from the territory of the Allobroges into that part of the territory of the Segusiani, which lay in the angle between the Saône and the Rhone. The evidence for Caesar's crossing by the Mont Genèvre may produce no more than a probable opinion, but it is a very probable opinion, and it is consistent with all Caesar's narrative. If we suppose that he went over any other pass, the whole narrative will not be consistent.

III.

This plan shows the 'triplex acies' which Caesar formed of his four veteran legions (B. G. i. 24). Each legion had four cohorts in the first line, three in the second line, and three in the third line. This was the usual form of the 'triplex acies.' The order of the cohorts in the first line from left to right is 4, 3, 2, 1; in the second line from left to right, 7, 6, 5; and in the third line from left to right 10, 9, 8. (From Roesch.)



When the Boii and Tulingi fell on the Roman flank, whether the right or left flank we do not know, the cohorts in the third line, which cohorts in the plan are marked in white, turned round to face the Boii and Tulingi, and, leaving their positions formed a line at right angles to the other two lines, and in front of the Boii and Tulingi. Thus there was a fight along two lines ('ancipiti proelio,' i. 26).

LIBER SECUNDUS.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. 1. The Belgae combine their forces against Caesar. 2, 3. The Remi surrender to him. 4. The amount of the forces of the Belgae. 5—7. Caesar marches to the river Axona; the Belgae attack Bibrax, a town of the Remi, but abandon the assault upon Caesar relieving the place. 8. Caesar's camp. 9—11. The Belgae, after failing in an attack on the position of Q. Titurius, and hearing of the march of the Aedui against the Bellovaci, disperse to their several homes. 12—14. The Suessiones and Bellovaci submit to Caesar. 15. The Ambiani submit to him. 16—28. The war with the Nervii, who are nearly annihilated; the surrender of the survivors. 29—33. The war with the Aduatuci, who were descendants of the Cimbri and Teutoni; the surrender of their strong-hold; the Aduatuci attempt to surprise the Romans after their surrender; all the survivors are sold for slaves. 34. P. Crassus reduces the Veneti, Unelli, and other maritime states. 35. The Transrhenane nations send to proffer their submission to Caesar; the winter quarters in Gallia; a 'supplicatio' at Rome for Caesar's victories.

The events in this book belong to A.U.C. 697, or B.C. 57; and the consulship of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos.

QUUM esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis, ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, litterisque item Labieni certior fiebat omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus, contra populum Romanum conjurare obsidesque inter se dare: conjurandi has esse causas; primum, quod vererentur ne omni pacata Gallia ad eos exercitus noster ad-

ita uti supra] Caesar's way of beginning a new book, and his reference to the end of the preceding book, show that he made some division of his work. He divided it into the same number of parts in which it now exists, his plan being to comprise the campaign of each year in a separate division (viii. 48). He begins the fourth and fifth books with mentioning the several consuls of those two years.

tertiam—partem] See i. 1. The relative 'quam' refers to 'tertiam partem,' a common construction in the Latin writers. Herzog cites B. C. iii. 80, 'Gomphos pervenit . . . quae gens.' See i. 10, 'quae civitas;' i. 38, 'Vesontionem, quod est oppidum;' iv. 1. 29, and v. 54, 'Senones, quae est civitas,' &c.

conjurare] See vii. 1, and iv. 31.

pacata Gallia] Here 'Gallia' means 'Celtica.'—'ad eos:' he has just said 'inter se dare.' If he had said 'ad se,' though the context

duceretur; deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant, partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant; ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque his, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro consequi poterant.

2. His nuntiis litterisque commotus Caesar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et inita aestate in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret Q. Pedium legatum misit. Ipse quum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet

would show that 'se' could not refer to 'exercitus,' there would be an apparent confusion. This confusion is sometimes avoided by the use of 'is' in place of 'se.' But 'se' could hardly be used here.

partim qui] 'Partim,' 'partim' refer to 'nonnullis Gallis,' who are distributed into two divisions. Though it has the form of an accusative, it was used by Caesar and Cicero as a word of distribution, without any respect to its case. Cicero (In Pison. c. 21) uses it as an accusative, just like 'partem.' In another passage (In Vatin. c. 7) it is a nominative: "reliqui sex fuerunt, ex quibus partim plane tecum sentiebant, partim medium quendam cursum tenebant."

The Sequani had good reason to be dissatisfied. Caesar had posted his troops in winter quarters in their country after the expulsion of Ariovistus. The Galli saw clearly that he contemplated the subjugation of all the country.

inveterascere] See v. 41.

ad conducendos homines] Caesar, in the words 'partim qui, ut Germanos,' to the end of the chapter, is giving his own opinion of the various motives by which the Galli were induced to stir up the Belgae. He represents the powerful men in Celtica, the rich ('qui . . . facultates habebant'), as hiring mercenaries, and by their aid seizing on power. It was an ordinary trick. We see in the Gallic war several of these 'potentiores' aiming at acquiring power by what their descendants call a 'coup.' See i. 3.

imperio nostro] 'If our imperium was established.' See i. 18, "imperio populi Romani," &c. Elberling has 'in imperio' here, which is the reading of many MSS.; but in i. 18 the preposition does not seem to be in any MS.

2. *interiorem*] This reading, which has the best MS. authority, is preferable to 'ulteriorem,' which some MSS. have. 'Ulterior Gallia' (i. 7. 10) is the Provincia; and the 'interior Gallia' is the part of Gallia which was beyond the limits of the Provincia; for it was there that Caesar wanted his new troops.—The words 'inita aestate' belong to 'deduceret.' See c. 35, 'inita proxima aestate.' Q. Pedius was to lead his troops into central Gallia as soon as the fine weather began.

Q. Pedius was probably the son of Caesar's eldest sister Julia, though Suetonius makes him the grandson of Julia. He was made joint 'heres' by Caesar with his two great-nephews C. Octavius and L. Pinarius. He was consul with C. Octavius in B.C. 43, the year after Caesar's death.

ad exercitum venit; dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea quae apud eos gerantur cognoscant seque de his rebus certiorem faciant. Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumentaria comparata castra movet diebusque circiter xv ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

3. Eo quum de improviso celeriusque omni opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Andocumborium primos civitatis suae miserunt [qui dicerent] Se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem populi Romani permittere; neque se cum reliquis Belgis consensisse neque contra populum Romanum omnino conjurasse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus juvare; reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque qui cis Rhenum incolant sese cum his conjunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem ut

Senonibus] The Senones were one of those Celtic nations who had once sent a detachment of their countrymen into Italy (Introd. p. 22). They occupied a country north-west of the Aedui, whose neighbours they were. Their capital was Agedincum, or Agendicum (Sens), on the right bank of the Yonne, a branch of the Seine (Caesar, B. G. vi. 44). They occupied therefore a portion of the upper basin of the Seine. Their neighbours on the west were the Carnutes. The Gallic name of the Yonne seems to be Icauna.

exercitum — conduci] 'Exercitus . . . conduci,' Elb. There is authority for both readings; but the Belgae were combining their forces to make an 'exercitus.'

dubitandum — quin] In c. 23, "transire flumen non dubitaverunt." The infinitive denotes an act done without any hesitation; the subjunctive with 'quin' denotes a resolution made without hesitation (Schneider).

ad fines — pervenit] He reached their borders. He did not enter them yet. His troops marched from the territory of the Sequani, in which Caesar had his head-quarters at Vesontio (i. 38).

3. *Remi*] The Remi seem to have had the Matrona (Marne) for their southern limit, for in these parts they were the nearest of the Belgians ('ex Belgis') to Gallia, and the Matrona was one of the boundaries between Gallia and the Belgae (i. 1). If their territory extended north of the Axona (Aisne), they occupied the north-east part of the basin of the Seine.

qui dicerent] These words are omitted in some MSS. They are not necessary, nor do they cause any difficulty.

imperata facere] 'To obey his orders' ('quae imperarentur,' c. 32). The Remi were ready for any meanness, and they continued servile allies of Caesar, who rewarded them for it (viii. 6).

ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem jure et iisdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint quin cum his consentirent.

4. Quum ab his quaereret quae civitates quantaeque in armis essent et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenumque antiquitus transductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulisse, solosque esse qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et

Suessiones] The Suessiones, or Suessones, were the neighbours of the Remi on the west. One of their towns was Noviodunum (ii. 12). There were many Gallic towns with the termination 'dun,' for the 'um' is merely a Roman ending. 'Dun' is a hill or elevated place. The Suessiones possessed part of the fertile country between the Isara (Oise) and the Marne. At this time it appears that the Suessiones were politically united with the Remi.—The expression 'eodem jure et iisdem legibus,' is Roman, and probably a very inadequate interpretation of the original words of the Remi. It means 'that they had the same political constitution and the same laws.' As to 'jus,' see i. 4. 36. A Roman 'lex' is an enactment made in the Roman 'comitia.'

4. *omni Gallia*] See i. 1. Gallia in the wide sense. Caesar was told that most of these Belgae were Germans, who had settled west of the Rhine before the Teutonic and Cimbric invasion, which was about B.C. 110. See c. 29, and the note on 'hunc locum.'

Teutonos] Introd. p. 29.

propinquitatibus] 'Propinquitas' is 'kinship,' the relationship of those who spring from common parents, properly called 'cognatio.' 'Affines' are the 'cognati' of husband and wife (Dig. 38. 10. 4); that is, the husband's father, brother, became the 'affines' of his wife; and the wife's father, brother, became the 'affines' of the husband. We have the word 'affinity,' and in the Roman sense; but we have no word corresponding to 'affines.'

Bellovacos] They are called Belloaci (Βελλοακοί) by Strabo. They were the neighbours of the Suessiones, and occupied the country west of the Isara (Oise). D'Anville says that there is no evidence that their territory extended beyond the limits of the diocese of Beauvais, as it existed in his time. He conjectures that the Silvanectes, whom Caesar does not mention, who occupied an adjoining canton, east of the Oise, may have been comprehended within the territory of the Bellovaci. Pto-

hominum numero valere; hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos; fines latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui quum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc propter justitiam prudentiamque suam totius belli summam omnium voluntate deferri; oppida habere numero XII, polliceri milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur longissimeque absint; XV milia Atrebates, Ambianos X milia, Morinos

lemy calls their chief town Caesaromagus, a compound of a Roman and a Gallic name ('mag'); and this name, of course, belongs to a period after Caesar's time. This place is the modern town of Beauvais, the capital of the department of Oise, on a small branch of the river Oise. The only town of the Bellovaci which Caesar mentions is Bratuspantium (ii. 13), which has been supposed to be the original name of Caesaromagus; but there are reasons for thinking that this place was near Breteuil, which is some distance N. N. E. of Beauvais.

conficere] 'make up a hundred thousand.' So the Romans said 'conficere pecuniam,' 'to make up a sum of money.'

fines] The word means 'borders,' as in c. 2, and also 'territory' as here, and in c. 16, 'per eorum fines triduum iter;' and 'in finibus Lingonum,' 'in the territory of the Lingones' (iv. 10). In fact 'fines' in Caesar usually means the 'territory' of a people, and it has the sense of 'borders' or 'limits' only in few cases, as the context shows. Elberling and Kraner omit 'fines' here. See i. 2, 'angustos fines.'

Britanniae] This is the earliest mention of Britain by a Roman writer; and the fact is here recorded of part of the island, for that is all that can be meant, having been under the dominion of a Belgic tribe.

Galbam] is also a Roman name (iii. 1). There was a consul Sulpicius Galba B.C. 211. Suetonius (Galba, 3) was puzzled with the name, and he suggests various explanations. One is, that Galba is a Gallic word which means a very fat man. The notes of the commentators of Suetonius on this passage are curious. Some of them think that the name is 'Kalb' or 'Calf.' "Etiam hac adhuc aetate," says Glareanus, "Helvetii pinguem hominem vitulum vocant, Vitulus autem Celtica lingua, Kalb, significat." A Spaniard of the name of Galbus is mentioned by Livy (xxiii. 26).

Nervios] See c. 16.—'Longissimeque:' this is not true, as Schneider remarks, of that part of the territory of the Nervii which was nearest to the Remi; but the Remi are speaking of the remotest part of the territory of the Nervii, which extended to the coast (c. 28), probably to the tract which lies along the North Sea, south of the aestuary of the Schelde.

Atrebates] They were the neighbours of the Bellovaci, and between the Somme and the Schelde. Their town, Nemetacum, appears to be the same as Nemetocenna (B. G. viii. 46), afterwards Atrebates, now **Arras**,

xxv milia, Menapios vii milia, Caletos x milia, Velocasses et Veromanduos totidem, Aduatucos xix milia; Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad xl milia.

5. Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus omnem senatum ad se convenire principum-

in the department of Pas de Calais. There was a tribe in Britain named Atrebates.

The Ambiani were between the Bellovaci and the Atrebates, in the basin of the Somme. Their town Samarobriva (B. G. v. 24), afterwards Ambiani, is Amiens, in the department of Somme, on the river Somme.

Morinos] The 'sea-coast men,' from the Celtic word 'mor,' 'sea;' which also appears in the name of the Armoricae civitates (Introd. p. 26). They occupied the coast from Boulogne northward, perhaps as far as Dunkerque; and the transit to Britain from their country was the shortest (B. G. iv. 21). Virgil calls them (Aen. viii. 727) "Extremique hominum Morini."

Menapios] See iii. 28.

Caletos] The Caleti were on the north side of the lower Seine and along the coast. They had the Pays de Caux, as it was called before the division of France into departments.

Velocasses] They occupied the country east of the Caleti, along the Seine to the Oise. Their capital was Rotomagus (Rouen) on the Seine. That part of their country which lay between the Oise and the Andelle, a small stream that joins the Seine on the right bank above Rouen, retained, in the old division of France, the name of Vexin. The little river Epte enters the Seine between the Oise and the Andelle, and the part west of the Epte was Vexin Normand, and that east of it was Vexin Français.

Veromanduos] They were the neighbours of the Suessiones on the north, and bounded by the Ambiani and Atrebates on the west. Their chief town was called Augusta Veromanduorum under the Romans, now St. Quentin, on the Somme, in the department of Aisne. The old division of Vermandois preserved the name of the Veromandui.

Aduatucos] See ii. 29.

Condrusos, &c.] These Germanic nations were in the basin of the Mosa; but they did not all extend to the Rhine. (See iv. 4.) The Remi have here enumerated all the great Belgic tribes between the Seine and the Rhine, except the Treviri, who sent some cavalry to aid Caesar (ii. 24), but were not present at this meeting. Nor do the Germanic tribes seem to have been present, for the Remi say they reckoned ('arbitrari') their contingent at about 40,000. The word 'polliceri' seems to apply to all the tribes except these Germans; but we can hardly supply 'polliceri' after 'arbitrari.' The sum total of this estimated Belgic force is 296,000 men, a force more formidable in name than in reality. Caesar had his six legions (i. 10), and the two fresh legions which he had levied (ii. 2). Besides the legions, he had the auxiliaries, Cretan archers, Numidians, and Balearic slingers, the amount of whom we do not know.

5. *liberaliter—prosecutus*] Caesar encouraged the Remi, and 'addressed to them many friendly and kind words,' as Schneider explains it. I rather take it, with Forcellini, to mean, 'he dismissed them with expressions of friendship.' Virgil (Aen. vi. 899) has 'prosequitur dictis.'

senatum] This is another instance of a Roman term. Caesar found no expression so well suited to designate that class among the Belgae and the Galli who formed the council of the

que liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quae omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Divitiacum Aeduum magno opere cohortatus docet quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit. Id fieri posse si suas copias Aedui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis eum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse ab his quos miserat exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum transducere maturavit atque ibi castra posuit. Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat et post eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat, et commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum portari possent efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium ponit et in altera parte fluminis Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus relinquit. Castra

nation. See ii. 28, where he uses the word 'senatores;' and v. 54.

diligenter] 'Punctually to the day,' as we say. In i. 7, 'ad Idus April.' seems to mean 'on that day.' See v. 1; vii. 77; Liv. 23, c. 21.

rei publicae] The Roman state and the common interests ('communis salutis') of the Romans and the Aedui.

Axonam] This river, the Aisne, was in the furthest part of the territory ('in extremis finibus') of the Remi, the furthest from the part where Caesar entered their territory, that is, from the Marne. But the territory of the Remi extended north of the Aisne (c. 6), and their town Bibrax was eight miles from Caesar's camp on the Aisne.

muniebat] This imperfect denotes a permanent condition. The river formed a defence on one side to an army posted upon it. Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 2) has "urbem . . . Syracusas quae . . . loci natura terra ac mari claudebatur." See B. G. i. 38; vii. 19 'cingebat;' and viii. 69.

quae essent] A few MSS. have 'quae erant,' which is Latin, but it has a different meaning from 'quae essent.' If Caesar wrote 'quae erant,' he meant *the* parts which were in his rear, as if he were particularly describing them. The subjunctive is a more general expression, as if we should say, 'his rear.'

portari] 'Carried down the river;' not 'supportari,' which would mean carried up the river. Caesar could have no supplies, except from the Remi and the states of Celtica, from the east and the south-east. In all other directions he had an enemy before him.

Castra] The Roman armies never passed the night without forming an intrenchment, which they called 'castra.' This intrenchment was large enough to contain all the men and the baggage. Polybius (Lib. vi.) describes it. Their first business on halting for the night, or preparing for it, was to choose a site ('castra deligere,' ii. 18; 'loca capere,' iii. 23). The form of the

in altitudinem pedum XII vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire jubet.

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax aberat milia passuum VIII. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est haec. Ubi circumjecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides jaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta portas suc-

'castra' was quadrangular. On the outside was the ditch ('fossa'), the earth from which being thrown up inwards formed a rampart ('agger'). On the crest of the 'agger' was fixed a palisade of stakes ('sudes,' 'valli'), which formed the 'vallum,' a term sometimes applied, as it is here, to the 'agger' and the palisade. A camp was sometimes permanent or occupied for some time, and then it was called 'stativa.' Such a camp for the summer was called 'aestiva,' for winter 'hiberna.' Many of the Roman stationary camps were the origin of towns, of which we see the evidence in many English names which end in 'Cester' or Chester, as Cirencester, Winchester, and other instances. The position of a Roman camp, when circumstances allowed, was chosen with a view to security, and the supply of forage, wood, and water. A position on a river offered many advantages, and we find that Roman camps were frequently so placed. Richborough, near Sandwich in Kent, is on the Stour, which defends one side. This became a stationary camp, and perhaps a town, for a large part of the massive walls remain, which form the three land-sides of the square. At Ardoch, in the county of Perth in Scotland, there is a very complete Roman permanent camp, the west side of which is protected by the little river Knaick.

fossaque] It was eighteen feet wide.

6. *Bibrax*] Caesar's words show that it was north of the Aisne. D'Anville observes that Bièvre, which retains a trace of the name Bibrax, and is on the road from Pont-à-Vere on the Aisne to Laon in the department of Aisne, may be the place. The distance also agrees with the eight miles of Caesar.

ex itinere] See i. 25, "ex itinere nostros," &c. This expression also means that a thing is done without interrupting the march, as in Cicero (Ad Fam. iii. 9): "quas ex itinere . . . ad me literas misisti;" and to signify, as here, what immediately follows the march, and is a continuation of the act.

totis moenibus] 'All along the walls.' It is the ablative. Comp. vii. 72, "turres toto opere circumdedit."

lapides] Stone-throwing was part of their art of war. See iii. 4.

testudine facta] Caesar gives it a Roman name. The men held their shields over their heads close to one another, so as to make a covering and protection against missiles from above. This was called a 'testudo,' or tortoise. It is described in Livy (44, c. 9); and also in Livy (34, c. 39): "Sublatis deinde supra capita scutis continuatisque ita inter se ut non modo ad caecos ictus sed ne ad inferendum quidem ex propinquo telum loci quidquam esset, testudine facta subibant." 'Testudo' also signified a machine adapted to protect assailants, as in v. 42. This 'testudo' is described by Caesar (B. C. ii. 2). 'Testudine facta' expresses the locking together of the shields, as in this passage and in v. 9; vii. 85. 'The assailants were coming close up

cedunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam quum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conjicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Quum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex iis qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit; Nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. Eo de media nocte Caesar iisdem ducibus usus qui nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque paulisper apud oppidum morati agrosque Remorum depopulati omnibus vicis aedificiisque quos adire potuerant incensis, ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt et ab milibus passuum minus II castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus

to the gates' ('portas succedunt'); which seems to be the true reading, though most of the MSS. have 'succendunt.' 'Succedere,' when it refers to place, can be followed by an accusative, as Oudendorp shows.

praefuerat] 'Praeerat:' Elb.

7. *Eo*] Schneider takes 'eo' here to be equivalent to 'ideo.' He compares 'eoque omnino' (v. 49), though he admits that the reading in that passage is uncertain. But 'eo' means 'thither in this passage.' The objection of Schneider, that Caesar has not mentioned a place, is of no weight. He has said 'Bibrax.'

Numidas] The Roman armies contained men of many nations. The legionary soldiers were still perhaps all Italians; but they had Numidian light infantry (c. 10); Cretan archers, who were once employed by the Greek states also as mercenaries; and slingers from the Baleares Insulae, the group of Majorca and Minorca (Diod. Sic. v. 17; Livy, xxviii. 37). The Numidae were also good horsemen, and Hannibal used them in his invasion of Italy (Liv. xxi. 46).

discessit] Elb. has 'discessit,' the MSS. reading, but he approves of 'decessit.' In many cases the Romans used the two words indifferently, and this may be one of those cases.

quos] The reading 'quo' is admissible. In iv. 20 there is 'illo adit quisquam.' The reading 'quot' cannot be maintained. There is no objection to 'quos,' for the accusative is often used with 'adire,' as in iii. 7. 11. The difficulty about 'quos' is removed by comparing similar examples: "Tibique persuade praeter culpam ac peccatum, qua semper caruisti" (Cic. Ad Fam. v. 21).

ab milibus] Compare ii. 30; iv. 22; v. 32; vi. 7. They pitched their camp somewhat less than two miles from Caesar. 'Minus' is used adverbially, as 'amplius' often is in Caesar, and 'circiter.' This use of 'ab' is explained by the example in i. 1. It is a mode of referring to the place indicated by the context ('castra posuerunt'), from which the distance is to be measured to another place which is shown by the context.

significabatur, amplius milibus passuum VIII in latitudinem patebant.

8. Caesar primo et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis proelio supersedere statuit; quotidie tamen equestribus proeliis quid hostis virtute posset et quid nostri auderent periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo, quod

8. *supersedere*] This word, which is sometimes used in its literal sense, 'to sit upon,' is also used to signify avoiding or not doing a thing, and it is followed by an ablative, as in Cic. Ad Fam. iv. 2: "Ut . . . supersedeas hoc labore itineris." It is said that 'supersedere' is also connected with a dative. It is used with an infinitive (Liv. xxi. 40).

opportuno—idoneo] 'The ground in front of the camp being naturally well adapted and suitable for drawing up his troops.' As to this use of the ablative, compare 'secundiore equitum proelio,' c. 9. The words from 'loco pro castris' to 'ad planitiem redibat' describe the position and nature of the hill; and Caesar commences with the words 'ab utroque latere,' the clause which corresponds to 'ubi nostros,' &c.

Caesar's camp was on a hill slightly elevated ('paululum . . . editus') above a plain. The width of the hill, in the part where it faced ('adversus') the enemy, was sufficient for the arrangement of his men in order of battle. On each side of this width the hill had rapid slopes ('dejectus habebat;' in c. 22, 'dejectus collis'). The word 'adversus' is an adjective, and agrees with 'collis.' So far all is clear. In place of 'in frontè' Elberling, Herzog, and Kraner have 'frontem.' Many MSS. have 'in frontem.' But I have preferred 'in fronte,' with Schneider. Caesar having mentioned the two flanks, now speaks again of the front or face of the hill opposite to the enemy. He adds, that 'in front the hill, sloping gently upwards (fastigatus), gradually resumed a level;' after ascending the gentle slope, a man would come to a flat again, having just ascended from the level below. 'In fronte' indicates the same direction which Caesar has expressed by 'in latitudinem.' It is in front as in vii. 23. Horace explains this (Sat. i. 8, ver. 12):

"Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat."

Where 'in fronte' is in breadth, 'in agrum' is in depth, and corresponds to Caesar's transverse ditch. Caesar and Horace use the language of the Roman Agrimensores (Heindorf, Notes on the Sat. of Horace). The expression 'in fronte' was common on Roman tombs, and with the numerals joined with it 'in fronte' meant the width or front of the tomb or burying-place; 'in agrum' with the numerals indicated the depth (Fabretti, Inscript. Rom. pp. 177, 178, ed. 1699). On these monumental inscriptions 'in latitudinem' also occurs, and in the same sense as 'in fronte.' The meaning of 'fastigatus' appears from iv. 17 and Livy, xxxvii. 27. To secure himself against an attack on the flank, Caesar cut two trenches on (not from) each side of the hill in a transverse direction, that is, at right angles, or nearly so, to what he calls the front or face of the hill. At each end of each trench he made a fort, 'castellum.' There were therefore four 'castella.' Here he placed 'tormenta' (the word contains the root 'torque'), engines which were

is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planitie editus tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat et in fronte leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planitiem redibat, ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum CD et ad extremas fossas castella constituit ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, quum aciem instruxisset, hostes, quod tantum multitudine poterant, a lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto duabus legionibus quas proxime conscripserat in castris relictis ut, si quo opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant.

9. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent hostes exspectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrederentur parati in armis erant. Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, secundiore equitum proelio nostris Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis partem suarum copiarum transducere conati sunt, eo consilio ut, si possent, castellum cui praeerat Q.

used to discharge stones and other missiles.

'Tormentum' appears to be a general name, under which are comprehended 'balistae,' 'onagri,' 'scorpiones,' and various other contrivances for discharging projectiles (Vegetius, iv. 22). Some of these engines were complicated machines. There is a picture of a 'balista' in the Commentary of G. Stewechius on Vegetius.

duabus—proxime] The two legions mentioned in c. 2, which Pedius had brought.

9. *Hanc si nostri*] 'The enemy were waiting to attack our men if they should attempt to cross the marsh; and on our side the soldiers were under arms, waiting for the enemy to advance first towards the marsh, and ready to attack them when they were fast in it.' 'Exspectabant' is to be connected with 'si nostri;' the enemy were looking out, in case the Romans should attempt the passage; and it is implied, not expressed, that they would then attack them. In the next clause the 'exspectabant' is dropped, which is expressed in the first clause; and the 'ut aggrederentur . . . in armis erant,' which is only implied in the first clause, is expressed in the second.

secundiore proelio] Comp. 'loco . . . opportuno,' c. 8.

castellum] The fort which Q. Ti-

Titurius legatus expugnarent pontemque interscinderent: si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

10. Caesar certior factus ab Titurio omnem equitatum et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque pontem transducit atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi magnum eorum numerum occiderunt: per eorum corpora reliquos audacissime transire conantes multitudine telorum reppulerunt; primos qui transierant equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. Hostes, ubi et de expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexerunt neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, concilio convocato constituerunt optimum esse domum suam quemque reverti, et quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenirent, ut potius in suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Aeduos finibus Bellovacorum adpropinquare cognoverant: his persuaderi ut diutius morarentur neque suis auxilium ferrent non poterat.

11. Ea re constituta secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi nullo certo ordine neque

turius occupied with six cohorts on the south side, or left bank of the river. It is not mentioned in c. 5.

10. *Hostes, ubi*] This is an instance of Caesar's rapid and somewhat careless style. These 'hostes' are not the 'hostes impeditos,' but the main body of the enemy, who were on the other side of the marsh, looking at Caesar's legions, which also kept their place. Caesar only took the cavalry and light troops with him to repel the attack on the bridge, which was made by a detachment of the enemy.

constituerunt—convenirent] 'Ut' must be supplied. 'Constituere' is used both with the infinitive and with 'ut' followed by the subjunctive, as in vii. 36. 38. If the reading were 'convenire,' it would depend on 'optimum esse,' as 'reverti' does. But Caesar says, 'They determined that it was best to return to their homes, and that whatever territory the Romans first invaded, they would all meet together there for its defence.' — 'domesticis copiis,' &c. Compare 'fraternum nomen populi Romani,' i. 36, and the note.

ut—neque] See i. 35, "ut in colloquium . . . neque de communi" &c.

imperio, quum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores cognita insidias veritus, quod qua de causa discederent nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce confirmata re ab exploratoribus omnem equitatum qui novissimum agmen moraretur praemisit. His Q. Pedium et L. Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit. T. Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi jussit. Hi novissimos adorti et multa milia passuum prosecuti magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, quum ab extremo agmine ad quos ventum erat consisterent fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a periculo viderentur neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt quantum fuit diei spatium, sub occasumque solis

11. *consimilis*] Compare v. 12, "Gallicis consimilia;" and vi. 27, "consimilis capreis;" whence it appears that 'fugae' is the dative.—'fecerunt ut . . . videretur.' Comp. i. 2, 'fiebat ut,' &c.

Caesar] "The noun interposed between the ablatives absolute has the effect of showing more clearly by whom the thing is done, which the participle ('cognita') shows to have been done" (Schneider). If this is not a clear exposition, it will draw attention to the position of the word 'Caesar.' See vii. 1.

His] That is, 'equitibus.' There is a reading, 'eique,' which, of course, refers to 'equitatum.' In 'Hi novissimos,' 'hi' means both the cavalry and the three legions.

ad quos] Aldus prefixed 'hi' to 'ad quos,' but there is no authority for it; and it is easily supplied. Caesar's troops attacked the tail ('novissimos') of the retreating Belgae, 'and following up the pursuit many miles, they cut to pieces a great number of the fugitives, since those at the very extremity of the rear ('ab extremo agmine') kept making a stand, and bravely resisting the attack of our soldiers, (while) those in advance of them, because they thought they were out of danger, and were not kept together by any necessity or command of their officers, the shouts reaching their ears, and their ranks falling into confusion, all rested their only hope in flight.' This sentence may be misunderstood. It was the 'extremum agmen,' the rear of the enemy, that the Romans first came up with. The Romans fell upon those who were last in the retreat ('novissimi'); and these men resisted, but, as we may infer, they were destroyed. Those who were ahead of them ran, expecting to escape, but they were overtaken; and these were the fugitives ('eorum fugientium') whom the Romans killed as long as it was daylight ('quantum fuit diei spatium'). Compare iv. 35, "tanto spatio," &c.

destiterunt, seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt

12. Postridie ejus diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit et magno itinere confecto ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis defendentibus expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis vineas agere quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant com-

12. *contendit*] 'and after making a forced march he reached Noviodunum.' (Note I. at the end of this Book.) The order of events is this. The day after the battle he entered the territory of the Suessiones, and by a forced march reached Noviodunum. Whether it was one day's march from the camp on the Aisne to Noviodunum, or one day's march after entering the territory of the Suessiones, may be doubted; but he seems to speak of one day only. Schneider examines this passage with his usual acuteness, but I doubt if he is right. He says that after 'itinere confecto' the general is said "pervenisse aliquo," as in iv. 14; vii. 56; or "consedisse," as in vii. 83; or "hostes oppressisse," as in iv. 5; vi. 30. Accordingly he supposes that after 'confecto' we must understand 'in fines Suessionum pervenit;' that is, he reached the territory of the Suessiones by a forced march, and then went on ('contendit') to Noviodunum. But Caesar has already said, 'in fines Suessionum .. duxit.' 'Contendere ad' certainly properly means the march towards a place; but it does not seem to exclude the notion of reaching it also. In i. 10, Caesar "in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit," where there is no word 'pervenit.' It may, indeed, be said, that 'ibi legiones conscribit' renders 'pervenit' unnecessary, and completes what is begun by the word 'contendit.' In ii. 19, "ad nostra castra . . . contenderunt" seems to mean only the advance towards the camp; and in ii. 24 "domum contenderunt" simply means 'moved homewards.' But 'contendit,' with the context, may imply reaching an object, as it seems to do in this passage.

vineas agere] 'Vineae' (Vegetius, iv. 15) were wooden frames eight feet high, seven wide, and sixteen long. The roof seems to have sloped on two sides, so that any missiles would slide off it. It was protected with wicker-work, and also the upright sides. To prevent these machines from being set on fire, they were covered with raw hides, or with wet hides. Several 'vineae' were placed together, to cover a number of men; and when the 'vineae' were brought up to the wall ('actae') the men worked under them, to undermine the wall, or fill up a ditch, and the like. They were either moved on wheels or by wooden rollers. (See the Notes of Stewechius on Vegetius.) 'Vineas agere' must be taken in a general sense, to signify getting the 'vineae' ready, for they were not moved till the next day. When the 'vineae' were moved, they covered the men (vii. 27) who were employed to throw earth ('aggerem jacere') into the 'fossa,' to level it before the wooden towers could be placed near the walls. Compare Sallust, Bell. Jug. c. 76: "deinde locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere" 'Aggerem extruere' (ii. 30; vii. 72) means to raise a

parare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere jacto turribusque constitutis, magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti legatos ad Caesarem de deditione mittunt, et petentibus Remis ut conservarentur impetrant.

13. Caesar obsidibus acceptis primis civitatis atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in deditionem Suessiones accepit exercitumque in Bellovacos ducit. Qui quum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes majores natu ex oppido egressi manus ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare coeperunt sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere. Item, quum ad oppidum accessisset castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiacus, nam post discessum Belgarum dimissis Aeduorum copiis ad eum reverterat, facit verba: Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Aeduae fuisse: impulsos ab suis principibus qui dicerent Aeduos a Caesare in servitutem redactos omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Aeduis defecisse et populo Romano bellum intulisse. Qui ejus consilii principes fuissent, quod intelligerent quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere non solum Bellovacos sed etiam pro his Aeduos ut sua cle-

mound of earth to attack a place from.

omnis ex fuga—multitudo] See iv. 37 and the note; and vi. 35, 'receptos ex fuga.'

petentibus Remis] It is usual to put a comma after 'Remis,' and another after 'conservarentur;' but such a pointing obscures the construction. We may connect the 'ut' with 'petentibus,' or with 'impetrant,' or with both.

13. *primis civitatis*] Cicero has the expressions, 'primus vir,' 'primus homo' (Verr. ii. 1, c. 26; 4, c. 23).—'Bratuspantium:' c. 4.

armisque — traditis] Caesar disarmed them. This was his practice when he took a place (c. 15. 32; iii. 21; vii. 11).

14. *principes*] The leaders, the agitators, ran away to Britain when the place was too hot to hold them; as the Gaul still does. 'Principes' is so used in vi. 4. 44; vii. 37; and also by Cicero, Ad Fam. xv. 15.

mentia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Aeduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum; quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.

15. Caesar honoris Divitiaci atque Aeduorum causa sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit; quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate atque hominum multitudine praestabat, DC obsides poposcit. His traditis omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dediderunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant; quorum de natura moribusque Caesar quum quaereret, sic reperiebat: Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus: nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium inferri, quod iis rebus relanguescere animos eorum et remitti virtutem existimarent: esse homines feros magnaeque virtutis: increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem projecissent: confirmare sese neque legatos missuros neque ullam conditionem pacis accepturos.

15. *honoris—causa*] 'To give some credit to Divitiacus and the Aedui, Caesar said that he would' &c. His act was intended to show that he paid respect to the intercession of Divitiacus. Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 7) has "qui Matrinii honoris causa . . . ad te literas misit." The expression HONORIS VIRTVTISQVE CAVSSA occurs in Roman inscriptions.

in fidem recepturum] In i. 28, "in deditionem accepit," is said of Caesar and of the Helvetii after their defeat. In this chapter the Ambiani 'se . . . sine mora dediderunt.' It does not appear that there was any difference in the treatment of the Ambiani and the Bellovaci; or if there was, it was in favour of the Ambiani, for the Bellovaci were required to furnish hostages. Still, 'in fidem recipere,' which means the 'fides' of Caesar, implies a promise on Caesar's part; which is further indicated by 'conservaturum.' Cicero says "L. Antonium qui vos omnes in fidem suam recepit" (Philip. vi. c. 5).

ad luxuriam pertinentium] Elb. places these words in [ ]. They are wanting in many of the best MSS.; but if they are omitted, it is difficult to explain 'reliquarumque rerum.'

eorum et remitti] All the best MSS. have 'eorum.' Elb. omits it, but it seems conformable to Caesar's usage. See iv. 17, and the remarks on 're' in such words as 'relanguescere.'

qui—dedidissent] 'For having surrendered,' 'because they had surrendered;' a common use of 'qui' and the subjunctive. Modern writers of Latin often use 'quum' in such cases when they ought to use 'qui.'

sese neque] Schneider observes, that 'sese' goes with 'missuros;' and that with 'confirmare,' 'increpitare,' 'incusare,' we must supply 'eos;' which is true, and perhaps the observation may prevent a mistake. 'Confirmare' is a strong expression;

16. Quum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum x abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare una cum Atrebatibus et Veromanduis finitimis suis, nam his utrisque persuaserant uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur: exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias atque esse in itinere: mulieres quique per aetatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur in eum locum conjecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

17. His rebus cognitis exploratores centurionesque praemittit qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Quumque ex dedititiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea

it means to assure a person, to add something by way of strengthening what is said. See vi. 33.

16. *triduum*] There is a reading 'triduo,' which is admissible, for Caesar uses the ablative in like cases (B. C. i. 7. 46, 47; iii. 59). But he also uses the accusative in the Gallic War (i. 3. 26; iv. 4). The difference seems to be, that 'triduum' signifies the whole time, and 'triduo' means 'within three days,' as we say; which may not be three full days. 'Triduum' is a noun, not an adjective, as some have supposed. See iv. 11, "tridui spatium." The example from Livy (xxvii. 24), "quum senatus biduum ad considerandum peteret tempus," we may explain as Schneider does, 'the senate asking time for deliberation, two days.'

Sabim] The 'Sabis' is the Sambre, which joins the Mosa or Maas on the left bank at Namur in Belgium.

per aetatem] Comp. iii. 9: "quum primum per anni tempus potuit;" and i. 42, note.

paludes] A part of the country of the Nervii was marshy, and it extended to the aestuaries on the coast (c. 28). D'Anville concludes that they possessed the coast between the territory of the Morini and the mouth of the Schelde. Caesar (iii. 9), where he is mentioning the tribes which occupied the Gallic coast opposite to Britain, does not mention the Nervii. But this may be explained by the fact, that the central country of the Nervii was in the interior, in the Belgian province of Hainault. Strabo (p. 194) makes the Menapii the neighbours of the Morini, on the sea coast, which leaves no intervening space for the Nervii on the sea. Pliny (iv. 17) agrees with him. D'Anville has not overlooked all this. The Nervii may have extended down to the mouth of the Schelde without occupying the sea coast; and whatever claim they may have had on a portion of the low swampy country near the sea, it was a remote and uncertain possession; for we never read in any historical document of any age of the Nervii as a coast people, but it is always the Morini and Menapii. (See Bast, Recueil d'Antiquités Romaines et Gauloises trouvées dans la Flandre proprement dite. Gand, An. XII.—1804.) In c. 28 Caesar speaks of the 'aestuaria ac paludes,' in which the Nervii had placed their children and women; and if we take the Roman sense of 'aestuarium' as it is used and explained by Roman writers, Caesar means a place in which the sea rises and falls, a place therefore within the reach of the tide.

ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt atque his demonstrarunt inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quidquam negotii, quum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa impedimentisque direptis futurum ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. Adjuvabat etiam eorum consilium qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, quum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed quidquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis) quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, impe-

17. *impedimenta*] Literally, 'obstacles,' 'hindrances.' The word seems to be used only in the plural, in the sense of the munitions and baggage of an army. The 'impedimenta' were the horses, waggons, and whatever other animals or means might be employed for transporting the heavy material. The order of a march was this (Vegetius, iii. 6): "primi ergo equites iter arripiant, inde pedites: impedimenta, sagittarii(?), calones, vehiculaque in medio collocentur, ita ut expedita pars peditum et equitum subsequatur." Polybius also (vi. 40) describes the order of marching. When the legions were moved without these incumbrances, they were said to be 'sine impedimentis.' The soldiers carried their arms, food, utensils, and 'valli,' or stakes, which were used for the palisade of the camp; and they were said, on the march, to be 'sub sarcinis.' The number of 'valli' which the soldiers carried was three or four. Among their utensils were a saw, a basket, a spade, an axe, leather thongs, a curved hook for cutting, and a chain for chaining prisoners, and perhaps for other purposes (Polyb. iii. 82). On the column of Trajan soldiers are represented with a sword and shield, and carrying a great bundle ('sarcina') on the top of a strong stick. The helmet forms part of the 'sarcina,' being carried thus as a more convenient way than on the head during a march. Josephus (B. Jud. iii. 5) might well say that the Roman soldiers, 'sub sarcinis,' were like baggage mules. Virgil represents them under their heavy burden, "injusto sub fasce" (Georg. iii. 347):

"Non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis
Injusto sub fasce viam dum carpit, et ante
Hosti expectatum positis stat in ordine castris."

See also Cicero, Tusc. Disp. ii. 16; Livy, 44, c. 2; Lipsius, De Militia Romana, v. Dial. 10, 11.

"The Roman soldier was a real workman, ditcher, mason, carpenter, wood-cutter: he exercised in time of peace all these laborious trades, and he regarded them as essential parts of his profession. Accustomed to carry heavy burdens, to move machines, to serve them and to make them work, he supported without trouble and without a murmur labours which our most determined volunteers would refuse to submit to" (Guischardt, Mém. Milit. i. 238).

venissent] That is, the 'finitimi.' There is a reading 'venisset.'

dirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque inflexis crebris in latitudinem ramis enatis et rubis sentibusque interjectis, effecerant ut instar muri hae sepes munimentum praeberent, quo non modo intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus quum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii existimaverunt.

18. Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter declivis ad

arboribus incisis] Elb. omits 'enatis.' Caesar is describing the hedges in the country of the Nervii, which we may suppose to be the enclosures of their fields. The young plants were lopped ('incisae') and then the branches grew out as in a quickset hedge: 'by lopping the trees when young, and by the intertwining ('inflexis') of the branches which grew out thick in a lateral direction ('crebris in latitudinem ramis enatis'), and brambles and briars also being interposed, they had made their hedges serve the purpose of a rampart, just like a wall.' 'Incisis' means, not partially cut and then bent ('inflexis'), as some suppose; but 'inflexis' applies to the branches which shot out ('enatis') after this pruning (Cic. Ad Att. iv. 2, "qui mihi pinnas inciderant, nolunt easdem renasci"). The order of the words shows the meaning: the plants were lopped, then they became close, thick, in consequence of the numerous branches that grew out laterally; and these branches were intertwined. 'Interjectis' may mean either the natural growth of the briars—which seems the better interpretation—or that the interstices were so filled up by the Nervii. In fact, they made an impervious hedge, like those which surrounded the numerous small enclosures in the district bordering on the south bank of the lower course of the Loire, called Le Bocage, which presented formidable obstacles to the troops of the French republic in their attempts to put down the rebellion in La Vendée. Strabo (p. 194) when he is describing the country of the Menapii, Morini, Atrebates, and of the Eburones who occupied the Arduenna forest, speaks of their stopping hostile incursions by intertwining the shrubs and brambles, and staking the forest paths. Some writers suppose that he has used and misused this passage of Caesar, but I don't think that he has done either.

instar] 'The resemblance or form of a wall.' 'Instar' is a noun not declined; as in Cic. Verr. ii. 5, c. 17, "triremis instar;" and Ulpian, Dig. 39. 1. 21, "instar quoddam operis et quasi facies quaedam facti operis."

non modo intrari] Some MSS. have 'non modo non;' but the 'non' ought to be omitted, according to Latin usage, for the verb 'posset,' which denotes possibility, belongs to both clauses; and when the verb is thus placed in one clause only, 'non modo' is used, followed by 'ne . . . quidem.' The confusion about this matter arises from translating 'non modo,' 'not only,' whereas it means 'not so much as;' that is, so much as the following word denotes, which word here is 'intrari.' It should be translated, 'Into which there was not so much as a possibility of entering, nay, not even of seeing through them.' Other examples of this 'non modo' are iii. 4, "non modo defesso," &c.; viii. 33, "effugere non modo," &c.; and v. 43, &c.

18. *declivis*] A hill described as sloping from the top to the bottom is 'declivis.' A hill described as sloping from the bottom to the top is 'adclivis' (vii. 19). Caesar uses 'adclivitate' for the upward slope.

flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. Ab eo flumine pari adclivitate collis nascebatur adversus huic et contrarius passus circiter ducentos, infimus apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris ut non facile introrsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant: in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat ac Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. Nam quod ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat: post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat: inde duae legiones quae proxime conscriptae erant totum agmen claudebant praesidioque impedimentis erant. Equites nostri cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. Quum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius quam quem ad finem porrecta ac

adversus] This word simply means 'opposite,' but it must mean something else here, for 'contrarius' expresses the fact that one hill was right opposite ('contra') the other (see iv. 17). 'Adversus' seems to mean, as Schneider says, that the two eminences corresponded in form and extent. He also supposes that 'passus circiter ducentos' means that the hill began to rise at the distance of 200 feet from the river. I now think that Müller rightly explains the meaning to be, that the rise began at the river, and that the slope measured upwards was about 200 feet ('pari adclivitate . . . passus circiter ducentos'). Compare iii. 19, note. In the lower part ('infimus') it was clear ground, but covered with wood at the top. Kraner connects 'passus circiter ducentos' with 'infimus apertus,' and understands the hill to have been clear of wood for 200 paces from the bottom. Along ('secundum') the river the enemy had a few picquets of cavalry (vii. 34, 'secundum flumen'). Elb. adopts the reading 'infima' of one MS.

silvestris ut] 'So thick wooded that it was not easy to see into it.' See i. 6.

19. *quod ad*] This reading is doubtful. Some MSS. have 'quoad,' in which case we should have 'hosti,' for 'appropinquare' is said to be used with a dative in all the other passages of the Gallic war. The 'consuetudine' means Caesar's usual form of marching when he was coming near an enemy; it was not the 'consuetudo itineris' (c. 12), for Caesar had adopted a different form, and so disappointed the enemy.

identidem] According to Priscian is 'idem et idem,' 'the same and the same;' that is, it denotes the repetition of a thing.

porrecta] The narrow strip along the river, about 200 feet in width, according to Schneider; but I think he is mistaken. 'Porrecta' is a par-

loca aperta pertinebant cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso castra munire coeperunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab his qui in silvis abditi latebant visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat, ita ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. His facile pulsis ac proturbatis incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et jam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra atque eos qui in opere occupati erant contenderunt.

20. Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum

ticiple; but Schneider says that it cannot refer to 'loca,' on account of its position, and must be taken as a noun. He compares vii. 88, "haec declivia et devexa;" but there we have 'haec.' Elb. says that one MS., and some of the old editions, have 'porrecta ac aperta loca.' Herzog and Kraner have 'porrecta loca aperta.'

opere dimenso] The ground had been chosen (c. 17), and the six legions which came first began to make the camp ('castra munire'). The words 'opere dimenso' mean that the ground was marked out, and each legion would know its place (Polyb. vi. 41).

ita ut] 'In such form as they had arranged their order of battle and ranks in the forest, and had encouraged one another (to do), all at once with all their force they sprung forwards.' Davis and Clarke omitted 'ita,' on the authority of one MS., to the detriment of the sense; they took 'ut' to be equivalent to 'postquam.'

proturbatis] The reading 'perturbatis' means less. 'Proturbare' is to drive forward in confusion. 'Per' and 'pro' in MSS. are generally represented by abbreviated forms so much alike as to be easily confounded.

in manibus] This means what a man has under his hand: hence what is in his power, and what is close to him: Liv. v. 20; Cic. Ad Div. xi. 13, "quae in manibus sunt."

adverso colle] They made their way towards the Roman camp with the hill before them, and they went up it.

20. *vexillum*] 'Vexillum,' a diminutive of 'velum,' is a flag, which, when hung out ('propositum'), was the signal of battle. Caesar had arrived at that part of the ground where the place for the general's quarters was marked, and here he hung out the 'vexillum.' Plutarch (Brutus, c. 40) speaks of a red cloth or vest (*προὔκειτο . . . σύμβολον ἀγῶνος φοινικοῦς χιτών*) being hung out by Brutus and Cassius as the signal for battle at Philippi. Plutarch has translated 'proponere' and 'signum,' but for 'vexillum' he has used *φοινικοῦς χιτών*. In another place (Fabius Maximus, c. 15) he calls this 'vexillum' *χιτὼν κόκκινος*, hung out above the 'praetorium.' The colour of this 'vexillum' was red. Caesar explains the use of it in this passage, and some critics, assuming that it was the old signal for battle, complain that he has explained what did not want explanation; a fault which Caesar cannot often be charged with. One might rather conclude that it had

proponendum, quod erat insigne quum ad arma concurri oporteret, signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant arcessendi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Quarum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitas et successus hostium impediebat. His difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio, scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere quam ab aliis doceri poterant, et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. Hi propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium nihil jam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se quae videbantur administrabant.

not been a usual or long established signal, and for that reason he explained it. For 'vexillum proponere' might be a signal for many things; and, as Schneider observes, the passages in which 'signum proponere' occurs in Livy do not show that the expression means what it does here (Livy, vi. 12; vii. 32; ix. 14. 23; Cic. Phil. v. 11). See Lipsius, De Milit. Rom. iv. Dial. 12.

signum tuba] Lipsius (iv. Dial. 10) has all the learning on this matter. The 'tuba' was metal, straight and expanding at the mouth. It might be used as a signal for the onset, as in Bell. Civ. iii. 46. It was not the signal of battle here, as the context shows, but to call the men to their ranks. The 'vexillum' was for the eye; the 'tuba' for the ear. Both together were a signal to get ready for fighting. The words 'ab opere revocandi milites' do not imply any particular summons, for the 'vexillum propositum' and the 'signum tuba datum' would have the effect of calling together the rest of the troops, and recalling those who were employed about the intrenchments. Some were at a distance getting such material ('agger') as they wanted.

As to 'signum dandum,' some take it to mean the 'tessera' (the σύνθημα) of the Greeks, the word which was given to the men, probably that they might by calling it out avoid confusion and mistake. Schneider concludes rightly, as I think, that 'signum dandum' is the signal for battle, which would be made with the 'tuba.' After the 'militum cohortatio' the battle should come. The 'tessera' is not named by Caesar, and 'signum dare' with him is the signal for fight (i. 52; iii. 5. 19; and other places).

successus] 'Et successus et incursus,' Elb. 'Successus' is the approach of the enemy up the hill. 'Succedere' is Caesar's usual word in such cases (i. 25).

His difficultatibus] 'His' is the dative, and it depends on 'subsidio.' The skill and experience of the soldier helped him ('subsidio erant') against these difficulties. The discipline of the Roman troops saved them.

nihil jam] 'Nihil' is more emphatic than the simple 'non,' and the addition of 'jam' adds further force. Thus in i. 40, 'nihil se ea re commoveri;' and i. 12, 'tres jam partes.'—Elb. has 'spectabant' for 'exspectabant.'

quae videbantur] Caesar means, they did what seemed best to them under the circumstances.

21. Caesar necessariis rebus imperatis ad cohortandos milites quam in partem fors obtulit decucurrit et ad legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus quam uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent neu perturbarentur animo hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant quam quo telum adjici posset, proelii committendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detrudenda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque ab opere in partem casu devenit quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in quaerendis suis pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22. Instructo exercitu magis ut loci natura dejectusque collis et necessitas temporis quam ut rei militaris ratio

21. *non modo*] This is another use of 'non modo,' in which it is followed by 'sed etiam.' It may be translated 'not only—but even;' and that will express the meaning. But the explanation is this: "time was wanting not so far as was necessary 'ad insignia accommodanda,' but further than this, 'etiam ad galeas,' &c."

insignia] See i. 21. Here the 'insignia' seem to be the crests, feathers red and black, or other ornaments which the Roman soldiers wore, as Polybius (vi. 23) describes them. Lipsius (De Milit. Rom. iii. Dial. 5) gives in half a page nine samples of these ornamental helmets from ancient monuments. These were moveable ornaments, and not always worn.

induendas] The best MSS. have 'inducendas,' which, if it is right, must mean to put on the helmets; for nothing else can be meant. But this is not the proper meaning of the word (see c. 33); and Schneider's argument against 'inducendas' in this passage, derived from the use of the word, seems to me conclusive. It appears that the soldiers fought without their helmets. They carried them suspended from the neck or otherwise (c. 17, note) on the march, and they had not time to put them on.

The shields were made of metal or ornamented with metal and various devices, and covered with leather when not in use. Plutarch (Lucullus, c. 27) speaks of the leather coverings of the Roman shields and helmets. The Romans called them 'clipeorum involucra.' Xenophon (Anab. i. 2. 16) describes the review of the Hellenic soldiers who had their shields taken out of their casings (τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας).

defuerit] Schneider explains this perfect obscurely enough in his Latin, but correctly. A past event has preceded ('fuit'), which is connected with another event that follows it, and this second event is also expressed by a perfect, which denotes a complete event, and leaves nothing further to be expected. It is a fact completed ('defuerit').

22. *dejectusque*] See c. 8.

atque ordo postulabat, quum diversis legionibus aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interjectis prospectus impediretur, neque certa subsidia collocari, neque quid in quaque parte opus esset provideri, neque ab uno omnia imperia administrari poterant. Itaque in tanta rerum iniquitate fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

23. Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates (nam his ea pars obvenerat) celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt et transire conantes insecuti gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt, et in locum iniquum progressi rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam conjecerunt. Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. At totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, quum in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes

diversis legionibus] 'Diversis locis legiones,' Elb. There is authority for both readings, but I think Schneider is right in preferring 'diversis legionibus.' 'Diversis locis legiones' does not express so clearly what Caesar means. The legions were 'diversae,' scattered, disjoined, not 'contractae,' like Virgil's 'phocae:' "Sternunt se somno diversae in litore phocae" (Geor. iv. 432). In c. 24 Caesar speaks of his Numidae as 'diversos dissipatosque,' &c.; they were broken and dispersed. The meaning then is: 'Since owing to the legions being disjoined some were making head against the enemy in one part and some in another.' Caesar's legions were more like several armies fighting severally, than like one army. It was all confusion.

23. *ut in sinistra*] 'Since,' 'inasmuch as' they had taken their station on the left, the ninth and tenth under Labienus (c. 26). The Atrebates, who were posted opposite to that part ('ea pars'), came right against them. See v. 43, 'ut . . . se constipaverant.' There is no comparison here.

acie] This is a form of the genitive. Gellius (ix. 14) observes that Caesar, in his grammatical treatise 'De Analogia,' says that we should write 'hujus die,' 'hujus specie.'—'Pilis emissis,' see i. 25.

rursus resistentes] 'Rursus regressos et resistentes,' Elb. But Schneider remarks that 'regredi' is generally said of men retreating from battle (v. 44).

conjecerunt] 'Dederunt,' Elb.; as in v. 51.

Veromanduis] The Velocasses are not mentioned here (c. 4). The eleventh and eighth drove back the Veromandui from the front of the camp.

Nervii confertissimo agmine duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt; quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere coepit.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armaturae pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, quum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occurrebant ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant; et calones, qui ab decumana porta ac summo jugo collis nostros victores flumen transire conspexerant, praedandi causa egressi, quum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese mandabant. Simul eorum qui cum impedimentis veniebant clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treviri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa ab civitate ad Caesarem missi venerant, quum multitudine hostium castra nostra compleri, nostras legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas, diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus domum contenderunt: Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos civitati renuntiaverunt.

25. Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dex-

aperto latere] On the left of the twelfth and seventh legions (i. 26).

summum] See ii. 18, 'collis ab summo.' The camp was on the summit towards which the Nervii were directing their attack.

24. *adversis hostibus*] The enemy was in the camp, as he says, shortly after; and the 'equites,' and archers, and slingers (c. 19) having made their way back to it, found themselves face to face with the Nervii in the camp.—'Calones' are slaves who were used for menial services. But we cannot suppose that the common soldiers had them; probably only the 'tribuni' and 'centuriones.' Sallust says that when Metellus reformed the African army in the Jugurthine war, he did not allow a common soldier to have a beast of burden or a slave (Bell. Jug. c. 45). The 'calones' were at the 'porta decumana' or 'quaestoria,' which was at the back of the camp, opposite to the 'praetoria,' which was in front. The camp was partly on a slope, and the 'porta decumana' in the rear commanded a view of the river. We collect from this passage that the place for the 'calones' was near the 'decumana;' on the outside, near this gate, was the station of the 'mercatores' (vi. 37).

25. *ab decimae legionis*] See beginning of c. 21, "milites non longa," &c., and "atque in alteram partem," &c.

trum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vidit, quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo P.

signis—collatis—confertos] Kraner supposes that the twelfth had formed an 'orbis;' but if Caesar meant that, he might have said that they had formed an 'orbis,' as he does on other occasions (iv. 37; v. 33).

impedimento vidit] 'Vidit' is in all the MSS. the collations of which are certainly known. Aldus recommended it to be erased, apparently because it occurs again—"rem esse in angusto vidit;" but it is genuine in both places.'

signo amisso] The 'signifer,' or standard bearer, of the fourth cohort, was killed, and the 'signum' was lost; from which it might be inferred that Caesar is speaking of *the* 'signum' of the fourth 'cohors.' In the time of Polybius (vi. 24) the legions were only divided into 'manipuli,' and èach 'manipulus' had its 'signum;' and this was so in Caesar's time (B. G. vi. 34. 40), though the thirty 'manipuli' of a legion were distributed into ten cohorts. It seems probable that the 'signum' of one of the three 'manipuli' was the 'signum' of the cohort, for it is unlikely that there were four 'signa' in a cohort.

The old 'signa' of the 'manipuli' were a pole with a wisp of grass on the top, as the poet says:

"Illa quidem foeni: sed erat reverentia foeno
Quantum nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas.
Pertica suspensos portabat longa maniplos,
Unde maniplaris nomina miles habet."

Ovid, Fast. iii. 115.

The pole was changed into a spear; and the wisp of grass was replaced by gilded, or silver, or bronze figures of animals (Pliny, H. N. x. 4). But of these figures the 'aquila' or eagle alone was finally retained; hence to carry the eagle means to carry the 'signum' of the legion (B. G. iv. 25); and the bearer was called 'aquilifer.' For the 'signum' of the legion was the 'aquila,' the care of which belonged originally to the first 'manipulus' of the 'triarii.' The standards of the cohorts were properly called 'signa,' and differed from the 'aquila,' or standard of the legion. But there is some difficulty in ascertaining what is meant by the 'signa' of the 'cohortes.' Lipsius was of opinion that the 'manipuli' had their 'signa,' and not the cohorts. There are passages of the Roman writers in which the 'signa' both of the 'manipuli' and of the 'cohortes' are mentioned; but it is possible, according to the explanation given above, that there was no separate 'signum' for the whole cohort, and that the 'signum' of one of the 'manipuli' served as such.

primipilo] Elb. has 'primo pilo.' There is no etymological objection to the form 'primipilus,' for which there is also the authority of an inscription. 'Primopilus' may be objected to. Livy (vii. 41) says "Primus centurio erat quem nunc primipilum appellant," though Drakenborch has 'primi pili' in that passage. But in Liv. ii. 27 we have 'primi pili centurionem,' and therefore if we read 'primi pili' in Liv. vii. 41, he is explaining in that passage what he should have explained in ii. 27. The 'centurio primi pili' was the first centurion of the first 'manipulus' of the 'triarii,' who were also called 'pilani;' and he was said

Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto ut jam se sustinere non posset, reliquos esse tardiores, et nonnullos ab novissimis deserto proelio excedere ac tela vitare, hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere et ab utroque latere instare, et rem esse in angusto vidit, neque ullum esse subsidium quod submitti posset, scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit centurionibusque nominatim appellatis reliquos cohortatus milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare jussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. Cujus adventu spe illata militibus ac redintegrato animo, quum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

26. Caesar quum septimam legionem, quae juxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit ut paulatim sese legiones conjungerent et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. Quo facto, quum alius

'primum pilum ducere' (B. G. vi. 38). He was the commander of the first 'centuria' of that 'manipulus,' and the first in rank of the sixty centurions in a legion. In B. G. iii. 5, there is 'primi pili centurio,' and in Cicero, Pro Balbo, c. 15.

confecto ut] See i. 6, and the note.

deserto] One MS. has 'deserto, which Lipsius conjectured to be the true reading. The MSS. and Elb. have 'desertos,' which cannot be explained; for it would mean that some being deserted by those in the extreme rear left the battle, which is nonsense. Caesar means that 'nonnullos ab novissimis,' 'some in the extreme rear,' left the field and abandoned the contest.

neque—subeuntes intermittere] The enemy kept mounting the hill in front; there was no interruption in their forcing a way up. 'Neque . . . et,' as in iv. 29, is common in Latin.

manipulos laxare] He ordered them to open their ranks, to allow more room for the use of the sword. The men were too close.

pro se quisque] This seems to mean 'every single man,' without respect to the rest. So in Virgil, Aen. xii. 552, "Pro se quisque viri summa nitantur opum vi." There are many examples in Livy, i. 59; ii. 10. See also B. C. i. 33.

26. *conversa signa*] The two legions, the twelfth and seventh, were near one another on the right of the camp; but there was a space between them. Caesar ordered these two legions by degrees to join their ranks, and to face about and front the enemy ("conversa signa in hostes inferre," i. 25). This being done, there was no danger of being attacked by the enemy in the rear ('aversi'). Like expressions occur in Livy, v. 38, and in ix. 21, "diversa statuit signa." Schneider supposes that the movement brought the two legions back to back, but this would not be the movement. The two legions, instead of presenting one front to the enemy, who were pouring upon them in front and on both sides, presented several fronts; they kept their ranks

alii subsidium ferret, neque timerent ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato cursu incitato in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur; et T. Labienus castris hostium potitus et ex loco superiore quae res in nostris castris gererentur conspicatus decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui quum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta ut nostri etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuissent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent, tum calones perterritos hostes conspicati etiam inermes armatis occurrerent, equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnae se legionariis militibus praeferrent. At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt ut, quum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; his dejectis et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent ut ex tumulo tela in nostros conjicerent et

closed, but faced the enemy on all sides. They might have formed a square or rectangle in the way explained in Note II. at the end of this book. Müller thinks that the legions only formed a longer line, and so avoided being outflanked by the Nervii. I do not think that he is right, and accordingly I have given in the note (II.) Roesch's explanation, which some readers may prefer.

alius alii] 'Alius alii . . . ferrent,' Elb.

castris hostium] Labienus was with the ninth and tenth (c. 23). He had crossed the river and got into the enemy's camp. They had no doubt baggage with them, and had made some rude encampment. He was on the hill on the opposite side of the river, having broken the enemy's right. He saw what was going on in Caesar's camp, and sent the tenth legion to Caesar's aid.

sibi reliqui] 'They left nothing undone in the matter of speed:' they came as fast as they could. The battle was now won, if the Nervii could be repelled.

27. *nostri*] Elb. has a comma after 'nostri,' which is a bad punctuation. It is 'ad sensum,' as Schneider says, the same as 'nostrorum.' Comp. 'complures nostri,' 'many of our men' (i. 52). 'Vulneribus confecti,' 'badly wounded,' is a common expression in Caesar. The context shows that it does not mean 'killed.' Comp. iii. 21.

praeferrent] 'They put themselves in front of the legionary soldiers in every part of the field.'

qui superessent] Its position corresponds to that of 'proximi,' and

pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequidquam tantae virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum; quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

28. Hoc proelio facto et prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto majores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes collectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, quum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium qui supererant consensu legatos ad Caesarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt, et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad D qui arma ferre possent sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quos Caesar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti jussit, et finitimis imperavit ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

'superstites' would express the same meaning. See i. 36, "qui vicissent iis quos vicissent."

deberet] All the MSS. have 'deberent,' which Aldus altered to 'deberet.' There is a reading 'judicari deberent, ausi quod essent;' which would mean 'so that not without reason ought the men to be considered so brave, inasmuch as they had dared to cross a very broad river, to ascend very high banks,' &c.

28. *nomine*] The word may be taken literally here: the nation and the name of the Nervii were almost destroyed. See vi. 34, "stirps ac nomen civitatis;" and viii. 7, "nomen populi Romani." 'Nomen' is sometimes used for a nation, but then it is used with an adjective, as 'nomen Latinum.'

collectos] As Caesar has used 'conjecisse' (c. 16), some critics have suggested that we should read 'conjectos' here: but all the MSS., it appears, have 'collectos.' It by no means follows that because the fighting men are said 'conjicere' the helpless people, that the helpless people must be called 'conjecti.' Indeed, another word is preferable here, which expresses the fact of their being in one place.

milibus LX] The number of fighting men that they promised (c. 4) was 50,000. There seems to be no variation in the MSS. The reader may explain the difference as he pleases. But the fighting men were not completely exhausted, for the Nervii soon rose again in arms, v. 38; vi. 2; vii. 75. Kraner says that the Nervii purposely exaggerated their loss to excite compassion. The slaughter was great, and when Caesar wrote this, he was told that he had destroyed all the fighting men, and he may have believed it. He found afterwards to his cost that it was not so. I conclude that Caesar wrote this book in B.C. 57, and that he did not alter it after he knew that the Nervii were not all destroyed; and he did right.

I do not see any evidence for fixing the place where this great battle was fought. It was on the right bank of the Sambre, as the story shows.

29. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, quum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nuntiata ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie natura munitum contulerunt. Quod quum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter adclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant, tum magni ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro collocarant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui, quum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiam ex suis ac praesidio sex milia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, quum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

29. *Aduatuci, &c.*] Introd. p. 29. There are no means of ascertaining where this 'oppidum' of the Aduatici or Aduatuci was. The people lived about the confluence of the Sambre and the Maas; and it has been conjectured that their stronghold was the site of Namur; but this is impossible, as D'Anville shows. Namur is on the Maas, a circumstance incompatible with Caesar's description, for he mentions no river. He describes the place as a height precipitous all round ('ex omnibus in circuitu partibus'), except in one part, where it was approached by a gentle ascent in width not more than two hundred feet. Across this ascent and close to the upper part, as we may suppose, the Aduatuci had built two high walls, one within the other, and in front of the outer wall they had cut a ditch (c. 32). The description of the place shows that it was protected by the natural rocks except in one place; and the ditch was not round the town, but, as Caesar says, 'ante oppidum.'—'Aditus' must be connected with 'pedum,' as 'vallo pedum,' &c., c. 30.

ex itinere—reverterunt] 'On their march they turned back and went home.' See c. 6, 'ex itinere;' and iii. 21.

custodiam] There is good authority for 'custodiam . . . ac praesidium:' also for 'custodiae . . . praesidio,' which Elb. has. But Elberling's reading makes the 'una' unmeaning. Accordingly Elb. and others put 'una' in the stocks [una], though it is in all the MSS. except two. If with Schneider we explain 'custodiam' to mean 'custodes,' some of the weaker or inferior sort, it is then intelligible to say that they also left six thousand fighting men to guard the whole. The words 'agere' and 'portare' mean that the invaders left both live stock and dead stock behind them, and the live stock would require feeding and attention, which it would not be the business of a fighting man to bestow. The German nations, to whom the Teutones at least belonged, had slaves. The great fighters lived an idle life in time of peace.

hunc locum] This must mean all the territory occupied by the Adua-

30. Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant parvulisque proeliis cum nostris contendebant: postea vallo pedum XII in circuitu XV milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis aggere exstructo turrim pro-

tuci. 'Locus' has a very wide meaning, as in i. 30, "locum domicilio ex magna copia," &c. Virgil, Aen. iii. 163, has "Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt."

Schneider reconciles what is said here with what is said in c. 4: "Teutonosque Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerant," by saying that they placed their baggage in the territory of the Belgae, but did not enter on it themselves. This is mere trifling. See Introd. p. 29.

30. *primo adventu*] As 'prima luce' means 'as soon as day dawns,' so 'primo adventu' means as soon as they arrived. See i. 22.

vallo] The number XII is omitted in some MSS., and others have the reading 'vallo pedum in circuitu XV,' which leaves the circuit undetermined. Some critics have supplied 'pedum' with 'milium,' so as to make the circuit 15,000 feet, instead of 15,000 paces; but this is contrary to the usage of the language, and we must understand the 'circuit' to be fifteen Roman miles. There was some good reason for making the circumvallation so extensive. As to the practicability of it, there is no difficulty. Caesar had seven legions (see c. 34, note), above 30,000 men, besides the rest of his force. Two thousand men to a mile would soon make a ditch and throw up a 'vallum' twelve feet high.

"I here give a calculation sent to me by Mr. Seymour Clarke, the Secretary of the Great Northern Railway, in 1851. 'One hundred men in ten hours can make 100 yards of a ditch twenty-one feet broad at the top and twelve feet deep, with the earth thrown inwards and upwards as a parapet; in fact, each man can dig a yard in length, equal to lifting fourteen cubic yards. Five thousand regular railway navvies could in ten hours make such a ditch or form an impediment of 5000 yards nearly three miles; and supposing soldiers can only do the third part of navvies' work here, they can make a mile of protection in ten hours.' (Letter to the Times of Dec. 9, 1854, signed Charles Shaw.)"

vineis actis] The 'vineae' were brought up to cover the men, while they raised the 'agger,' on which the 'turris' was to be worked and brought up to the wall. The raising of the 'agger,' &c., or of a bank of earth which extended to the base of the wall, was the first operation in this form of siege. It was an embankment broad enough to contain one tower or more, and high enough to enable the men in the tower to drive the besieged from their wall and get into the place. Sallust (Bell. Jug. c. 76) will explain this: "Deinde locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari." (See Lipsius, Poliorcet. Lib. ii. Dial. 4.)

The 'agger' was made of stones, earth, and timber. They used branches of trees and earth to make the embankment, and the sides were strengthened with timber, and probably stone when it could be got. Stones were also thrown in with the earth. So Lucan iii. 396:

"Ut, cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem
Suspendant, structa laterum compage ligatam
Artet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger."

An elaborate contrivance for assaulting the town of Massilia is described

cul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur, Quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae (nam plerumque omnibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muro sese collocare confiderent?

31. Ubi vero moveri et appropinquare moenibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti legatos ad Caesarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti: Non existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere [et ex propinquitate pugnare] possent, se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere dixerunt. Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret. Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere, a quibus se defendere traditis armis non possent. Sibi praestare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a po-

by Caesar, B. C. ii. 8, and explained by Guischardt, Mém. Mil. Vol. ii.

quod tanta] 'Quo . . . institueretur,' Elb. All the MSS. have 'quod.' Whether 'institueretur' or 'instrueretur' is the genuine word, is doubtful. If we take Elb.'s reading, the words of the Aduatuci begin with 'quo:' 'they mocked from the wall and rallied the Romans, saying, For what purpose was such a huge piece of machinery set up at such a distance?' If we take the reading in the text, the raillery begins with 'quibusnam,' and the enclitic 'nam' is in favour of this latter interpretation.

ab tanto spatio] See c. 7, note on 'ab milibus.'

plerumque omnibus] Elb. has 'plerumque hominibus.' 'Omnibus' and 'hominibus' are often confounded, and 'homines' and 'omnes.' Schneider compares v. 57, "equites plerumque omnes." The text means 'almost all the Galli.'

in muro] 'In muros,' Elb., on the authority of many MSS., which, if the reading is right, means 'on the walls:' nor can 'in muro' mean any thing else. The Aduatuci did not know what the Romans were going to do. They did not think that this big tower could be moved along the 'agger' and brought up to the wall; and they are represented as asking if the Romans intended to put it on the wall. They were laughing at the Romans; which Kraner has not seen.

31. *et ex propinquitate pugnare*] Omitted in some MSS.—'Audirent:' there is a reading 'audissent.'

despoliaret] 'Dispoliaret,' some MSS. and edd. The word occurs in Cic. Verr. ii. 4, c. 20, where also there has been a difference of opinion as to the form.

si in eum casum] 'If they should be brought into such a condition;' 'if it should come to this, that they had

pulo Romano pati quam ab his per cruciatum interfici inter quos dominari consuessent.

32. Ad haec Caesar respondit: Se magis consuetudine sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si prius quam murum aries attigisset se dedidissent; sed deditionis nullam esse conditionem nisi armis traditis. Se id quod in Nerviis fecisset facturum finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam dedititiis populi Romani injuriam inferrent. Re nuntiata ad suos, quae imperarentur facere dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam quae erat ante oppidum jacta sic ut prope summam muri

to choose between what they had to expect from the Romans and what they had to expect from the Galli.'

32. *murum aries*] A usual kind of expression: "Tum ii qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi" (Cic. de Off. i. 11). The 'aries' is said by Vitruvius to be a Carthaginian invention. It was a long strong beam of wood, furnished with an iron head in the form of a ram's head. It was suspended from a framework by a strong chain or ropes, and worked by men, who drove it against the wall. There seem to have been various forms of the 'aries.' It was sometimes worked under cover of the 'vineae,' which protected both the machine and the men.

"Dumque aries cornu murum pulsabat aeno,
Vineaque inductum longa tegebat opus."—Propert. iv. 10.

Josephus (Jewish War, viii. 9) describes the 'aries' (κριός) very clearly. (Lipsius, Poliorcet. iii. Dial. 1.)

in Nerviis] The true reading, which means 'in the case of the Nervii,' as in vii. 21, "quod facere in eo consuerunt." 'In Nervios' would mean 'against the Nervii.'

Re nuntiata] Schneider has 'Renuntiata' in his edition; but in his Corrigenda he tells us to write 'Re nuntiata.' I cannot tell whether 'Renuntiata' was a printer's mistake in his edition, or whether he preferred it at first and then changed his mind. I followed his text without having looked at his Corrigenda. I still think that 'Renuntiata' may be right. 'Quae imperarentur' is 'Caesar's commands,' equivalent to 'imperata' (ii. c. 3. 35): 'They said that they were ready to do his bidding.' 'Renuntiata ad suos' would refer to 'quae imperarentur:' 'when the answer was reported to their people, Caesar's orders, they said that they were ready to do them.' The 'legati' said that their people would do them.

summam muri] The 'fossa' does not appear to have been filled up, or, at least, only in one part. Schneider supposes that Caesar mentions the height both of the 'agger' and the 'murus,' which were, as it appears, about the same height, because the Romans had carried the 'agger' up to the edge of the ditch, and as it was as high as the wall, there would be a great hollow formed by the wall on one side and the 'agger' on the other. But how does he suppose that the 'agger' stood upright facing the wall and separated from it by the ditch? If that was the case, the end of the 'agger' opposite the wall must have been fenced up to support the pressure of the earth of which it was made: a kind of labour that the Romans would not have undertaken, when it would be easier to fill up the ditch by letting the earth of their

aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent, et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis eo die pace sunt usi.

33. Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex oppido exire jussit ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi ante inito, ut intellectum est, consilio, quod deditione facta nostros praesidia deducturos aut denique indiligentius servaturos crediderant, partim cum his quae retinuerant et celaverant armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, tertia vigilia, qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repentino ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta ex proximis castellis eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter est ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis iniquo loco contra eos qui ex vallo turribusque tela jacerent pugnari debuit,

embankment fall into it. The 'fossa' in one part was filled, but not in the whole width of the 200 feet.

pace sunt usi] 'They kept quiet.'

33. *Sub vesperum*] There is a reading 'Sub vespere.' Either may do, but the meaning is not quite the same, as Schneider shows; and 'Sub vesperum,' which signifies 'at the approach of evening,' consists better with Caesar's vigilance. But 'sub bruma' (v. 13) is 'in the depth of winter.' See Virg. Ecl. ix. 44. Whether 'sub' means a little before or a little after is not very material. It generally means after, as in Livy (21, c. 18), "sub hanc vocem . . . succlamatum est;" and in Cic. Ad Div. x. 16. In vii. 61 'sub lucem' may mean either 'before' or 'after;' but it means 'before.' In ii. c. 11 it seems to mean 'just up to sunset.'

deducturos] The best MSS. have 'non inducturos;' but there is no meaning in it: at least, I see none. The Greek paraphrast seems to have had this reading in his copy; and the narrative in Dion Cassius (xxxix. 4) implies something of the kind. The 'praesidia' are the men stationed in the 'castella,' whom the Aduatuci thought that Caesar would take out now that the siege was over, or they finally ('denique') concluded that the 'castella' would be guarded with less care. Schneider and others take 'denique' to be equivalent to 'at least.' There is no real difference between this translation and that which I have given.

viminibus intextis] He says 'having shields made of bark or (made) of osiers intertwined.' Kraner suggests that 'viminibus intextis' may be the ablative absolute; and it may be so.

repentino] An adverbial form, for which there is good authority. There is also authority for the ordinary word 'repente,' which Elb. has.

contra eos qui—jacerent] This means a different thing from what it would mean if the reading were 'jaciebant,' which would limit the remark to Caesar's men who were throwing their missiles from the towers. But here he means to make

quum in una virtute omnis spes salutis consisteret. Occisis ad hominum milibus quatuor reliqui in oppidum rejecti sunt. Postridie ejus diei refractis portis, quum jam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis militibus nostris sectionem ejus oppidi universam Caesar vendidit. Ab iis qui emerant capitum numerus ad eum relatus est milium LIII.

34. Eodem tempore a P. Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismos, Curiosolitas,

a general remark: 'the enemy fought as bravely as men could fight on disadvantageous terms against soldiers throwing missiles from a rampart and towers.' See v. 21, "ei . . . qui non auderet."

The men were in the 'castella,' and they ran to the 'vallum' and the 'turres,' which were on the 'vallum' at intervals between the 'castella' (vii. 72). Caesar has not mentioned the 'turres' before, because there was no reason for it. There is reason now for mentioning them.

ad hominum] In a few MSS. 'ad' is omitted; and other MSS. have 'millia' for 'millibus.' Those who think that the text is right take 'ad' as equivalent to 'circiter.' Livy (8, c. 18) has 'ad viginti matronis occisis,' 'to the number of twenty,' a passage which helps to show how this may be understood. See Caesar, B. C. iii. 53.

refractis] He says 'refractis,' not 'fractis.' The gates were broken open in spite of their strength and the resistance which they offered. See iv. c. 17.

sectionem — vendidit] The purchasers were the 'mercatores' who followed the camp (vi. 37; and Liv. x. 17), many of whom might be agents of wealthier men. In Livy (x. 12) Decius says, "Vendite ista et illicite lucro mercatorem ut sequatur agmen." These 53,000 slaves were a formidable body. We do not know how the purchasers carried them off to market, but we must presume that they were manacled and driven as slave gangs are now. Their ultimate destination would be the Provincia and Italy. Dion (34, c. 9) says the same, 'they were all sold.'

Caesar sold the whole 'sectio' of the town. The origin of the term 'sectio' is not quite certain. Some derive it from 'sequi,' to follow, because the 'mercatores' followed the camp to buy; but this explanation will not suit all cases, and there are other objections to it. Again; it is said to be from 'secare,' because the purchaser retailed what he bought in the lump; an explanation that is not more satisfactory than the other. Cicero (quoted by Gellius, xiii. 24) has the expression 'sectionem vendere' in connexion with 'praedam, manubias, castra vendere.' And in the De Inventione (i. 45) he puts the case of a man acquiring the ownership of a horse by taking it from the enemy, 'cujus praedae sectio non venierit.' 'Sectio' had become a technical word for a mass of property sold on the public account, whether it was property taken in war, or property that was forfeited to the 'populus,' or property sold for the payment of a penalty. 'Sectores' are those who buy things which the state sells (Gaius, iv. 146), property which has become public.

capitum] See i. 29. All the Aduatuci were not caught, for they appeared again (v. 38). Some, we must suppose, were not in the town.

34. *miserat*] It was the seventh legion (iii. 7), which Caesar had sent after the battle with the Nervii, as Schneider remarks, for in that battle Caesar had all his eight legions.

Sesuvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in deditionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est uti ab iis nationibus quae trans Rhenum incolerent mitterentur legati ad Caesarem, qui se obsides daturas, imperata facturas pollicerentur. Quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se reverti jussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes Turonesque, quae civi-

Thierry (Histoire des Gaulois) has the same, "après la défaite des Nerves." After the bloody fight on the Sambre, the presence of a single Roman legion was enough to command the submission of the western Celtae; their apparent submission only, for they were soon in arms.

Caesar's 'miserat' here is clear enough. He refers to something that had taken place before the event which he has just described, the defeat of the Aduatuci. He might have marked the time by saying 'misit post pugnam apud Sabim.'

These maritime states lay between the lower courses of the Loire and the Seine, occupying Bretagne and the Cotantin (Introd. p. 3, 4). and something more: Caesar (v. 53; vii. 75) calls them the 'Armoricae civitates.' There are slight MSS. variations in the names of the Osismos and Curiosolitas. The name of the Sesuvii does not occur elsewhere, nor do the MSS. in this passage agree in the orthography; but they all make the name begin with *Ses* or *Sos*. The correction 'Lexovios' has been proposed by Valesius, which, if we are to have a correction, is the best; but it is not necessary. They are mentioned (iii. 9) with the Osismi. In iii. 7 there occurs the name 'Esubios,' as the best MSS. have it; and in v. 24 Caesar mentions the Essui. The Sesuvii probably occupied the diocese of Séez, which borders on that of Mans and Evreux, and they were, therefore, the neighbours of the Aulerci-Diablintes, Aulerci-Cenomanni, and the Aulerci-Eburovices. Caesar seems to comprehend under the name Aulerci these three divisions of the Aulerci.

deditionem] 'Ditionem,' Elb., Kraner; but the weight of the evidence is against this reading. The text is Latin, even if we connect 'deditionem' with 'populi Romani,' which is not necessary.

35. *quae—incolerent*] There is no reason for this subjunctive, I believe, except the fact that it comes in the clause which depends on 'ut,' and in such cases we often find a subjunctive, which would be an indicative except for this fact. Other explanations have been made.

Andes] The Andes are called Andecavi in Tacitus, and Andegavi in Pliny. Their position is fixed on the right bank of the Loire, above the Nannetes; and their chief town Juliomagus, a compound of a Roman and a Gallic name, afterwards called Andecavi, is now Angers.

The Turones, or Turoni, were higher up on the Loire, chiefly perhaps on the south side. Their name is preserved in the name of Tours on the Loire, and in the name of Touraine, one of the old divisions of France. The Carnutes, who were still higher up the Loire, possessed Genabum, Orléans, on the river, and further north Autricum, now Chartres, in the district once called Chartrain.

tates propinquae his locis erant ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis, in Italiam profectus est: ob easque res ex literis Caesaris dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

A difficulty has been raised about 'propinquae,' for the Andes were not near the seat of Caesar's campaign of this year, nor yet the Turones. The Carnutes were nearer. Some MSS. have 'quaeque,' which would remove the difficulty as to the propinquity, but would leave the winter quarters undetermined. If we include the scene of the short campaign of Crassus, as Schneider suggests, then even the Andes may be said to be 'propinquae.'

hibernacula] 'Hiberna,' Elberling. There is MSS. authority for both. 'Hiberna' is a more general word than 'hibernacula,' which means buildings or huts constructed for the winter. Livy (v. 2) says of the siege of Veii, "hibernacula etiam, res nova militi Romano, aedificari coepta."

Italiam] He means Gallia Cisalpina, which he names Citerior Gallia (ii. 1), which is included within the natural boundaries of Italy, but it was not a part of Italy in a political sense at this time. It was a 'provincia.'

ex literis] 'In consequence of Caesar's despatches.' 'Literae publicae,' in Cicero, sometimes mean 'public records.' 'Literas publice mittere' means to send a despatch to Rome, for instance, from a provincial town or community. A proconsul or governor used to send his 'literae' to Rome, and he was properly said 'publice mittere,' such as related to public business, or 'publice scribere.' His private correspondence was simply 'literae;' but the expression is sometimes used, where the context explains it, to signify despatches to the senate, to whom all such communications were made. D. Brutus says, in a letter to Cicero (Ad Fam. xi. 4), "non sine causa ad senatum literas misi." There are two letters of Cicero, letters from Cilicia (Ad Div. xv. 1, 2), of the same kind as these 'literae' of Caesar; and they are addressed to the consuls, praetors, tribuni plebis, and the senate.

A 'supplicatio' was made by a resolution of the senate, and a triumph might follow it when the general returned; but not always, as Cato reminded Cicero in one of his short pithy letters (Ad Fam. xv. 5). This 'supplicatio' for fifteen days was unusual. Cn. Pompeius had a ten days' 'supplicatio' after the war with Mithridates. Cicero voted for this unusual honour to Caesar (De Prov. Cons. c. 11). A 'supplicatio' was a religious festival or rejoicing for a victory: "supplicationes ob rem bene gestam consulis nomine decernunt" (Livy, x. 21); and on other occasions also, for instance, to appease the gods. The ceremony is described by Livy, xxii. 10. Another 'supplicatio' is mentioned B. G. iv. 38; and vii. 90. In both these passages 'supplicatio' has a genitive, 'dierum.'

Caesar's legions were placed in quarters along the Loire from Orléans westward as far as Angers, near the borders of the Armoric states. He would thus keep in check the Armoric states, and cut off the communication between Gallia south and north of the Loire. This river divides Gallia into two parts, and Caesar's troops were so placed in their winter quarters as to prevent combination between those who were on opposite sides of the Loire. In the Orléannois also and the parts west of it Caesar would find abundant supplies. Later in the war Orléans was the head quarters of a commissariat officer (vii. 3).

nulli] 'Nulli' and 'nemini' are often placed emphatically at the end of a sentence by Caesar (ii. 6) and by Cicero.

NOTES.

I.

NOVIODUNUM SUESSIONUM (c. 12).

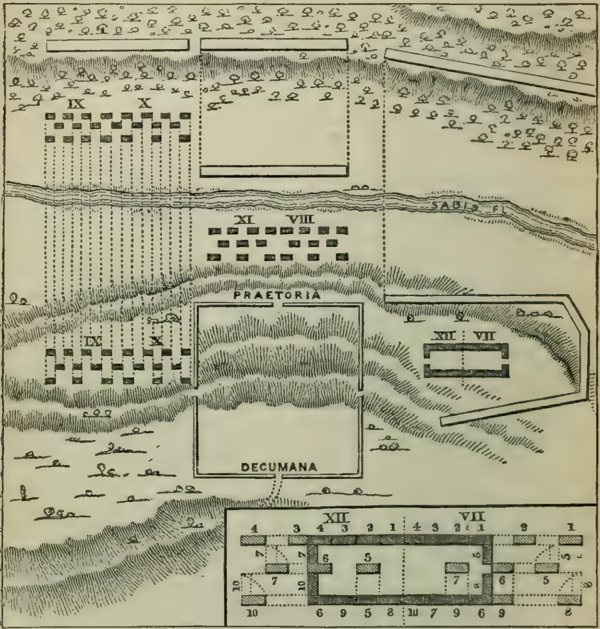
It has generally been assumed that this Noviodunum is the place which afterwards was named Augusta Suessionum, now Soissons on the south side of the Aisne. But there is no evidence for this. There is a hill named Noyant a little south of Soissons, which has also been supposed to be this Noviodunum. Caesar's camp was near a bridge and consequently near a road which crossed the Aisne. If this was the road from Reims to Laon, the camp might be at Berry-au-Bac, where the road from Reims crosses the Aisne, and runs through Bièvre, supposed to be Bibrax, to Laon. The direct distance from Berry-au-Bac to Noyant is forty kilomètres or ten French leagues, quite enough for a 'magnum iter.' Some critics assume Caesar's bridge to have been west of Berry-au-Bac and at Pont-Arcy on the Aisne, where an old road from the south crossed the river and joined another old road which ran on the north side of the Aisne, from east to west along the crest of the high land of the Soissonnais, crossed the Oise about a French league north of the junction of the Oise and the Aisne, then passed Mont de Noyon into the territory of the Bellovaci, and on to Breteuil, supposed to be Caesar's Bratuspantium. If Caesar's camp was at Pont-Arcy, the distance thence to Soissons or Noyant is only about six French leagues, which would not make a 'magnum iter.' If Mont de Noyon, west of the Oise, is assumed to be Noviodunum Suessionum, the direct distance to that place from Pont-Arcy is above fifteen French leagues, and more by the road, and this is above the measure of a 'magnum iter.' A recent French writer maintains that Mont de Noyon is Caesar's Noviodunum, and his remarks are worth reading (Recherches sur la Position de Noviodunum Suessionum, &c., par M. Peigné-Delacourt, Amiens, 1856).

II.

This plan shows the position of the Roman camp and the legions on the Sambre (ii. 19) when they were surprised. Caesar was in the Praetorium, where he ordered the flag to be hung out as the signal of battle (ii. 20). Caesar, going out of the camp, came first to the tenth legion, which, with the ninth, was on the left side of the camp (ii. 23). These legions, which had been attacked by the Atrebates, drove them over the river, and followed them to the other side.

The eighth and eleventh legions were in the centre in front of the camp. They had repelled the attack of the Veromandui, and driven them down to the river, on the banks of which the fight continued (ii. 23). Thus the

Roman camp was left unprotected on the left and in the front. The Nervii, seeing this state of affairs, fell on the twelfth and the seventh legions, which were on the right side of the camp (ii. 23), and attempted to outflank them and to seize the camp.



Caesar went from the left side of the camp to the right (ii. 21. 25), and as he was going he saw what the eighth and eleventh legions were doing (ii. 21. 23). All was safe there. The danger was on the right. Arriving there, and coming first to the fourth cohort of the twelfth legion, Caesar found all the centurions of that cohort killed; and as he advanced along the line to the right wing of this legion, he found all the rest of the centurions either wounded or killed. The men were all crowded together, and he ordered them to open their ranks in order to have more room to use their swords (ii. 25). The seventh legion, which was on the extreme right, was in great danger, and Caesar ordered the seventh and twelfth to come together, and to form in such a way as to present a front to the enemy on all sides. Each legion had four cohorts in the front line, and each had three cohorts in the second and third line respectively. The first and eighth cohort of the twelfth legion, with which Caesar was, keep their

places. The fifth and eighth cohorts of the seventh legion wheel round to form the right side of the square, and fall back, while the cohorts of the first line move to the left to join the first cohort of the twelfth legion. The seventh and tenth cohorts of the twelfth legion make a like movement with the fifth and eighth of the seventh legion, to form the left side of the square, and also fall back. The second, third, and fourth cohorts of the twelfth legion move to the right, in order to join the first cohort which had not moved and the seventh which was forming part of the left side of the square. The fifth cohort of the twelfth legion falls back to join the eighth, which was in the third line; the ninth cohort moves up to the fifth, and the sixth falling back takes the place of the ninth The tenth cohort of the seventh legion moves up to the eighth of the first legion. The seventh falls back and moves up to the tenth in the third line; the ninth moves up to the seventh now in the third line; the sixth falls back into the place of the ninth, and then moves up to the ninth in its new position. Thus the square is formed. This is Roesch's explanation (p. 205). I do not know if there is any better way of forming the square with the Roman cohorts. Those who are expert in the movements of men in large numbers may see.

The plan shows the twelfth and seventh legions formed in square with the Nervii on three sides of them. The part of the plan in the right hand corner at the bottom shows how the cohorts may have moved from their original position in three lines to form the square.

The twelfth and seventh legions were now able to resist the furious attack of the Nervii. On the left the enemy was routed; in the centre they were at least checked, for the eleventh and eighth legions had driven them back to the river. In the mean time the two legions which closed the line of march hearing of the fight came up at a quick pace, and appeared on the high ground where the camp was, and full in sight of the Nervii. Labienus, who was on the left with the ninth and tenth legions, and had got into the camp of the Atrebates on the other side of the river, seeing from the high ground what was going on upon the right, sent the tenth legion to relieve Caesar and the twelfth and seventh legions. This movement decided the battle, and the Nervii were almost destroyed.

Roesch observes, "After the plan which I give of this battle, no one will any longer have reason to complain of the obscurity of the text; and as to the instruction that may be derived from Caesar's narrative, I think that it is not inferior to any description of any other battle."

LIBER TERTIUS.

ARGUMENT.

1. The winter quarters of Galba between the Leman Lake and the Alps. 2—6. He is attacked by the Galli, who are repulsed, and Galba retreats to the Provincia. 7—11. A rising of the Armoric states, who are moved to it by the Veneti; Caesar's preparations for the war. 12, 13. The country of the Veneti; description of their ships. 14—16. Caesar's naval battle with the Veneti, whose fleet is destroyed. 17—19. The march of Q. Titurius against the Unelli, who are subdued. 20—22. P. Crassus enters Aquitania, and defeats the Sotiates; the institution of the Soldurii. 23—27. The Aquitani receive aid from Spain, but they are defeated by Crassus; and the greatest part of the Aquitani submit to the Romans. 28. Caesar marches against the Morini and the Menapii, who retreat to their forests. 29. Caesar cuts a road through the forests, but his operations are stopped by the rains.

The events in this book belong to A.V.C. 698, or B.C. 56; and the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Marcius Philippus.

Quum in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam cum legione duodecima et parte equitatus in Nantuates

1. *Servium Galbam*] This man was the great-grandfather of the emperor Galba. He was also one of the assassins of his old general Caesar (B.C. 44). There is a letter of Galba to Cicero (Ad Fam. x. 30), in which he describes the battle with M. Antonius near Mutina.

Nantuates] The winter quarters were in the country south of the Leman Lake and along the upper valley of the Rhone. Caesar is not speaking of the Rhone after it leaves the Lake of Geneva, but before it enters the lake; for the Allobroges extended along the Rhone up to Geneva, and bounded on the west the three tribes whom Caesar mentions here. These tribes extended from the lake up to the high Alps. Caesar (iv. 10) makes the Rhine rise in the country of the Lepontii, and flow through that of the Nantuates; but this does not agree with the present passage, as D'Anville observes (see iv. 10, note). Octodurus (c. 2), the town of the Veragri, is Martigny or Martinach, a small place on the right side of the Drance, which falls into the Rhone a little below Martigny, and at the point where the Rhone forms a great elbow. In the Itineraries of Antoninus and the Peutinger Table Octodurus lies on the road which leads by the pass of the Pennine Alps, or the Great St. Bernard, into Italy. The Seduni were higher up the valley of the Rhone, above Martigny, and the town which the Germans call Sitten and the French Sion derives its name from them. In c. 6, when Galba

Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit quod iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa collocaret. Galba secundis aliquot proeliis factis castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis obsidibusque datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle non magna adjecta planitie altissimis montibus undique continetur. Quum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis ad hiemandum concessit, alteram vacuam ab illis relictam cohortibus attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2. Quum dies hibernorum complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque qui impenderent a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum

retreats from Octodurus, he passes into the territory of the Nantuates, and then into that of the Allobroges, which was within the limits of the Provincia. He would go down the valley of the Rhone from Martigny into the territory of the Nantuates, and from this we may infer that the Nantuates bordered on the Allobroges, and that the Veragri were in the valley of the Drance. The Veragri may have occupied the higher parts of Chablais; but the territory of the Nantuates seems to have extended along the lower parts of Chablais, along the lake to the boundary of the Allobroges.

Causa mittendi] The omission of the case or object after 'mittendi' is common. Terence has the same (Phormio, i. 1. 16), "puer causa erit mittendi."

iter—mercatores] Introd. p. 8; i. 1. 18.

in vico—qui vicus] See i. 6.—'flumine divideretur:' this 'flumen' is the Drance.

Octodurus] The name Octo-durus contains the Celtic name 'dwr,' water. The first part of the word has probably been corrupted by the Romans. The position of Martinach corresponds to Caesar's description; and the road to the pass of the Great St. Bernard goes up the valley of the Drance. It has been objected that the valley is not wide enough at Martigny for the numbers which Caesar afterwards mentions (c. 6). But we may always make a reasonable abatement in matters of number. Besides, it does not require a large space to hold 30,000 men who are crowded together; and one who is used to see men assembled can form a good guess at their numbers.

teneri. Id aliquot de causis acciderat ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium caperent; primum, quod legionem neque eam plenissimam, detractis cohortibus duabus et compluribus singillatim qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant; tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem loci, quum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela conjicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant. Accedebat quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant, et Romanos non solum itinerum causa sed etiam perpetuae possessionis culmina Alpium occupare conari et ea loca finitimae provinciae adjungere sibi persuasum habebant.

3. His nuntiis acceptis Galba, quum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato sententias exquirere coepit. Quo in consilio, quum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum com-

2. *Id aliquot*] 'Id' refers to 'ut . . . caperent.' Such a use of 'id' is common in Cicero.

plenissimam] This word does not seem to be explained by 'detractis cohortibus duabus;' but Caesar means that it was not a complete legion even with the two cohorts. The twelfth was one of those that had to sustain the attack of the Nervii (ii. 23).—'Neque eam:' Herzog compares Livy ii. 3, "erant adolescentes aliquot, nec in tenui loco orti."

commeatus petendi] 'Commeatus' is the genitive. Caesar generally uses the word in the singular number (i. 39. 48), but not always (iii. 3). These soldiers had gone out to get supplies, which were furnished either by the 'mercatores' who followed the army or by the natives (ii. 9). The terms applied to foraging parties in a hostile country are 'frumentatio' and 'pabulatio' (Herzog).

persuasum habebant] An unusual expression. The ordinary form is 'mihi persuasum est.' But as 'habere' is often used with the participle in '-tus,' as 'cognitum habere,' and the like, this expression in Caesar may be genuine. The dative 'sibi' of course depends on 'persuasum.'

3. *consilio*] He summoned a council of his officers. This is the orthography of the best MSS. 'Concilium' is used by Caesar to denote the great assemblies of the Galli. If the distinction between these words is correctly established, 'concilium' applies to large popular meetings, or assemblies summoned for some public purpose. 'Consilium' is applied to a small number of persons summoned by a general, a governor, or the like, to deliberate.

pleta conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope jam desperata salute nonnullae hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis eruptione facta iisdem itineribus quibus eo pervenissent ad salutem contenderent. Majori tamen parti placuit hoc reservato ad extremum consilio interim rei eventum experiri et castra defendere.

4. Brevi spatio interjecto vix ut his rebus quas constituissent collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesaque in vallum conjicere. Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere; ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre, sed hoc superari quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri nihil poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem ejus loci ubi constiterat relinquendi ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur.

5. Quum jam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires sed etiam tela nostris deficerent,

subsidio veniri] 'Posset' must be supplied. It means, 'and there being no possibility of any troops coming to their aid.'—'Supportari,' see i. 16.

hujusmodi] See c. 12, note on 'ejusmodi.'

eventum experiri] The expression 'eventum expectabat' occurs in vii. 49, where there is no doubt about the meaning. 'Eventum experiri' means to try what the event would be, and, as Caesar explains it, by defending the camp.

4. *Brevi spatio—vix ut*] See i. 6, note. 'A short space having intervened, so short that time was scarcely allowed,' &c.

decurrere, &c.] This series of infinitives, which the Romans used in rapid and animated description, is peculiar to the language. To explain them by a suppressed 'coepit,' 'coeperunt,' is the invention of some tasteless grammarian. Cicero, who is unrivalled in his way of telling a thing, has a striking example in the Verrine Orations, ii. 4, c. 29.

gaesum] The 'gaesum' or 'gais' was a Gallic missile, and a Celtic word. The name, with a termination, became naturalized among the Greek and Roman writers.

hoc superari quod] 'They were under a disadvantage in this, that' &c., which is worth noting because it has been misunderstood. In c. 12 'superati' has a like meaning.

quarum rerum — nihil] Kraner compares v. 1.

non modo—sed ne saucio quidem] See ii. 17, note.

5. *deficerent*] 'Deficere' is used with the accusative, v. 33; vii. 50.

atque hostes acrius instarent languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset jam ad extremum perducta casum, P. Sextius Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item C. Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium experirentur. Itaque convocatis centurionibus celeriter milites certiores facit, Paulisper intermitterent proelium ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque ex labore reficerent, post dato signo e castris erumperent atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

6. Quod jussi sunt faciunt, ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta neque cognoscendi quid fieret neque sui colligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna eos qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant undique circumventos interficiunt, et ex hominum milibus amplius xxx, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis se in castra munitionesque

vallum scindere] "To pull down the 'vallum,' or palisades, to break through it." Compare v. 51, where Caesar has "manu scindere;" and Livy, vii. 37, "complendas esse fossas scindendumque vallum."

Baculus] See ii. 25.

certiores facit] 'He quickly lets the soldiers know' what had been determined; and the sentence then proceeds in the subjunctive form, which is a mode of expressing what the orders of Galba were.

6. *sui colligendi*] A common form in Caesar and the authors of his period, as in c. 4, and in iv. 13, 'sui purgandi causa;' iv. 34, 'sui liberandi facultas;' in v. 17. 38, vii. 80, and other passages. The form 'colligendi' is used both when 'sui' is singular, and also when it is plural, as it is here. It has been suggested that in such cases as this 'sui' is the genitive of the neuter possessive pronoun.

amplius XXX] There is nothing in which MSS. are more erroneous than numbers. Still it is possible that 30,000 men had assembled to storm the camp; and if this was so, the country was populous in those days. Indeed, Gallia generally was populous in Caesar's time, as we infer from the facts that we know. The number 10,000, who perished in this attack, is very large; but the Galli always fought desperately. No people of antiquity displayed such obstinate courage. A barbarian army when routed must suffer great loss in the press and confusion of flight.

copiis—armisque exutis] Literally 'being stripped of their arms;' but it means 'having thrown away their

suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam tentare Galba nolebat atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus postero die omnibus ejus vici aedificiis incensis in Provinciam reverti contendit, ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante incolumem legionem in Nantuates, inde in Allobroges perduxit ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis, quum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Ejus belli haec fuit causa. P. Crassus adolescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates frumenti causa dimisit; quo in numero erat T. Terrasidius missus in Sesuvios, M. Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Q. Velanius cum T. Silio in Venetos.

arms.' In v. 51, "Magnumque ex iis numerum occidit atque omnes armis exuit," the expression means that they threw away their arms. Caesar did not take them from the men, for they ran away faster than he could follow. 'Impedimentisne exuant' (vii. 14) is clear enough.

7. *expulsis Germanis*] Schneider does not know whether this refers to the Aduatuci (ii. 29), or to the Germans mentioned at the end of ii. 4. But the Aduatuci are not called Germani by Caesar; and they were sold. To the Eburones and others the remark does not apply at all, for they were not 'expulsi.' There remain Ariovistus and his Germans to whom it can apply; nor do I see any weight in the objection that 'neither the order of time nor the place in which the Germans are here mentioned, between the Belgae and Seduni, allows us to think of the defeat of Ariovistus.'

ita inita] 'And accordingly, or under these circumstances he had set out to Illyricum after the winter had commenced.' Caesar had news of Galba's victory, either before he had reached Italy, or before he left Cisalpine Gallia for Illyricum. Cicero (In Vat. c. 16) speaks of Caesar being at Aquileia, and as that speech was delivered in B.C. 56, it is probable that he means Caesar's visit to Aquileia in the early part of this year, either on his way to Illyricum or on his return.

proximus mare] In i. 54, 'proximi Rhenum incolunt.' In iii. 11, 'proximi flumini Rheno sunt.'

mare Oceanum] In ii. 34 there is 'Oceanum' simply, and in i. 1.

Sesuvios] 'Esubios,' Elb. The MSS. have a variety of readings, of which the two most remote from these are 'Esbios' and 'Subios.' See ii. 34.

8. Hujus est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt, et in magno impetu maris atque aperto paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere qui eo mari uti consuerunt habent vectigales. Ab his fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides quos Crasso dedissent reciperaturos existima-

8. *Hujus est*] 'Hujus civitatis est,' Elb. But this is not Caesar's order. Schneider compares iv. 3, 'quorum fuit civitas;' v. 12, 'hominum est infinita;' vi. 27, 'harum est consimilis,' &c.

Britanniam navigare] Here we have a statement that the Veneti at this time traded with Britain, probably only with the south coast. They might get from Britain tin, and perhaps other metals, and skins and wool. The Gallic youths were sent to Britain to finish their education under the learned Druids of this island (vi. 13), and as the great seat of Gallic Druidism was between the Seine and the Loire, we may assume that the Veneti carried over the youths to the schools in the south of Britain.

in magno] See i. 27. 33. 'The praeposition signifies the condition of things by which this, of which the author is speaking, is caused' (Schn.). Caesar says, 'that as the sea is impetuous and ships are exposed to all its violence, with few ports at intervals on the coasts, which ports the Veneti are in possession of, they make almost all who are accustomed to use that sea pay them contributions.' These contributions, as we infer from the context, would be levied on ships or the cargoes of ships which entered their ports through stress of weather or from other causes.

Caesar (iii. 9) gives the name of Venetia to the country of the Veneti, of which we have the trace in the town of Vannes. Their coast, which corresponds to the coast of the French department of Morbihan, is very broken, but it is not deficient in ports.

fit initium] 'Fuit initium,' Elb.; but 'fit' appears to be the right word. The note of Schneider on this passage is an instance of his laborious examination of Caesar and of his acuteness. Perhaps some people may see no difficulty, but there will be no harm in pointing it out, for there are many difficulties in Caesar which his readers may pass over. Schneider observes that nobody could detain Silius and Velanius after the Veneti had done it. Therefore we cannot translate the text literally, 'they were the first who detained Silius,' &c. Nor can we translate it with Herzog, 'they made a beginning by detaining Silius,' &c.; for that would mean that the seizure of these men was the first of their hostile acts. Perhaps many readers would understand the passage right without thinking of Schneider's explanation. He says, "The writer being studious of brevity omitted the name of 'legati,' which applied to all the men who were seized, and used the names of the two, by detaining whom a beginning was made of detaining all the rest." Accordingly he translates it, 'they were the first who detained (the ambassadors) Silius and Velanius.'

obsides] No hostages were mentioned in ii. 34. This is another instance of supplementary explanation. See ii. 33, note. There is an

bant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti, ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia, eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent et celeriter missis legatis per suos principes inter se conjurant nihil nisi communi consilio acturos eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos; reliquasque civitates sollicitant ut in ea libertate quam a majoribus acceperant permanere quam Romanorum servitutem perferre mallent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt, Si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

9. Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedificari in flumine Ligere, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex

instance in this chapter of explanation which is not wanted. He calls P. Crassus 'adolescens,' as he had done in i. 52.

ut sunt Gallorum] Compare vi. 30, 'ut sunt,' &c.; vii. 22, 'ut est summae,' &c. It is a common Latin formula, as in Cicero, Divin. c. 9, "Ut est hominum genus nimis acutum et suspiciosum." It involves a connexion between one thing and another, in the way of cause and effect, or else in the relation of a general truth to a particular instance. The English 'for' will often express the meaning; but 'for' is a word which itself requires explanation.

subita et repentina] Schneider's explanation is, that Caesar uses 'subitus' to signify that which comes quick, whether expected or not; and that 'repentinus' is that which comes unexpected, and therefore, as we may say, quick also. In vi. 23, 'repentinae incursionis timore sublato' explains itself.

quam—acceperant] There is some authority for 'acceperint.' If we read 'quam . . . acceperint,' these are the words of the Veneti. If we read 'quam . . . acceperant,' the remark is Caesar's.

9. *ipse aberat longius*] He was at Luca in Etruria in April B.C. 56 of the unreformed calendar, where he saw his son-in-law Cn. Pompeius, and perhaps M. Crassus also. There was a great assemblage of senators who came to pay their respects to Caesar. In the conferences at Luca it was arranged that Pompeius and Crassus should be consuls for B.C. 55; and that they should help Caesar to get his proconsular power extended for a second five years (Introd. p. 35). Caesar was somewhere in North Italy when P. Crassus sent him news of the rising of the Armoric states. He had been at Ravenna before he went to Luca, and had seen M. Crassus there (Cicero, Ad Div. i. 9, § 8).

Ligere] 'Ligeri,' Elb., from a nominative 'Ligeris.' In vii. 5 there is 'Ligerem.' In vii. 55 there is the nominative 'Liger.' The Greek form is Λείγηρ (Strabo, p. 191). Perhaps both 'Liger' and 'Ligeris' were used.

Caesar ordered ships of war ('naves longas') to be built on the Loire. The tide flows up the river a few miles above Nantes, and about as far as the territory of the Nannetes extended. But as the Nannetes joined the Veneti and others in their rising, Caesar could scarcely build his ships so low as Nantes, unless

Provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis ipse quum primum per anni tempus potuit ad exercitum contendit. Veneti reliquaeque item civitates cognito Caesaris adventu certiores facti, simul quod quantum in se facinus admisissent intelligebant, legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos a se et in vincula conjectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare et maxime ea quae ad usum navium pertinent providere instituunt, hoc majore spe quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, naviga-

he built them on the south side of the river. The Romans held the country of the Andes, and as we may suppose they would build their ships as near the sea as they could, they might build them about the place where the Mayenne falls into the Loire, below Angers. If there was not timber on the spot, it might be floated down the river, as it is now for boat building. Caesar also had vessels from the Pictones and Santones (c. 12).

quum primum] This is the true reading, not 'quam primum.' It means 'as soon as the season permitted.' (See ii. 17.) In ii. 2 it occurs with the subjunctive, which is the proper tense there.

certiores facti] Elb. and Kraner omit these words, contrary to the authority of the best MSS. The sentence seems defective without them, and yet they are not easy to explain. These words perhaps refer to 'pro magnitudine periculi;' as if Caesar had said, 'The Veneti, and also the rest of the states, upon hearing of Caesar's arrival, being now fully informed of the magnitude of the danger.' He then interposes 'simul quod . . . conjectos,' which is entirely unconnected with the structure of the rest of the sentence; "at the same time, as they were well aware what a crime they had committed in detaining and throwing into prison the 'legati,' whose very name among all nations had always been sacred and inviolate, in proportion to the magnitude of the danger they began to make preparation for war." Schneider explains 'legatos . . . retentos' by understanding 'intelligentes;' Oudendorp places it in opposition to 'facinus.' I think both of them are wrong. 'Quod . . . intelligebant,' 'quod' really being the accusative, expresses a matter of which they were aware, which is explained by 'legatos . . . retentos.' This is one of the ordinary constructions of the language, and only misunderstood because we are accustomed to call 'quod' a conjunction, and translate it 'that' or 'because,' a usage which it certainly obtained, but in many cases we must recur to its primary sense.

As to 'legatos, quod nomen' compare ii. 1, note. We might say 'legati, a name which.' If 'ad omnes' is right, 'ad' is equivalent to 'apud,' which two MSS. have. A passage of Cicero (Verr. lib. ii. 1, c. 33) as to the 'legati' is appropriate: "Etenim nomen legati ejusmodi esse debet quod non modo inter sociorum jura, sed etiam inter hostium tela incolume versetur." In c. 16 there is 'jus legatorum.' Caesar now gives to the 'praefecti' and 'tribuni' (c. 7) the title of 'legati,' as if they were ambassadors of the Roman people.

concisa aestuariis] 'Aestuaria'

tionem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse confidebant; ac jam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse; Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium neque eorum locorum ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano perspiciebant. His initis consiliis oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum esse bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas

(ii. 28). The Veneti and their allies knew that the movements of an army would be impeded by the inlets of their coast. The first impediment to an army marching along the coast of Morbihan is the aestuary of the Vilaine; north of which are some shallow inlets, and then the great Bay of Morbihan, which extends twelve or fourteen miles inland, and branches out into numerous smaller inlets. Further north is the aestuary of the Étel, which extends six miles inland; then the large aestuary of the Blavet, or Port Louis, on which L'Orient stands. In the department of Finistère, which forms the western extremity of the peninsula of Bretagne, the coast is generally high and irregular, and lined with many islands and rocks. It contains the long narrow aestuary at the head of which stands Quimper, the wide bay of Douarnenez, and, separated from it by a long narrow peninsula, the large bay of Brest, which has a narrow entrance. The northern coast of Finistère, which faces Cornwall, is also very irregular; and the rest of the coast eastward as far as St. Michel, which belongs to the department of Côtes du Nord, is more broken than any other part of the coast of Bretagne.

ac jam ut] 'And even though every thing (which has been mentioned) should fall out contrary to their expectation.' Schneider thinks that 'concesso' is to be supplied 'cogitatione' between 'jam' and 'ut.' I don't see that it is wanted. Elb., following the recommendation of Walch, in Emend. Liv. p. 87, has this vicious pointing, 'ac, jam ut' &c. 'Jam ut' is here followed by 'tamen;' and the sentence differs from those in which 'etsi' is followed by 'tamen' (i. 46) in this, that 'etsi' is used with the indicative and to denote a positive fact.

in concluso mari] In a closed sea, like the Mediterranean.

ubi—primum—constabat] Schneider observes that in the margin of the copy of Fabricius it is written 'Unde constabat?' or, 'How was it known?' and the letter 'L.' is added to the remark; whence it is conjectured that it is by Lipsius. Schneider thinks that the question is asked with good reason; and that the words 'certiores facti,' which he has restored in his text, give a kind of answer to the 'Unde constabat?' I think the question is an idle one. Caesar says, 'where it was ascertained that Caesar would commence the war.' They could not be certain where he would begin, unless he told them, and it is not likely that he did that. But Caesar was building ships on the Loire, and arming them; which seems notice enough to those who lived next door.

possunt cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Nannetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt: auxilia ex Britannia quae contra eas regiones posita est arcessunt.

10. Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi quas supra ostendimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: injuriae retentorum equitum Romanorum, rebellio facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot civitatum conjuratio, in primis ne hac parte neglecta reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur. Itaque quum intelligeret omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere et ad

Osismos] They occupied the department of Finistère; but D'Anville (Notice, &c.) observes that there is no part of Gallia of which the ancient geography is so obscure. The Lexovii were west of the Aulerci Eburovices, and extended along the south side of the Seine to its mouth. Their capital Noviomagus, which is not mentioned by Caesar, is now Lisieux, in the department of Calvados. A Roman milestone found east of Caen and on the road to Lisieux, with the figures XXV on it, marks exactly the distance from Lisieux, and shows that the milestone remained in its original place.

The Nannetes or Namnetes were on the north bank of the lower course of the Loire, and separated from the Pictones or Pictavi by the river (Strabo, p. 190). Their town Condivicnum, afterwards Nannetes, now Nantes, is not mentioned by Caesar. Their neighbours on the east were the Andes or Andecavi, who remained quiet.

The name of the Ambiliati is not certain. The text of Orosius (vi. 8) has Ambivaritos. Some MSS. have Ambianos. But Caesar (iv. 9) places the Ambivariti 'trans Mosam.' Nothing is known of the Ambiliati.

Schneider adopts the reading Diablintres. Ptolemy makes their chief town Noeodunum. D'Anville places the Diablintes in a part of the old province of Maine, and the small place called Jubleins, a few leagues from Mayenne, seems to represent Noeodunum, and to preserve the name of the people. The position of the Morini and of the Menapii is explained elsewhere (ii. 4. 16).

The words 'contra eas regiones' are not correct, if we apply them to all the tribes which have been mentioned. But Britannia may be said to be right opposite to that part of Gallia. Virgil has (Aen. i. 13), "Carthago Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe Ostia." It is a fair inference that the Britanni of those parts of the island which are opposite to Bretagne had ships, for the Veneti now send for help, and Caesar says (iv. 20) that the Britons sent help to the Galli in almost all their wars, and this was one of Caesar's motives for invading Britain.

10. *injuriae*] "The wrongs done by having detained the Roman 'equites.'" He here mentions that the 'legati' were of equestrian rank, which was not said before. The use of the genitive is illustrated by Livy (iv. 32), "Scelus legatorum contra jus gentium interfectorum." Strabo (p. 195) says that the "Veneti were ready to prevent the voyage to Britain, as they had the trade." Whether Caesar at this time contemplated an invasion of Britain we cannot tell; but Strabo means that the Veneti were afraid that Caesar might go to Britain, and hinder their commerce with it.

bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere et conditionem servitutis odisse, priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque T. Labienum legatum in Treviros, qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat atque in officio contineat, Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur prohibeat. P. Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis XII, et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci jubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur ac tantae nationes conjungantur. Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolitas Lexoviosque mittit qui eam manum distinendam curet. D. Brutum adolescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat, praeficit, et quum primum posset in Venetos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum ut posita in

mobiliter] "Qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant" (ii. 1). He represents the Galli as of an unstable temper, easily moved, ready to believe any rumour, and to act upon it (vii. 42).

11. *Aquitaniam*] Introd. p. 23.

Unellos] The Unelli (ii. 34), whom Ptolemy calls Veneli, were in the peninsula of Cotantin (Introd. p. 4. 12), and their capital, Crociatonum, is represented by Valognes, south of Cherbourg.

The Curiosolites bordered on the Redones towards the east and the Veneti towards the south, and the name is preserved in Corseult, which is south of St. Malo. They extended westward along the coast as far as the neighbourhood of St. Brieuc.

D. Brutum] D. Junius Brutus is mentioned again (vii. 9. 87). Like P. Crassus, he was at this time a young man, and had not the rank of 'legatus.' After the Gallic war, he served under Caesar in the Civil war, received many favours from him, and was one of Caesar's assassins in B.C. 44. There are ten of his letters to Cicero extant (Cic. Ad Div. xi.).

The Pictones, or Pictavi as Ammianus Marcellinus calls them, were on the south side of the lower Loire. The name of the former French province of Poitou is a corruption of Pictavi. The Santones and Pictavi occupied all the coast between the Garonne and the Loire.

12. *ejusmodi—ut*] 'Ejusmodi' in the sense of 'talis,' 'such,' 'of such a kind,' is often used in this way (c. 13); and in Cicero, Verr. ii. 2, c. 70, "Ea autem feneratio erat ejusmodi, judices, ut etiam is quaestus huic cederet." Compare B. G. iii. 3, 'hujusmodi sententiae.'

extremis lingulis promontoriisque neque pedibus aditum haberent, quum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod his accidit semper horarum XII spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente aestu naves in vadis afflictarentur. Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impediebatur; ac si quando magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his oppidi moenibus adaequatis, suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium appulso, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua de-

lingulis] These 'tongues,' as Caesar calls them, are numerous. In the department of Loire Inférieure the town of Le Croisic is on a long narrow 'lingula,' called Pointe de Croisic, which is insulated at high water. In the department of Morbihan the long narrow promontory of Quiberon runs out ten miles from the mainland, and is also insulated at high water.

promontoriis] Schneider and others prefer the form 'promuntoriis.' They think that this way of writing is more consistent with the etymology, for the word contains, as they say, the root of 'pro-mine-re,' and is not formed from 'mont,' 'mountain.' This passage is alleged by Schneider as evidence that Caesar did not think that 'promontorium' contained the notion of 'mountain.' All this may be true, and yet 'promontorium' may be as good a form as 'promuntorium,' and the word 'mont' may contain the same root as 'promontorium,' whatever that root may be.

his] The reading of some MSS. Elb. has 'bis,' and yet he keeps 'horarum XII spatio.' 'His' means the people on this coast, and the dative is used with 'accidit,' as in ii. 35. In order to keep the text consistent with the fact of the tides, some editors who have 'bis' write 'horarum XXIV spatio.' Herzog, who has 'bis,' explains it thus: 'which happens twice (a day), always at an interval of twelve hours;' an explanation which makes the word 'bis' entirely useless.

quod—afflictarentur] This seems to mean that the ships would have been thus damaged if they had got into these waters.

extruso] In the parts covered by the sea at high water Caesar made dykes to keep out the water, and attempted to take the towns by raising large embankments ('aggeres'). The word 'his' refers to 'aggere ac molibus.' 'Adaequare' occurs (i. 48; ii. 32) in a transitive sense, and means to equal or attain; and, also, it is used in the same way with an ablative of the instrument (v. 8; vii. 32). This is Schneider's remark, who adds, that when it is used with a dative it is intransitive, and means 'to be equal to.' Perhaps he is right in taking 'his,' &c. here to signify, 'and by these means the walls of the town being reached,' which in sense is the same as if we translate it, 'and these being raised as high as the walls,' for this must have been done before the walls could be reached.

suis fortunis] This is the dative (vii. 50). 'Desperare' is used with 'de' and an ablative; also with an accusative (Cic. Pro Murena, c. 21). 'Fortunae' means in Caesar (i. 11), as in Cicero, all a man's property; or, as it does here, all that a man has, life and every thing else. Cicero (Divin. c. 20) has 'jura fortunasque,' 'rights and interests;' and Verr. ii. 1, c. 44, 'bona fortunasque.'

cujus rei] 'Rei' refers to all the words 'magno numero navium appulso,' 'for doing which they had the best means.' 'Res' is a word of universal use, a comprehensive term, used not only to refer to a single

portabant omnia seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus iisdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur, summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus, difficultas navigandi.

13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant. Carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent; prorae admodum erectae, atque item puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, hae sive

thing, but to a number of things or a number of facts, viewed in their result as one fact or thing. Thus 'res publica' is the notion of a 'universitas,' in the Roman sense, all viewed as one. In ii. 5, 'quae res' is an example of this comprehensive use of the word.

vasto atque aperto, &c.] Here is a set of ablatives which express a permanent condition of this sea. See i. 18. The sea was 'vastum,' boundless, and 'apertum,' open, not bounded by land like the Mediterranean. See c. 9, 'vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano.'

13. *vada*] 'Vada' is shoal water, of which there is plenty on this coast. 'In order that the ships might be better adapted to meet (excipere) the shoals and the ebb of the sea.' (Comp. iv. 17, 'excipiant.') Tacitus (Ann. ii. 6) speaks of ships used on the coast of the Netherlands as "planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent."

contumeliam] This passage seems to show that the original meaning of 'contumelia' is violence or blows. Ulpian (Dig. 47. 10. 1) says, "contumeliam autem a contemnendo dicimus;" a way of attempting to explain the meaning of 'contumelia' as one of the kinds of 'injuria.'

transtra] The 'transtra' are the cross timbers from side to side. They were beams a foot in height, as Caesar expresses it in the ablative ('pedalibus . . . trabibus'), or, as we should say, in thickness; and they were fastened with iron bolts as thick as a man's thumb. The anchors were not secured by ropes, but by chain-cables. Hemp cables are liable to be chafed in rocky anchorage ground, and to be destroyed. They are also damaged by the alternate wetness and dryness to which they are exposed. The Veneti accordingly used iron chains instead of hemp ropes, and chain-cables have been again brought into use within the present century. Strabo (p. 195), who used this passage of Caesar, makes a great blunder: he says the Veneti had chains for their sails instead of ropes. He also says that the Veneti had plenty of oak timber, which is not in Caesar, but it may be inferred.

pelles] The sails of the Romans were made of flax, and called 'carbasa.' The sails of the Veneti were

propter lini inopiam atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostrae classi ejusmodi congressus erat ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. Neque enim his nostrae rostro nocere poterant, tanta in his erat firmitudo, neque propter altitudinem facile telum adjiciebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode copulis continebantur. Accedebat ut, quum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius et in vadis consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erat extimescendus.

14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis Caesar, ubi intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque his noceri posse, statuit exspectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit ac primum ab

made of skins with the hair on ('pelles'), or, at least, untanned, and of 'alutae,' tanned skins.

tanta in his] Elb. has 'in eis.' Perhaps the demonstrative 'his' may be properly repeated for the sake of emphasis. If a simple reference is made to the first 'his,' the appropriate expression would be 'tanta in eis.' 'Neque his,' near the beginning of the next chapter, can hardly be compared with this.

adjiciebatur] 'Could not easily be thrown so far.' See c. 14, and ii. 21.

copulis] All the MSS. have 'scopulis' except one, which has 'copulis.' Nearly all the editors agree that we must read 'copulis,' which are chains, or generally any thing that holds things together. We must understand these 'copulae' to be 'manus ferreae' or 'harpagones,' grappling irons used for laying hold of an enemy's ship to bring him to close quarters or to board him. In order to give some sense to the word 'scopulis,' Manutius altered 'commode' to 'incommode;' and Herzog has the reading, 'minus incommode scopulis,' &c. He explains it thus: "The ships, as a general rule, could maintain themselves in the bights and bays formed by rocks, and had no occasion to fear dashing to pieces on them." I don't believe this to be a fair interpretation.

saevire—coepisset et] These words are omitted in several good MSS.—'Relictae:' 'derelictae,' Elb.

14. *exspectandam classem*] He means all his fleet, the complete fleet, for he must have had some experience of the enemy's ships, as the preceding chapter shows ('neque enim . . . poterant'); and he says in this chapter, 'rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant.' Dion (39, c. 40) says that Caesar built his ships for the Venetian war in the interior, on the Loire, and brought them down the river to the sea; that Caesar was

hostibus visa est, circiter CCXX naves eorum paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae profectae ex portu nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis Bruto qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque quibus singulae naves erant attributae, constabat quid agerent aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent. Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adjici possent et missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res praeparata a nostris, falces praeacutae, insertae adfixaeque longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium. His quum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant, comprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis

in great straits until Decimus Brutus arrived from the interior sea (the Mediterranean) with swift-sailing ships. This is a different story from Caesar's (c. 11), and it contradicts Caesar.

neque—vel] It is not unusual for 'neque' to be used once without another 'neque' or 'nec' following; for instance 'neque' is followed by 'et' in this chapter. But it is unusual, as Schneider observes, to have 'vel' after a negative; for 've' or 'aut' is the usual word. Oudendorp's examples are not to the purpose, with the exception of two from Apuleius. Two also are cited by Lachmann: Propertius, i. 15. (14.) 24, and Tibullus, i. 9. 60.

insisterent] In vi. 5, 'totus . . . animo in bellum . . . insistit.'

turribus—excitatis] This is a common expression for the raising up of towers, as Schneider shows (v. 40; viii. 9; Livy, xliii. 18). Virgil says (Georg. iv. 549) "Ad delubra venit, monstratas excitat aras." They were used in naval warfare (Livy, xxxvii. 24). Caesar's words probably mean that the towers were not tried, and because it was plain that they would be of no use. The expression 'turribus excitatis tamen has,' is more forcible than if he had said, 'turres autem excitatas . . . superabat;' and he often uses this form, as in v. 44, 'quo percusso . . . hunc;' vi. 4, 'obsidibus centum,' &c.; vi. 8, 'cum iis . . . eos.' In vi. 43, after 'coacto numero,' he has not the pronoun; nor in vii. 4, 'convocatis clientibus,' though some MSS. have 'eos' there. See also iv. 21, 'quibus auditis . . . eos,' and v. 4.

ex barbaris navibus] 'On the side of the barbarian ships.'

falces praeacutae] Hooked at the end, and sharpened there also, fixed to the end of long poles (iv. 17), like 'murales falces.' These 'murales falces,' or δορυδρέπανα, as Polybius calls them (xxii. 10; and Dion, and Strabo), were used for pulling down the battlements of walls (ἐπάλξεις, 'pinnae'). Vegetius (v. 15, or iv. 46, ed. Stewechius) describes these naval 'falces.'

destinabant] 'Fixed, secured the antemnae.' There is a false reading 'distinebant.' In vii. 22 'destinaverant' occurs; and in B. C. i. 25, "has (rates) quaternis ancoris ex quatuor angulis destinabat." The word means 'to fix down,' 'to secure;' and hence the derived meaning of 'resolved and determined' in Liv. xxi. 44, "si hoc bene fixum omnibus destinatumque in animo est."

incitato praerumpebantur. Quibus abscisis antemnae necessario concidebant ut, quum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis quod in conspectu Caesaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Disjectis ut diximus antemnis, quum singulas binae ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, quum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt; ac jam conversis in eam partem navibus quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit ut se ex loco commovere non possent. Quae quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna; nam singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt ut perpaucae ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, quum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

16. Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae maritimae confectum est. Nam quum omnis juventus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum navium quod ubique fuerat in unum locum coegerant; quibus amissis

abscisis] There is also 'abscissis,' which is perhaps the better form, as in 'fissus,' from 'fi(n)dere.'

15. *circumsteterant*] This is the true reading, not 'circumsisterent,' which would denote the commencement of something usual, or a continued act. 'When two or three Roman ships had got round one, then the soldiers would attempt to board.' Comp. iii. 14, 'his quum funes,' &c.; iv. 17, 'haec quum defixerat,' &c.; and other passages.

malacia] A Greek word. The MSS. readings are various. If 'malacia' is not the true reading, perhaps we may take 'mollities.' 'Tranquillitas' seems to be an explanation of the Greek word, which Caesar considered to be more expressive than any Latin word.

hora fere quarta] The battle was fought in the autumn and late in the year, as late as the equinox perhaps, c 28; and consequently from ten in the morning to six in the evening.

16. *navium quod—fuerat*] 'All their ships,' or 'all the ships which they had any where.' This is a common Latin formula (v. 2).

reliqui neque quo se reciperent neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia Caesari dediderunt. In quos eo gravius Caesar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona vendidit.

17. Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Q. Titurius Sabinus cum iis copiis quas a Caesare acceperat in fines Unellorum pervenit. His praeerat Viridovix ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coegerat; atque his paucis diebus Aulerci Eburovices Lexoviique senatu

neque—habebant] 'They had no means of defending their towns.' Some explain it as equivalent to 'they did not know how;' an explanation that is hardly necessary. It is a common usage in Cicero, as when he says of Caesar (Ad Div. ix. 17), "quid faciat tamen non habet."

In quos—vindicandum] This must be explained by recurring to the original meaning of 'vindicare,' 'to claim a right;' properly it is said of one who claims the ownership of a thing. From the sense of maintaining a right is derived the expression 'vindicare in aliquem,' 'to maintain a right against a person,' and 'to punish a person.'

eo gravius] 'Eo' is not the ablative, but the ending in *o*, which means, 'to the end' or 'purpose;' and 'quo' means 'that.'

sub corona] The senatus, the national council, were put to death; told in two words. Charlemagne employed the same way of pacification. He cut off the heads of 4500 revolted Saxons in one day (Mignet, Introd. de l'Ancienne Germanie, &c., p. 118). The 'rest,' as Caesar calls them, would be sold to the 'mercatores' who followed the camp (i. 1; ii. 33) Gellius (vii. 4) quotes Caelius Sabinus, a jurist of Vespasian's time, who says that it was the old practice to sell captives in war with a 'corona' or chaplet on the head. The 'corona' on the head of a captive was a sign that he was for sale. Gellius does not say why the 'corona' was used; but any sign would do for this purpose.

17. *summam imperii*] 'The supreme command.' See i. 41, and ii. 4, 'belli summam;' and vi. 11, 'summa omnium rerum.'

magnasque copias] Schneider says that 'copias' means 'men' and not 'things,' and that whenever Caesar in these Commentaries uses 'copias cogi' or 'coactas,' he always means 'men.'

his paucis] 'Within these few days,' which means within a few days after Sabinus reached the country of the Unelli. In c. 23, 'paucis diebus quibus,' the same thing is expressed in a clearer way, and in v. 26. Cic. Phil. i. 13 has 'omnibus his mensibus,' and Phil. ii. 1, 'his viginti annis,' which mean so much time past reckoned to the time when Cicero was speaking. Cicero (Verr. i. 8; ii. 2, c. 26; iv. c. 18, 63) has the expression 'illis diebus,' and 'paucis illis diebus,' and 'illo biduo,' in all which passages, except perhaps one, where both the meaning and the reading may be doubtful, it means a time before an event. I am not sure, however, whether this meaning depends on 'ille,' or on the context. The use of the ablative to express a measure of time between two events is common. See c. 23.

Aulerci Eburovices] The branch

suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt seque cum Viridovice conjunxerunt; magnaque praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et quotidiano labore revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris se tenebat, quum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset quotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut jam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur, tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. Hac confirmata opinione timoris idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit Gallum, ex his quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet uti ad hostes transeat, et quid fieri velit edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit, quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur docet, neque longius abesse quin

of the Aulerci called Eburovices was south of the Seine, and altogether in the basin of the Seine. Their chief town was Mediolanum, a common Gallic name: and Evreux, on the Iton, in the department of Eure, is on the site of this old town.

auctores belli] They would not consent to the war. Perhaps Caesar does not mean more than that: and we may conclude that, according to the political system of these tribes, a war could not be undertaken without the formal consent of the body which Caesar calls the senate. 'Auctor,' in its widest sense, is one who gives to a thing its ratification or completeness; though it may mean also one who originates a thing, as in vi. 8, 31.

revocabat] As Schneider observes, these desperate and needy men ('perditi') were not agriculturists, for Caesar would not call agriculturists 'perditi homines et latrones.' They were men who had no means of living, or were robbers; at least Caesar represents them as such. 'Revocare' is not only to 'recall' or 'withdraw from a thing,' but to 'draw a man into a new or fresh direction,' to a thing which is not his usual or proper object.

idoneo omnibus rebus loco] 'His position being in every respect convenient.' See ii. 8, 'loco . . idoneo.'

vocibus] In the plural means 'clamour,' and also 'abuse.' See c. 24, and i. 39; vi. 36. Cicero (Pro Caelio, c. 3) says 'vocibus maledictisque.'

18. *neque longius*] 'Abesse' with a negative followed by 'quin' is thus used by Cicero, Ad Att. ix. 9, "aberit non longe quin hoc a me

proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt. His rebus adducti non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt quam ab his sit concessum arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa laeti ut explorata victoria sarmentis virgultisque collectis quibus fossas Romanorum compleant ad castra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus et paulatim ab imo acclivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus suos hortatus cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus propter ea quae ferebant onera subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defatigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites

decerni velit;" and elsewhere. The Latin is difficult to render with precision: he said 'that Sabinus would not delay longer than the next night in secretly drawing his troops out of the camp.'

inopia cibariorum] Dion (39, c. 45) says that when the Galli made their attack, they were well filled with meat and drink. Schneider observes that Caesar's statement is no obstacle to our believing Dion, for perhaps the Galli had on this day consumed all that they had. This is a wonderful remark from a man of sense.

explorata] Compare v. 43; vii. 15, 20, 52. 'Exploratum' is often used to signify that which is well examined, known, and certain.

compleant] Dion Cassius (39, c. 45) says "that the Galli took firewood and other wood, some on their shoulders, and some dragging after them, in order to burn the Romans." But Caesar tells us why the Galli carried 'sarmenta virgultaque,' and if he had not told us, we might have guessed. A comparison of this plain sketch with Dion's daubing will show how the Greek wrote what he called history.

19. *acclivis—mille*] The numerals indicate the length of the upward slope. (See ii. 18.)

reliquos—reliquerunt] It is usual

consectati paucos qui ex fuga evaserant reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar est certior factus, civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore P. Crassus, quum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex tertia parte Galliae est aestimanda, quum intelligeret in his locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis L. Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset, atque unde L. Manilius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intelligebat. Itaque re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa,

to put a comma after 'paucos,' and another after 'evaserant.' Elberling even puts a comma after 'consectati' also. I don't suppose that Caesar troubled himself about such trifles. The commas are intended to show how an editor understands his text. If we look at the words as they stand there is no difficulty: 'The rest the cavalry following close after left but few of those who had escaped from the rout.'

mens eorum est] Gruter and Lipsius would omit these words. If 'animus' and 'mens' were perfectly synonymous they might do so. But though there may be cases in which either word would express what is meant, there are other cases in which the impetuosity and impulse ('animus') are clearly distinguishable from the word 'mens,' which expresses more of the habit and character of a man. So when Terence (Andria, i. 1. 137) says 'mala mens, malus animus,' he means that if a man's habitual temper of mind is bad, his acts will correspond. See vi. 5.

Caesar often speaks of the character of the Galli. Their onset was desperate, but after this their efforts were feeble. Florus (ii. 4) has imitated Livy's expression (x. 28), who says, "Primaque eorum proelia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse." See Machiavelli, Discorsi, iii. 36; and the note at the end of this Book.

20. *Aquitania*] Introd. p. 23. 'Ex tertia parte' is an expression that has caused a difficulty. Caesar (i. 1) here does not mean to say that Aquitania was a third of Gallia; but considering its extent and its population, it may be considered as a third division of Gallia, of which there were two others similarly determined.

Galliae] Oudendorp says that he found 'Gallia' in two MSS.; and Kraner has 'Gallia.' He compares 'ex tertia parte Gallia' with 'heres ex asse.'

Praeconinus—Manilius] Introd. p. 30. Schneider writes 'Mallius,' for which there is good authority; and Plutarch writes the name thus.

viris—Tolosa] 'Men of Tolosa.' This is the meaning, as Schneider shows. So there is in B. C. i. 24,

Carcasone, et Narbone, quae sunt civitates Galliae Provinciae finitimae, ex his regionibus nominatim evocatis in Sotiatum fines exercitum introduxit. Cujus adventu cognito Sotiates magnis copiis coactis equitatuque quo plurimum valebant in itinere agmen nostrum adorti primum equestre proelium commiserunt, deinde equitatu suo pulso atque insequentibus nostris subito pedestres copias quas in convalle in insidiis collocaverant ostenderunt. Hi nostros disjectos adorti proelium renovarunt.

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, quum Sotiates superioribus victoriis freti in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent, nostri autem quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adolescentulo duce efficere possent perspici cuperent: tandem confecti vulneribus

'Cn. Magius Cremona;' and in Cicero, Pro Sestio, c. 22, there is 'hominum Minturnis,' 'men of Minturnae;' and there is the authority of inscriptions for the same form. These towns, Narbo (Introd. p. 5), Carcaso (Carcassone), and Toulouse, lie nearly in a straight line, and in that tract along which the canal of Languedoc runs. Carcaso was a town of the Volcae Tectosages, and is now the capital of the department of Aude, which contains also Narbonne. Carcassone is on the Aude (Atax), and in a sense within the basin of the Rhone.

Caesar means that these three are 'towns of the Gallia Provincia, and towns bordering on Aquitania.' In c. 23 he removes the ambiguity of his expression, if there is any, by adding 'Aquitaniae.' One MS. omits 'ex;' and accordingly, Elberling, Seyffert, Kraner, and others, write 'Provinciae, finitimae his regionibus.' Elberling and Seyffert put a comma after 'Provinciae.'

nominatim] See v. 4; vii. 39. There was some muster-roll, in which these men were entered, and they were summoned by name, individually, not in the mass. These muster-rolls are named 'tabulae' by Livy (24, c. 18). It was an old usage among the Romans to require the Socii to keep rolls of the names of those who were fit for military service, and they were summoned when they were wanted (Polyb. ii. 23). Livy says under the year B.C. 204 that the census of the twelve 'coloniae' was sent to Rome, that evidence might exist on the public records of the number of soldiers which these 'coloniae' had and of their pecuniary ability (Livy, 29, c. 37).

Sotiatum] Or 'Sontiatum,' as Schneider has it. They were the first people that Crassus came upon after entering Aquitania. The Sotiates were the neighbours of the Elusates, a name represented by the modern town of Eause; and a line drawn from Auch (Ausci) in the department of Gers to Bazas in the department of Gironde, passes through or near Sos in the Gabaret, and this place, called Sotium in the middle ages, represents the name of the Sotiates. Ancient remains have been found at Sos. A medal, said to have been found at old Toulouse, with a head of king Adictanus on one side, and the name Sotiagae on the other, is considered by Walckenaer (Géog. &c. i. 284) as 'very suspected;' and most people will agree with him.

21. *superioribus*] The defeat of Praeconinus and Manilius. — 'ex itinere,' see ii. 6.

hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero interfecto Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sotiatum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus vineas turresque egit. Illi alias eruptione tentata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis, cujus rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae structurae sunt, ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt seque in deditionem ut recipiat petunt. Qua re impetrata arma tradere jussi faciunt.

22. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis, alia ex parte oppidi Adcantuannus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum DC devotis,—quos illi soldurios appellant, quorum haec est conditio ut omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur quorum se amicitiae dediderint, si quid his per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant

cuniculis] The same thing which Thucydides, in his description of the siege of Plataea (ii. 76), calls *ὑπονόμος*, a subterranean passage, worked by the besieged for the purpose of drawing away the earth from the 'agger' or firing the combustible part of it (compare vii. 22; and Livy, v. 19. 21). These people were acquainted with mining. 'Structurae' is perhaps the true reading, and means all such works as are necessary in mining, such as making galleries, and supporting them against the risk of falling in. Ovid (Fast. iv. 495) has a use of 'structura' which is consistent with the meaning here: "Est specus exesi structura pumicis asper;" and it occurs in the Alexandrine War, c. 1, where it means 'substructions.' Elb. and Herzog have 'aerariae secturae.' There is a reading 'stricturae;' and this word occurs in the common text of Rutilius (It. i. 351), "Non Biturix largo potior strictura metallo;" where 'strictura,' a mass of iron to be worked or beaten out, is appropriate. Schn. has 'aerariae structuraeque.'

22. *Adcantuannus*] The name of this king is variously written. Schneider has Adiatunus. He mentions a medal of Pellerin's with the legend REX ΔΑLΕΤVΩΝVΣ, and on the reverse SOTIOGA. Perhaps this is the medal which Walckenaer (c. 20, note) mentions, but he does not give exactly the same report of it.

soldurii] We must assume this to be an Aquitanian, that is, an Iberian or Basque word, which Caesar interprets by the Latin word 'devoti.' Plutarch (Sertorius, c. 14) speaks of this devotion as an Iberian custom, and explains it by the Greek word *κατάσπεισις*. Nicolaus of Damascus (quoted by Athenaeus, p. 249) calls these men *σιλοδούνους*, as the text now stands; and he mentions this king by the name of *'Αδιάτομον*. His translation of 'soldurii' is *εὐχωλιμαῖοι*. But, according to him, they died with the king, even if he died a natural death; and if this is so, if a king fell sick and departed, the country had a riddance of all the 'soldurii,' which must have been a great blessing; for these men enjoyed all good things without working for them, and were a band of tyrants with one captain at their head. Caesar (vii. 40) speaks of a like custom to this among the Galli.

aut sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam qui eo interfecto cujus se amicitiae devovisset, mortem recusaret:—cum his Adcantuannus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, quum ad arma milites concurrissent vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum tamen uti eadem deditionis conditione uteretur ab Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum paucis diebus quibus eo ventum erat expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoquoversum dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitimae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur. Quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur qui una cum Q. Sertorio omnes annos

mortem recusaret] or 'mori recusaret,' as some editions have.

cum his] The sentence is interrupted at 'devotis,' and resumed with the words 'cum his.'

23. *Vocatium*] The Vocates may be the Vasates of Ptolemy, whose chief place was Cossio, the site of which is fixed at Bazas, in the department of Gironde, on the road which runs from the Ausci (Auch) to Burdigala (Bordeaux). There are some further conjectures on this matter (Walckenaer, Géog. &c. i. 302). The site of the Tarusates is doubtful, but perhaps they were the neighbours of the Vocates.

paucis—quibus] 'A few days after his arrival there.' The ablative 'paucis diebus' marks an interval between two events, and what follows 'quibus,' &c., indicates the first event from which the time is to be reckoned. The relative is put in the plural by a kind of attraction. We may suppose that the full expression would contain something more than this. Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 15) has, "Quod lex Rupilia vetaret diebus xxx sortiri dicam quibus scripta esset." See iv. 18, "diebus decem quibus," which means, 'die decimo postquam;' and v. 26. In B. C. i. 36 there is "diebus xxx a qua die." Terence (Andria, i. 1. 77), "fere in diebus paucis quibus haec acta sunt."

quoquoversum] Cicero says of a piece of ground for a monument, 'pedes xxx quoquoversus' (Phil. ix. c. 7). Kraner writes 'quoque versum.' See Schneider's note, and vii. 14. Both 'quoquoversum' and 'quoquoversus' are used.

conjurare] See ii. 1; iv. 18; v. 26; vii. 1.

citerioris Hispaniae] Also named Tarraconensis. It was between the Iberus (Ebro) and the Pyrenees.—'quorum adventu:' 'on whose arrival.' Comp. i. 50, 'solis occasu.'

Q. Sertorio] Introd. p. 32. 'Omnes annos,' all the years that Sertorius carried on the war in Spain.—'Loca capere:' 'to choose ground for encampment,' and perhaps 'suitable

fuerant summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existimavit quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

24. Prima luce productis omnibus copiis, duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem conjectis, quid hostes consilii caperent exspectabat. Illi etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur obsessis viis commeatu intercluso sine ullo

ground' in general. See vii. 51 and v. 9.

Quod ubi] Schneider has a good note on 'quod,' which has often been misunderstood. It is the relative; and the relative is a demonstrative. It may have some reference to what precedes, but it mainly refers to that which is expounded by 'suas copias . . . diduci,' and the following clauses. 'Now when Crassus saw this, that' &c. Cicero (Verr. Act. i. c. 26) has the full expression, "Quod ubi ille intellexit id agi," &c. So it is in a passage of Terence sometimes misunderstood (Phorm. ii. 1. 5), "Quod utinam ne Phormioni id suadere in mentem venisset." Even the following passage is rightly explained thus (Cic. Verr. ii. 2, c. 26), "Quod ego nisi meo adventu illius conatus aliquantum repressissem."

ad consilium] It was submitted to the military council. See i. 40. 'Deferre' and 'referre' are sometimes confounded in the MSS. 'Referre' is said of a 'magistratus' or person in authority laying a matter before the senate, or before the 'populus,' or before some competent body for its decision. 'Deferre' is used by Livy (ii. 4) to express information given to the consuls, by whom the matter is laid before the senate for their deliberation (ii. 5). In ii. 28 Livy has "rem consules . . . ad Patres deferunt: sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit:" where, if the distinction between 'deferre' and 'referre' is to be maintained, the latter part of the expression is equivalent to 'referre non licuit.' Perhaps the distinction between these words is not always observed; but there are cases in which 'deferre' cannot be used for 'referre.' In this instance Crassus did not 'deferre,' we may suppose, because he was obliged: at any rate, he had the chief voice in the matter.

24. *duplici*] He placed the legionary soldiers in two lines, on the right and on the left. His auxiliaries were thrown (conjecti) into the centre. Crassus' force was small, and he made his front as long as he safely could, and therefore it was 'duplex' and not 'triplex' (i. 24).

obsessis — intercluso] 'Since our supplies were cut off by the roads

vulnere victoria potiri, et si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiore animo adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, productis Romanorum copiis sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta Crassus, quum sua cunctatione atque opinione timidiores hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur exspectari diutius non oportere quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi quum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis conjectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem cespitibus comportandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent, quum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus equitum praefectos cohortatus ut magnis

being occupied' by the enemy. Kraner compares (ii. 11) 'exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus.' In these cases the first pair of ablatives explains how that happens, which is expressed by the second pair.

sua—timidiores] This, like many passages in Caesar, may be passed over by a reader without seeing the difficulty. I think Schneider has solved the difficulty, or come nearest to it. The enemy were not timid: they were confident, and they fought well. If we had only the words 'opinione timidiores,' the meaning would be, 'since the opinion that the Romans had of the enemy being alarmed gave them additional courage.' There was nothing from which this opinion could be formed except the 'cunctatio,' their want of readiness for action. If 'atque opinione timidiores' were left out, it would also be intelligible. I conclude that 'timidiores' is to be only connected with 'atque opinione:' 'since by their backwardness and by the opinion of their being alarmed, the enemy had made our men more eager for the battle.' Clarke and Elb. think that 'timidiores' is most inept, as it is with the old reading 'effecisset.' Elb. and Kraner follow the emendation of D. Vossius, 'timoris' for 'timidiores;' but they have 'effecissent.' The words 'timidiores hostes' and 'nostros milites alacriores' are plainly contrasted.

25. *ad aggerem*] We may translate this 'for the agger;' as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 77), "qui tibi ad statuas pecuniam contulerunt." The omission of the gerundive form of 'facere' is readily supplied. 'Subministrandis' is like 'supportari' (c. 23) as to the 'sub.'

praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri vellet ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis IIII cohortibus, quae praesidio castris relictae intritae ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter ad eas quas diximus munitiones pervenerunt, atque his perruptis prius in hostium castris constiterunt quam plane ab his videri aut quid rei gereretur cognosci posset. Tum vero clamore ab ea parte audito nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones dejicere et fuga salutem petere intenderunt. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus ex milium L numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recepit.

27. Hac audita pugna, maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedidit obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero

26. *praemiis*] As we can hardly suppose that rewards were given on the spot, in the heat of the battle, it has been supposed that 'praemiis pollicitationibusque' means no more than 'promises of reward.' But he gave them 'praemia' to do what he wanted to be done immediately. The same expression occurs in iii. 18, where the 'praemia' may have been given on the spot.

IIII *cohortibus*] There is a reading 'iis' and 'his cohortibus.'

intritae] This is Gruter's emendation. The MSS. have 'interitae' or 'interritae.' 'Intritae' means 'not exhausted,' 'not broken.' The reading 'integrae ab labore' has no MSS. authority (Oudendorp).

perruptis] The reading of most MSS. is 'proruptis.' The true reading is either 'prorutis,' used as in Liv. ix. 14 ('proruerent,' &c.), or 'perruptis.' The MSS. abbreviations of 'per,' and 'pro,' and 'prae' are often confounded. Schneider, Elb., and Kraner have 'prorutis.'

posset] 'Possent' must be understood with 'videri.'

apertissimis campis] Crassus was in the low country on the south side of the Garonne, and probably within the limits of the flat department of the Gironde, where the plains are 'apertissimi.' If he was somewhat further south, in the department of Les Landes, he was in one of the flattest and most dreary tracts in Europe. It appears from this chapter that the Spanish auxiliaries were Cantabri, and no others are mentioned. These are the men whom the Romans found it so difficult to subdue in their mountain fastnesses of Spain; in the open field they were more easily routed.

27. *ultro*] i. 42, and v. 28, note.

The Tarbelli were on the coast of Aquitania and in the lower part of the basin of the Adour. The Bigerriones, whose name is preserved in Bigorre, occupied what has been in modern times the diocese of Tarbes, a country at the foot of the Pyrenees.

The Preciani, Ptiani, Prociani, for there are these and other variations

fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Preciani, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Garites, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates. Paucae ultimae nationes anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

28. Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta jam aestas erat, tamen quod omni Gallia pacata Morini Menapiique supererant qui in armis essent neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt. Nam quod intelligebant maximas nationes quae proelio contendissent pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac

of the text, are unknown. The Elusates were between the Sotiates to the north and the Ausci to the south. The position of the Garites and Garumni can only be conjectured. The first part of both names contains Gar, the same element that is in the river Gar-umna and in the modern Gers; and the Garumni were probably on the middle course of the Garonne. The reading Garites is not certain. Schneider prefers Gates.

The position of the Ausci is indicated both by the Roman routes and the name of Auch, on the river Gers, a branch of the Garonne. This ancient city originally had the name of Elimberris (Mela iii. 2). Under the Romans it became Augusta, and then Ausci, from which the modern name Auch comes. Four Roman roads converged to Augusta. A medal with the epigraph Auscii has been found in recent times; and this orthography agrees with the name Auscii in Strabo and Pliny (Walckenaer, Géog. &c. i. 288).

The Sibuzates (there are great variations in the MSS. readings) are placed by conjecture in the neighbourhood of Saubusse or Sobusse, between Dax and Bayonne. The Cocosates had a capital Coequossa, or Cocosa, the site of which is a small place, Causseque or Cuillic. It was on the route from Aquae Tarbellicae (Dax) to Burdigala (Bordeaux), the first station from Dax, and twenty-four Roman miles from it. It was therefore in the southern part of the department of Les Landes; and it is remarkable that the inhabitants of the north part of the Landes are still called Bouges (Boii), and those of the south, Cousiots. The name then subsists to the present day (Walckenaer, Géog. &c. i. 303).

All Aquitania submitted except the south-east part and the higher valleys of the Pyrenees ('paucae ultimae nationes'). The history of the Aquitanian campaign is of course founded on Crassus' report to Caesar, and the facts correspond to the narrative in a degree which gives great credibility to the report.

Paucae ultimae] 'A few tribes, the remotest.' The expression is like 'complures nostri milites' (i. 52).

28. *supererant qui—essent*] 'The only people under arms were the Morini and Menapii.' The chief verb is 'supererant:' the other verbs 'essent,' 'misissent' are subordinate. The first ('supererant') contains the affirmation in the sentence.

silvas] Schneider collects from iv. 38, that the 'paludes' chiefly applied to the Morini, and the 'silvae' to the Menapii. But both territories contained marshes and forest (vi. 5). Caesar would come to the Morini first, and he did not succeed in getting even through their coun-

paludes habebant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum quum Caesar pervenisset castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt eosque in silvas reppulerunt, et compluribus interfectis longius impeditioribus locis secuti paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam quae erat caesa conversam ad hostem collocabat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, quum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, ejusmodi sunt tempestates consecutae uti opus necessario intermitteretur et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pellibus milites contineri non possent. Itaque

try. He burnt all that he came near, and left the people to pass the winter as well as they could. This is a cruel way of dealing with an enemy; but Caesar stopped at nothing which would reduce an enemy to straits. Nor do we when we are warring out of Europe: we kill, destroy, and burn all before us.

29. *deinceps*] A word compounded of 'dein' ('de-inde') and the termination 'ceps.' It signifies an uninterrupted series, 'during all the days that Caesar passed in this country.' Its position in such a case as this is after the predicate ('reliquis'), and before the noun 'diebus.' It has a like position with respect to the demonstrative pronoun, as 'horum deinceps annorum' (Liv. v. 51).

silvas caedere] Dion (39, c. 44) says that the Morini and Menapii carried their most valuable things to the roughest part of the mountains, and Caesar tried to get to the mountains by cutting the forest, but the magnitude of the mountains and the approach of winter stopped him. Dion did not know that there are no mountains in those parts. He could not find this nonsense either in Caesar or elsewhere, and he must have invented it. Florus (iii. 10) says that Caesar burnt the forests. Neither of these men could follow a plain story.

materiam] The 'timber,' the trees which they felled (vii. 73).—'ejusmodi tempestates:' 'such storms,' 'such tempestuous weather.' See c. 12.

pellibus] The skins of the tents, under which the Roman soldiers slept in the summer and during a campaign. A supply of skins ('coria') was a thing of necessity for the Roman armies, and they got them from all quarters. (Cicero, Verr. ii. 2, c. 2; In Pis. c. 36, "omni totius provinciae pecore compulso pellium nomine.") Livy (v. 2) has the expression "sub pellibus durare." Corbulo, in a Parthian campaign (Ann. xiii. 35), kept his soldiers in tents during a very severe winter ("retentusque omnis exercitus sub pellibus"). But the Roman practice

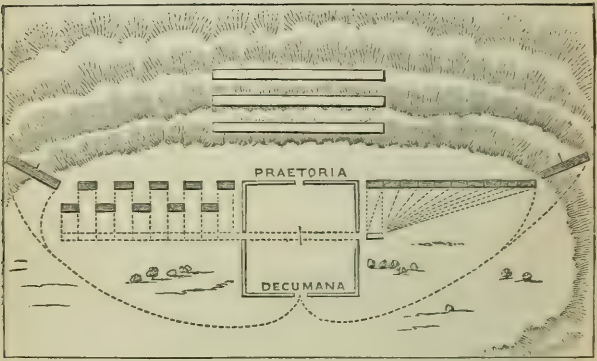
vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis, Caesar exercitum reduxit, et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis collocavit.

generally and Caesar's practice was to go into 'hiberna,' either in the towns of Gallia, or under huts constructed for the winter.

bellum fecerant] Seneca (Ep. 114) finds fault with 'bellum facere,' an expression of Sallust and Cicero. It occurs several times in Caesar, iv. 22; v. 28; vii. 2; and also in Livy. 'Bellum facere,' 'irruptionem facere,' and the like, mean no more, as Herzog remarks, than what might be expressed by a verb which is cognate to the noun. So 'bellum facere' is 'to war.' In c. 28 there is the usual expression 'bellum gerere,' which refers to the actual operations of war. Instead of 'bellum gerere' Herzog (and also Elb.) has 'bellum agere,' and he can see a distinction between 'agere' and 'gerere.' 'Bellum agere' however is not used by Caesar, unless he used it in c. 28; and some of the best MSS. have it.

NOTE

to c. 19.



This plan explains Q. Titurius Sabinus' feat of arms (iii. 19). The enemy came up the hill, and attacked the front of the camp, trying to fill up the ditch with their fascines. Sabinus had three legions with him (iii. 11). That which was at the Praetoria Porta was sufficient to protect the camp on that side. The two other legions would have their places respectively on the right and left of the camp. We may suppose that just when the Galli reached the Praetoria Porta, exhausted with running and loaded with their fascines, the two legions came out on the right and left of the camp, and took the enemy in flank. In what way they got out, and how they formed, Caesar does not tell us; nor can we know. Roesch's plan shows, on the right side, how the cohorts may have got out, and formed a line of ten cohorts; and on the left side he shows what may have been the position of the cohorts, if they formed in a double line, each line of five cohorts.

LIBER QUARTUS.

ARGUMENT.

Chap. 1—3. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri cross the Rhine into Gallia; the customs of the Suevi. 4. The Menapii are surprised by the sudden attack of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri. 5. The character of the Galli. 6—9. Caesar marches against the Germans; the address of the Germans to Caesar, and his answer. 10. Description of the Mosa and the Rhenus. 11—15. The treachery of the Germans to Caesar, who falls on them unexpectedly, slaughters a great number, and drives the rest into the Rhine. 16—19. Caesar builds a wooden bridge over the Rhine, and crosses into Germany; enters the country of the Ubii and Sigambri; and crosses the bridge again into Gallia. 20, 21. Caesar resolves to pass over into Britain, and sends C. Volusenus to examine the coast. 22. The Morini submit to Caesar; his preparation for the voyage to Britain. 23—27. Caesar lands on the coast of Britain; the resistance of the natives. 28, 29. His fleet is damaged by a storm. 30—36. The Britons, who had submitted, attack Caesar again; the British war-chariots, and their mode of fighting; Caesar defeats the Britons, and returns to Gallia. 37, 38. The treachery of the Morini; they are compelled to submit to Labienus; the country of the Menapii is laid waste and burnt; a supplicatio at Rome for Caesar's victories.

The events of this book belong to A.V.C. 699, or B.C. 55; and the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. and M. Licinius Crassus II.

Ea quae secuta est hieme, qui fuit annus Cn. Pompeio M. Crasso Coss., Usipetes Germani et item Tenchtheri magna cum multitudine hominum flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari quo Rhenus influit. Causa transeundi fuit quod ab Suevis complures annos exagitati bello

Ea quae &c.] The common punctuation is 'ea, quae secuta est, hieme;' which is bad. The text means, 'in the following winter;' and the practice of separating for the eye, 'quae secuta est,' the predicate, from its subject, 'hieme,' misleads a student. Caesar adds, 'qui fuit annus,' to show that it was not in the winter of B.C. 56, but in the winter of the beginning of B.C. 55. The new consuls entered on office on the first of January. 'Qui' of course refers to 'annus,' a usual form, and it should be rendered, 'and this was the year.' See ii. 1.

non longe] See c. 10 as to the outlets of the Rhine. The text means, 'not far from that part of the sea which the Rhine enters.'

Suevis] Tacitus (German. 38) says that Suevi is a general name

premebantur et agricultura prohibebantur. Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui qui domi manserunt se atque illos alunt. Hi rursus in vicem anno post in armis sunt, illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura nec ratio atque usus belli intermittitur. Sed privati ac separati agri apud

of a people who possess the larger part of Germany, and that the nations ('nationes') of the Suevi are distinguished by their several names. He says that the Semnones boasted of being the oldest and most noble of the Suevi, and dwelt in a hundred 'pagi.' In i. 37 the 'centum pagi' of the Suevi are said to have advanced to the Rhine. These may have been detachments, the thousand men from each of the 'pagi' which they used to send out annually to war ('bellandi causa'), and to plunder.

manserunt] The MSS. are in favour of 'manserunt,' not 'manserint.' There is something to say in favour of 'remanserunt,' the reading of one good MS. The critics are much puzzled with the distinction between the indicative and subjunctive in such cases. The meaning of the text is certain; the 'reliqui' are more particularly defined 'as those who have stayed at home;' in which case the indicative is used. Those who suppose that Caesar meant to say, 'the remainder, inasmuch as they have stayed at home that year,' for that year have been relieved from service, 'work to raise food for themselves and others,' may write 'manserint,' to which there is no objection on the ground of Latinity. Herzog, who has 'manserint,' compares iv. 21, 'qui . . . non auderet;' v. 4, 'qui jam . . . fuisset,' &c.; all which examples present no difficulty to a careful reader of Caesar or Cicero.

ratio] See ii. 19, 'ratio ordoque;' and iv. 17, 'rationem pontis.' The 'ratio' is the principle, the science of a thing; and 'usus' is the practice. In ii. 20, he says, 'scientia atque usus militum.'

privati ac separati] 'Privatus,' 'that which is individual,' is opposed to 'publicus,' 'that which is said of a state or a nation, of a whole' (iv. 3, 'publice maximam,' &c). 'Separatus' means lands marked by metes and bounds, as Roman property in land was. A man, it is said, was not allowed to dwell longer than a year ('incolendi causa,' apparently the true reading, not 'colendi') on one spot; which practice Horace (Carm. iii. 24) attributes to the Getae and Scythae also. These Germans were still in a half-Nomadic state. The notion of appropriating land to individuals, or the notion of property, if this account is true, was not yet established among the Germans, and the consequence was that the Germanic nations were always invading or threatening Gallia and Italy. I do not know if what Tacitus says (German. c. 26) is quite consistent with Caesar, for I don't understand the meaning of Tacitus; but as the Germans learned more of the Romans, they might get the notion of private property in land. In modern European states, the notion of appropriation of land, of private property in land, is firmly rooted; but a state, the Publicum, demands a part of the produce of the land, or gets it in money under some title or name; and applies it, among other purposes, to the maintenance of the military caste. The ultimate owner of land, in the case of no person being found who can claim a title to it ac-

eos nihil est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet. Neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus; quae res et cibi genere et quotidiana exercitatione et libertate vitae quod a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant et vires alit et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus praeter pelles habeant quidquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et lavantur in fluminibus.

2. Mercatoribus est ad eos aditus magis eo ut quae

cording to the rules of law, is the Publicum, of which the representative for this matter may be a king, as in England. See B. G. vi. 22.

frumento] 'Frumentum' comprehends wheat ('triticum') and barley ('hordeum').—'Maximam partem' is used like 'multum' and such words as 'multifariam,' which are accusatives. It is not common in the Latin prose writers.

quae res] 'Quae res' does not refer only to what precedes. It mainly refers to what follows, which consists of three things, the kind of food, the daily exercise, and the total freedom from all restraint. For if 'quae res' refers to what precedes only, the words 'et libertate,' &c., have no meaning. Morus and the Bipont change 'faciant' into 'faciunt,' which is a perversion of the meaning. The explanation has been suggested that 'quod . . . faciant' expresses what the Germans reported or said of themselves, and that therefore the subjunctive is used. But 'quod . . . faciant' is one of those subsidiary, dependent clauses in which the best Roman writers use the subjunctive; not that the thing contained in this dependent clause is the opinion of another, or the reported speech of another, or a thing doubtful, or a thing not distinctly affirmed; but the chief predication of the sentence is contained in 'alit,' 'efficit;' and the other clause ('faciant,' in this instance) is not coordinated with this principal clause, but is sub-ordinated. Schneider's explanation that 'quod . . . faciant' is the same as 'quum' with past tenses of the subjunctive, may be accepted; for whether it is 'qui,' 'quum,' or 'quod,' or past or present, is indifferent. These usages are reducible to one general principle. An editor may perhaps be censured for striking out the comma after 'vitae,' but the omission of it will show that 'quod . . . faciant' is only the explanation of 'libertate vitae;' and will also show how far those editors are from the meaning who make 'quod . . . faciant' a parenthesis. It means, 'and by the freedom of their way of living in being trained from childhood in no compulsion or discipline, and doing nothing at all contrary to their inclination.'

locis frigidissimis] 'though their country is very cold.' Comp. ii. 8.

lavantur] This is the MSS. reading, and we must therefore suppose it to be the verb 'lavere,' which Horace uses (Sat. i. 5, v. 24).

2. *eo ut, &c.*] He says, 'merchants are allowed to go into their country, rather that the Suevi may have purchasers for their booty, than because,' &c. This instance shows how the subjunctive mode is used to express a thing generally, for 'quae ceperint' is 'booty.' (See i. 36,

bello ceperint quibus vendant habeant, quam quod ullam rem ad se importari desiderent. Quin etiam jumentis, quibus maxime Galli delectantur quaeque impenso parant pretio, Germani importatis his non utuntur, sed quae sunt apud eos nata, prava atque deformia, haec quotidiana exercitatione summi ut sint laboris efficiunt. Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus proeliantur, equosque eodem remanere vestigio adsuefecerunt, ad quos se celeriter quum usus est recipiunt; neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam aut inertius habetur quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum quamvis pauci adire audent. Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur.

3. Publice maximam putant esse laudem quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari magnum numerum civitatium suam vim sustinere non posse. Itaque una ex parte a Suevis circiter milia passuum DC agri vacare dicuntur. Ad alteram partem

'qui vicissent.') The sentence might be varied so as to have 'quae bello ceperunt,' but this would denote some positive fact. Schneider, Elb., and Kraner have 'quam quo.' There is some MSS. authority for 'quod.'

jumentis] Perhaps he means horses only. The word 'jumentum,' which contains the root 'jug,' 'to join or yoke,' means any animals under the yoke, and therefore horses. 'Equus' is a horse for riding. I don't see any good reason for Caesar's using 'jumentis.' Livy (vii. 37) has "praeter equos, ceterorum jumentorum turba."

impenso—pretio] 'Pretium' is 'price,' 'purchase-money;' and 'impenso,' 'what is laid out on a thing.' The word is used in the sense of 'permagno.' Horace (Sat. ii. 3, v. 245) uses it alone without 'pretio.'

importatis his] There is no reason for erasing 'his,' which most of the MSS. have, nor for making any alteration in this passage. Schneider shows that 'his' refers to 'quibus.' 'Horses, which the Galli are very fond of, &c., these the Germans do not import at all.' There is a reading 'Gallia delectatur,' which Elb. has. 'Importatis non utuntur' does not mean they do not use them when imported, which is nonsense; but, if you like, they don't use to import horses.—For 'prava' Elb. and Kraner have 'parva.'

summi ut sint laboris] By daily exercise they make them capable of undergoing the greatest fatigue. Cicero (Ad Div. xiii. 10) says of a man, 'magni laboris;' and Horace (Sat. i. 1, v. 33) of the ant, 'magni formica laboris.'

Vinum — importari] Like the Nervii (ii. 15) they kept the strong drink out of the country, for fear that it should be abused.—'remollescere:' see ii. 15, 'relanguescere.'

3. DC *agri*] 'Agri,' as Kraner remarks, is the genitive. Some critics think this number is too large, and would reduce it. But if Caesar wrote it, we must be content

succedunt Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum, et paulo quam sunt ejusdem generis et ceteris humaniores, propterea quod Rhenum attingunt multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant, et ipsi propter propinquitatem Gallicis sunt moribus adsuefacti. Hos quum Suevi multis saepe bellis experti propter amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

4. In eadem causa fuerunt Usipetes et Tenchtheri, quos supra diximus, qui complures annos Suevorum vim sustinuerunt; ad extremum tamen agris expulsi et multis locis

with it. 'On one side of the border of the Suevi' (see i. 1, 'ab Sequanis') about 600 miles were vacant. If he means 600 miles measured direct from the frontiers of the Suevi, we know what credit to give to the story. 'Publice' is a usual expression to denote what concerns a people as a whole, opposed to 'privatim,' which respects individuals; as in Cic. Verr. ii. 4, c. 8, "qui te publice laudat—idem ad vos privatim confugit." See B. G. i. 17, and v. 3; see also vi. 23.

Ubii] In Caesar's time, as we learn from this and other passages, the Ubii were east of the Rhine, and they extended to the banks of the river. North of the Ubii, and also on the Rhine, were the Sigambri. The Ubii (iv. 18) were opposite to the Treviri, in whose country Caesar made his bridge. The Ubii seem to have had the Suevi east of them; and the 600 miles of vacant country on the border of the Suevi may be reckoned from the eastern limits of the Suevi, if we accept the story. The word 'succedunt,' as I understand it, implies no great amount of unoccupied territory between the Suevi and the Ubii. In the time of Augustus the Ubii removed to the west side of the Rhine, under the protection of M. Vipsanius Agrippa (Strabo, p. 194). Their chief town was the Colonia Agrippinensis, or Cologne.

captus] Terence has, Adelph. iii. 4, 34, "Hic Geta, ut captus est servorum, non malus neque iners;" and Cicero, Tusc. ii. 27, "ut est captus hominum." 'Captus' means 'capacity,' 'nature,' or the like; and the passage means 'a state wealthy and flourishing, for a German state.' So Cicero has 'ut argentarius' (De Offi. iii. 14) 'for a money-changer or banker.'

paulo—humaniores] This is the text of Oudendorp. Schneider has 'paulo, quam sunt ejusdem generis, sunt ceteris humaniores,' which he explains in a way. Seyffert explains the text, 'et paulo humaniores quam sunt ejusdem generis (homines), et ceteris humaniores.'

mercatores] He means the Italian merchants (i. 1).

multis saepe bellis] Comp. iii. 29, 'reliquis deinceps diebus.' Here he means 'in many wars quick in succession,' as Kraner says.

gravitatem] Schneider quotes Livy, xxxiv. 17, "gravem atque opulentam civitatem."

humiliores — redegerunt] Comp. ii. 27, "quae facilia . . . redegerunt."

4. *eadem causa*] 'In the same condition or state.' Cic. De Fin. i. 15, "qua (morte) qui affecti sunt, in eadem causa sunt qua antequam nati." 'Causa' is a forensic term in this sense.

Germaniae triennium vagati ad Rhenum pervenerunt, quas regiones Menapii incolebant et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros aedificia vicosque habebant; sed tantae multitudinis aditu perterriti ex his aedificiis quae trans flumen habuerant demigraverunt, et cis Rhenum dispositis praesidiis Germanos transire prohibebant. Illi omnia experti, quum neque vi contendere propter inopiam navium neque clam transire propter custodias Menapiorum possent, reverti se in suas sedes regionesque simulaverunt, et tridui viam progressi rursus reverterunt atque omni hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt, qui de Germanorum discessu per exploratores certiores facti sine metu trans Rhenum in suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis navibusque eorum occupatis, priusquam ea pars Menapiorum quae citra Rhenum quieta in suis sedibus erat certior fieret, flumen transierunt atque omnibus eorum aedificiis occupatis reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

5. His de rebus Caesar certior factus et infirmitatem

quas regiones] Here again 'quas' refers to 'regiones,' and to no grammatical antecedent (iv. 1); though it has a reference to 'ad Rhenum pervenerunt.'

Menapii] In Caesar's time the Menapii were on both sides of the Rhine. They bordered on the Treviri (vi. 9), who were on the west side of the Rhine, and south of them. But when Caesar says that they bordered on the Treviri, he must use the term Treviri in its widest signification, as comprehending the Eburones, Condrusi, and Segni, the clients of the Treviri (iv. 6). The Eburones were the immediate neighbours of the Menapii on the Rhine (vi. 5); and the chief part of the territory of the Eburones was between the Mosa and the Rhine (v. 24). Between the Eburones and the Treviri were the Segni and Condrusi (vi. 32). The arrangement of these tribes from north to south was this: Menapii, Eburones, Segni and Condrusi, Treviri; and they all bordered on the Rhine, except the Segni and the Condrusi. The Eburones (vi. 5) occupied the country about Tongern and Spa, two places which will fix their position, and show the position of the Menapii and Treviri. Opposite to the Eburones, on the east side of the Rhine, were the Sigambri (vi. 35). The name of the Condrusi is preserved in the country of Condroz or Condrost, which is in the Pays de Liège (Statistique du Département de l'Ourthe, An x.). They extended therefore along the east bank of the Maas from Liege to Dinant. The name of the Segni, the neighbours of the Condrusi, is perhaps preserved in Sinei, or Signei, a small town in the county of Namur. The Paemani, mentioned with the Condrusi (ii. 4), occupied the country called the Pays de Fammenne. Durburg, Laroche on the Ourthe, and Rochefort on the Homme, are the chief towns of Fammenne (Statistique du Département de Sambre et Meuse, An x.).

5. *infirmitatem*] Their unstable disposition. See c. 13, 'cognita

Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. Est autem hoc Gallicae consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant et quod quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit quaerant, et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumsistat, quibusque ex regionibus veniant quasque ibi res cognoverint pronuntiare cogant. His rebus atque auditionibus permoti de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos in vestigio poenitere necesse est, quum incertis rumoribus serviant et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

6. Qua consuetudine cognita Caesar, ne graviori bello occurreret, maturius quam consuerat ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo quum venisset, ea quae fore suspicatus erat facta cognovit: missas legationes ab nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos, invitatosque eos uti ab Rheno discederent, omniaque quae postulassent ab se fore parata. Qua spe adducti Germani latius jam vagabantur et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum, qui sunt Trevirorum clientes, pervenerant. Principibus Galliae evocatis Caesar ea quae cognoverat dissimulanda sibi existimavit, eorumque animis

Gallorum infirmitate.' Comp. i. 3, 'firmissimos populos.'

committendum] He means that he would not rely on them at all; he would not give them the opportunity of doing any thing. Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 71) has a like expression, "habeo ex iis qui affuerunt, quos producam, quibus hoc committam," a passage that has sometimes been misunderstood. Cicero says that he will take their evidence and stand by it.

His rebus] 'His rumoribus,' Elb. —'in vestigio;' there is also a reading 'e vestigio.' Both are Latin. 'E vestigio' is used by Servius Sulpicius (Ad Fam. iv. 12); by Cicero (Divin. c. 17), and by Caesar (B. C. ii. 25). 'In vestigio temporis' occurs in B. G. vii. 25. Perhaps the meaning is not quite the same. 'E vestigio' in Cicero means 'forthwith,' an act immediately following. 'In vestigio' means 'on the spot.' See c. 2, 'eodem . . . vestigio.'

6. *graviori—occurreret*] That he might not have to fight the Galli and Germani together. See iii. 6, 'aliis occurrisse rebus.'

ad exercitum] To the army in winter quarters (iii. 29). His practice was not to spend the winter in Gallia (v. 1); but to go into Citerior Gallia and Illyricum. His journeys were long, and he always travelled quick. His army was between the Loire and the Seine, and he had to reach the Maas and cross it. All this, as usual, he omits. He only tells us of the campaigns; he does not trouble us with the rest.

The Germans had left the Menapii, on whom they had lived all the winter, and were now on the east side of the Maas, in the latitude of Liège, and even further south.

ab Rheno discederent] They were invited to come further into Gallia.

permulsis et confirmatis equitatuque imperato, bellum cum Germanis gerere constituit.

7. Re frumentaria comparata equitibusque delectis iter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in locis esse Germanos audiebat. A quibus quum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab his venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: Germanos neque priores populo Romano bellum inferre neque tamen recusare, si lacessantur, quin armis contendant, quod Germanorum consuetudo haec sit a majoribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant, resistere neque deprecari. Haec tamen dicere: venisse invitos, ejectos domo; si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse iis utiles esse amicos; vel sibi agros attribuant, vel patiantur eos tenere quos armis possederint; sese unis Suevis concedere, quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares esse possint: reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem quem non superare possint.

8. Ad haec quae visum est Caesar respondit; sed exitus fuit orationis: Sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent; neque verum esse qui suos fines tueri non potuerint alienos occupare; neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros, qui dari tantae praesertim multitudini sine injuria possint; sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considere, quorum sint legati apud se et de Suevorum injuriis querantur et a se auxilium petant: hoc se Ubiis imperaturum.

9. Legati haec se ad suos relaturos dixerunt et re deliberata post diem tertium ad Caesarem reversuros: interea ne propius se castra moveret petierunt. Ne id quidem Caesar ab se impetrari posse dixit: cognoverat enim

8. *exitus*] 'The result or meaning of what he said was as follows,' as some critics say. But Caesar only tells us what was the conclusion of his speech; for 'quae visum est . . . sed exitus' show that he has not thought it worth while to tell us all that he said.

neque verum] 'Verum' is explained to mean 'reasonable' or 'just;' or it may be taken in the sense of 'consistent:' 'there was no consistency in men who had not been able to defend their own possessions seizing on those of others.' Schneider cites Cicero (Ad Att. ii. 1): "quid verius quam in judicium venire qui ob rem judicandam pecuniam acceperit." See Horat. Ep. i. 7, 98.

hoc—imperaturum] He had hostages of the Ubii (c. 16), and therefore might command. This seems better than the reading 'ab Ubiis impetraturum.' 'Ab iis impetraturum' is the emendation of Morus.

9. *post diem tertium*] See c. 28.

magnam partem equitatus ab his aliquot diebus ante praedandi frumentandique causa ad Ambivaritos trans Mosam missam: hos exspectari equites atque ejus rei causa moram interponi arbitrabatur.

10. Mosa profluit ex monte Vosego, qui est in finibus Lingonum, et parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quae appellatur Vahalis, insulam efficit Batavorum, neque longius ab Oceano milibus passuum LXXX in Rhenum influit.

Ambivaritos] Caesar speaks of them as 'trans Mosam,' with reference to the place where he was. They were therefore west of the Mosa, for Caesar had crossed the Mosa, though he has not mentioned the fact, and he was between the Mosa and the Rhine. The Germans had eaten up all that they could find on the east of the Mosa, and had sent their cavalry to plunder on the west side. Schneider perverts the history by placing the Germans west of the Mosa, and consequently the Ambivariti east of it. Walckenaer places the Ambivariti on the Ambleve, a branch of the Ourthe, for which he has no authority except a slight resemblance of name.

10. *Mosa*] Introd. p. 17.

Vosego] There is no good authority for 'Vogeso,' and the names 'Vosges' and 'Vasgau' confirm Vosegus. Caesar means that part of the Vosegus, which is in the territory of the Lingones.—'Vahalis.' Schneider has 'Vacalus,' for which there is authority. The modern name 'Waal' has lost the medial guttural, whether it was *c* or *h*. Schneider also writes 'Vatavorum,' though there is little doubt that the Romans wrote 'Batavi.'

neque longius—influit] The reading before Oudendorp was 'neque longius ab eo . . . in Oceanum transit.' Oudendorp has 'insulamque efficit Batavorum, in Oceanum influit; neque . . . in Rhenum transit.' Some texts have 'neque longius ab Rheno . . . in Oceanum influit.' The words 'in Rhenum influit,' or 'in Rhenum transit,' make a difficulty. The plain meaning is that 'the Mosa flows into the Rhine not more than eighty miles from the Ocean:' it receives the Vahalis, forms the island, and then joins the Rhine eighty miles above the point where the Rhine enters the Ocean; the Mosa having no outlet of its own, according to Caesar's text. Walckenaer says, that 'in Rhenum influit' means the junction of the Mosa and the Vahalis, and that the meaning is this: the place where the Vahalis joins the Mosa is eighty miles from the sea, and this gives us the length of the Insula Batavorum on the side where it is bounded by the Mosa. But, to make out eighty miles from the sea, we must suppose the junction of the Mosa and Vahalis not to be at Workum, where it now is, but higher up at Batenburg, supposed to be the Oppidum Batavorum. Pliny (iv. 15) makes the Insula Batavorum 100 Roman miles long; and, if we measure from the fort Schenkenschanz, where the Rhine leaves the Prussian territory and enters the Netherlands, this is about the distance. The first bifurcation of the Rhine is now a little lower down, at Pannerden, but in the ninth century it was at Schenkenschanz, and it may have been there in Caesar's time. The whole question is very difficult, but this is certain: the Insula Batavorum was a tract of great extent, bounded by the Vahalis, its continuation the Mosa, the arm of the Rhine which entered and still enters the sea near Leyden, and by the German ocean. This is the way that Tacitus understood the matter

Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Tribocorum, Trevirorum citatus

(Hist. iv. 12), for he says that the ocean washes the west side of the island ('a fronte'), and the Rhine its rear and sides: and he says in another place (Ann. ii. 6), that the Rhine divides into two branches at the beginning of the Batavian territory; that the northern branch keeps its name and flows into the ocean; that the southern branch receives the name Vahalis, which is now exchanged for that of Mosa, and it enters the sea by the huge outlet of the Mosa (the Maas). All this is consistent with facts. The only difference now is that the branch of the Rhine which enters the sea near Leyden is very small. The country of the Menapii commenced on the Rhine where that of the Batavi ended, and probably extended along the south bank of the Vahalis, and along the Mosa to the sea; but Caesar knew little of those Menapii who were near the sea.

If then we knew nothing of the facts, we should understand Caesar to say that the Mosa, after receiving the Waal, joins the Rhine. Thus the island would not be bounded by the ocean on the west, but by the Mosa, which, after receiving the Vahalis and forming the southern boundary of the island, flows into the Rhine. But this does not agree with Tacitus, and the safest conclusion is that Caesar's information was not exact. It is possible also that we have not his genuine text.

Nantuatium] This name is probably corrupt. Walckenaer (Géog. &c. i. 558) says that the best and the greater part of the MSS. have 'Vatuatium,' which is not true. There are readings—Vatuantium, Vantuantium, Mantuantium, and other varieties. Strabo (p. 192) makes the Rhine rise in the country of the Aetuatae (*Αἰτουᾶται*), and, if the word is not quite correctly written in our texts of Strabo, it should not at least have been altered into *Ναυτουᾶται* by Xylander, who is followed by Casaubon. The reading of Strabo indicates that Nantuatium is not the true name in Caesar. The position of the Nantuates of Caesar (iii. 1) was not in the high valleys of the upper Rhine. Strabo also (p. 204) mentions the Nantuatae in their proper place with the Veragri, and connects them with the valley of the upper Rhone. If then Strabo is to be corrected, the correction must not be Nantuatae. Koray alters Strabo's *Αἰτουᾶται* or *Αἰτουάτιοι* into *Ἐλουήττιοι*, and Groskurd (German Transl. i. 332) adopts this emendation, which is a very bad corruption. Pliny (iii. 20) makes the Sarunetes inhabit the valleys near the source of the Rhine, and, if the name is correctly written in Pliny, this may be the name which ought to appear in Caesar. It has been conjectured that the Sarunetes occupied the valley of Sargans, which is below Chur on the Rhine.

Mediomatricorum] Caesar mentions all the Gallic tribes which bordered on the Rhine. The Nantuates, or the people whom this corrupt name represents, are followed by the Helvetii, who extended along the Rhine from the boundary of these so-called Nantuates, wherever it was, to Zurzach, at the confluence of the Aar and the Rhine. Then came the Sequani, in whose territory the Rauraci were included. The territory of the Sequani also extended to the Rhine, but perhaps only that part which belonged to the Rauraci, whose territory is represented by the diocese of Bâle (Basilia), a town first mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxx. 3). The Mediomatrici in Caesar's time extended to the Rhine; and it appears that they originally had all the country be-

fertur, et ubi Oceano appropinquat, in plures defluit partes multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur, ex quibus sunt qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existimantur, multisque capitibus in Oceanum influit.

11. Caesar quum ab hoste non amplius passuum XII milibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertuntur; qui in itinere congressi magno opere ne longius progrederetur orabant. Quum id non impetrassent, petebant uti ad eos equites qui agmen antecessissent praemitteret eosque pugna prohiberet, sibique ut potestatem faceret in Ubios legatos mittendi; quorum si principes ac senatus sibi jurejurando fidem fecisset, ea conditione quae a Caesare ferretur se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret. Haec omnia Caesar eodem illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut tridui mora

tween the Vosges and the Rhine. But the Triboci, a German tribe, had fixed themselves on the territory of the Mediomatrici between the Vosges and the Rhine (Strabo, p. 193), and extended at least to Strassburg. The boundary on the south, between the Triboci and the Rauraci, was probably at Artzenheim, near a place called Markolsheim. The limits between the Mediomatrici and the Treviri on the Rhine cannot be fixed, but the Treviri seem to have extended south of Coblenz, and north as far as the Ahr river. Caesar carries his description no further, but he says that the Rhine runs with a rapid current (citatus) through all the nations that he has enumerated. Below the Ahr and at Bonn the Rhine enters the low country, and the current below Cologne is much slower.

sunt qui] That is, 'some are supposed.' 'Sunt qui' is the nominative to 'existimantur.'

capitibus] Is the same as 'ostia,' 'mouths.' But this is not the usual meaning. 'Caput fontis' is the source (Ulp. Dig. 42. 19. 1). Livy (xxxiii. c. 41) says "ad capita quae vocant Sari fluminis;" but Livy may not mean the mouths, for we have no reason to suppose that the Sarus, or Syhoon, had more than one. He may mean the spit of land between the Cydnus and the Sarus. Asinius Pollio (Strabo, p. 193) says that the Rhine has two mouths, and he finds fault with those who say that it has more.

11. *fidem fecisset*] There is a reading 'fecissent.' We may conclude that the 'principes' were included in the senate. (See ii. 26, 'legiones et imperator versaretur.') 'Fidem facere' is to give them confidence or security, to make them believe what they said. Compare vi. 41, 'fidem non faceret.' The 'conditio' or terms are mentioned in c. 8. Terence (Phorm. iv. 1, 13) has "nam hanc conditionem si cui tulero extrario."

eodem illo] Both are adverbs in *o*. Compare i. 14, 'eodem pertinere.' These words, 'eodem illo,' are explained by 'hos exspectari,' c. 9. The adverb 'illo,' 'thither,' became 'illoc' or 'illuc' by the addition of *c* (*ce*); as 'ho,' which is not used, became 'hoc' or 'huc,' 'hither.'—'cognosceret:' 'decide,' for he knew what they wanted. Or we may say, 'hear and decide.' See i. 19.

interposita equites eorum qui abessent reverterentur: tamen sese non longius milibus passuum IV aquationis causa processurum eo die dixit: huc postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad praefectos, qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit qui nuntiarent, ne hostes proelio lacesserent, et si ipsi lacesserentur, sustinerent quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

12. At hostes ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat V milium numerus, cum ipsi non amplius octingentos equites haberent, quod ii qui frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam nondum redierant, nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a Caesare discesserant atque is dies induciis erat ab his petitus, impetu facto celeriter nostros perturbaverunt. Rursus resistentibus consuetudine sua ad pedes desiluerunt, subfossis equis compluribusque nostris dejectis reliquos in fugam conjecerunt atque ita perterritos egerunt ut non prius fuga desisterent quam in conspectum agminis nostri venissent. In eo proelio ex equitibus nostris interficiuntur IV et LXX, in his vir fortissimus Piso Aquitanus, amplissimo genere natus, cujus avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat amicus ab senatu nostro appellatus. Hic quum fratri intercluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit, ipse equo vulnerato dejectus quoad potuit fortissime restitit: quum circumventus multis vulneribus acceptis cecidisset, atque id frater qui jam proelio excesserat procul animadvertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit atque interfectus est.

praefectos] 'equitum,' as the context shows. Comp. iii. 26.—'sustinerent:' 'keep on the defensive' (ii. 6).

12. *Rursus*] Many editions have 'nostris' after 'resistentibus,' but the authority of the MSS. is against it. The Romans are meant, but 'nostris' is not wanted to show that. The first effect of the onset was to throw Caesar's cavalry into confusion. Then the cavalry rallied, which is expressed by 'rursus,' or resisted.

ad pedes desiluerunt] 'leapt down on foot.' See c. 2.—'compluribusque nostris.' See i. 52, 'complures nostri;' and vii. 47, 'tres suos nactus.'

Piso] His Roman name shows that his grandfather had received the Roman citizenship, and we may assume that he took the name of the Roman governor who gave him the 'civitas.' See i. 47, as to C. Valerius Procillus. Schneider reminds us of L. Calpurnius Piso, the grandfather of Caesar's father-in-law (i. 12).

amicus ab senatu] See i. 3.

13. Hoc facto proelio Caesar neque jam sibi legatos audiendos neque conditiones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab iis qui per dolum atque insidias petita pace ultro bellum intulissent; exspectare vero dum hostium copiae augerentur equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae esse judicabat, et cognita Gallorum infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno proelio auctoritatis essent consecuti sentiebat; quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus et consilio cum legatis et quaestore communicato ne quem diem pugnae praetermitteret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie ejus diei mane eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germani frequentes omnibus principibus majoribusque natu adhibitis ad eum in castra venerunt, simul, ut dicebatur, sui purgandi causa, quod contra atque esset dictum et ipsi petissent proelium pridie commisissent, simul ut, si quid possent, de induciis fallendo impetrarent. Quos sibi Caesar oblatos gavisus illos retineri jussit: ipse omnes

13. *petita—bellum*] 'after asking for peace had even made war on him;' or 'gone so far as making war on him.' See Index, 'Ultro.'

cum legatis et quaestore] See i. 52.

ne quem] These words may either depend on what precedes, or they may refer to 'opportunissima . . . accidit.' In iii. 32, 'id ne fieret' depends on what follows. Schneider takes these words to refer to what precedes: 'having communicated his design to the legati and quaestor not to let pass any day that offered an opportunity for fighting;' and this seems to be the meaning.

simul—simul] The repetition of the word is owing apparently to the number of interposed words, and partly perhaps to the different form of the two clauses—'sui purgandi causa,'—'ut . . . impetrarent.'

contra atque] So in B. C. iii. 12. Cicero also says 'contrario . . . . atque,' and 'contra quam.'

Quos—illos] This is Caesar's usage. 'Quos' depends on 'gavisus:' 'illos' on 'retineri jussit.' There is good authority for 'illos.'

If Caesar's story is true, the Germans were guilty of treachery. But his veracity has been questioned, or the accuracy of his information. It seems unlikely that 800 Germans would attack Caesar's Gallic cavalry, in number 5000. But Caesar says that his cavalry did not apprehend any danger; and 800 men attacking 5000 who did not expect it, would certainly throw them into confusion. The conflict may have begun accidentally; but we only know what Caesar tells us.

The fact of all the chiefs and elders coming to Caesar next day and trusting themselves in his power, is consistent with their declaration of the attack being made contrary to their orders. Caesar put another interpretation on it, and his interpretation may be the true one; for barbarous nations are always perfidious to strangers who attack them, and are often more than their match in cunning. Caesar states his own case. He made all the men prisoners. It does not appear that he listened to what the men had to say

copias castris eduxit equitatumque, quod recenti proelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi jussit.

14. Acie triplici instituta et celeriter octo milium itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit quam quid ageretur Germani sentire possent. Qui omnibus rebus subito perterriti et celeritate adventus nostri et discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato, perturbantur copiasne adversus hostem ducere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere praestaret. Quorum timor quum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri pristini diei perfidia incitati in castra irruperunt. Quo loco qui celeriter arma capere potuerunt paulisper nostris restiterunt atque inter carros impedimentaque proelium commiserunt; at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque, nam cum

for he says, 'ut dicebatur.' He was resolved to punish the Germans. Dion (xxxix. 49) also says that the men came to make their apology, and to throw the blame on the younger sort. Caesar's conduct in this matter, which was probably only known at Rome from his own report ('ex literis'), was not universally approved (Sueton. Caesar, c. 24); and some of the Senate were for giving him up to the enemy, after Roman fashion, when a commander had done what the Senate could not sanction. There is a story (Plutarch, Cato Min. c. 51) that Cato was the mover in this matter. But nothing came of it. Before the Senate gave Caesar up, it was necessary to catch him.

14. *Acie triplici*] See i. 24. He marched in fighting order. He was moving through an open country.

octo] Caesar kept his promise. He was twelve miles from the German camp (c. 11), and he promised to go only four miles further in order to get to water. Of course he had sent men ahead to look out for it. Schneider, who knows more about the matter than Caesar, says that he halted more for his own convenience than to keep his promise. We may conjecture whereabouts he halted. He was in the Eifel, and had passed the head of the Ahr valley. The country here is a high tableland, undulating a little. His march was towards Coblenz, and this would bring him to the small river which flows past Mayen, south of the Laacher See, and enters the Rhine a little south of Andernach.

discessu suorum] The departure of their chiefs. It has been incorrectly understood of the cavalry, who were on the west side of the Maas.

perturbantur] The sense is the same as if he had said 'dubitant copiasne,' &c.—'Quo loco:' 'quorum,' Elb. There is good authority for both. This second 'quorum,' if it is genuine, is only a repetition of the other 'quorum.' The German camp was like that of Ariovistus (i. 51); their waggons were the defence.

pristini diei] 'of the former day;' 'pristinae lenitatis,' B. C. i. 74 (Kraner). 'Pristinus' may be compared with 'crastinus.'

puerorum] This means the children, as in i. 29. The cavalry were in disgrace. They had been ordered to keep behind the legions. When the camp was stormed, it was an employment worthy of the cavalry to

omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant, passim fugere coepit; ad quos consectandos Caesar equitatum misit.

15. Germani post tergum clamore audito, quum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis signisque militaribus relictis se ex castris ejecerunt, et quum ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata,

ride after women and children and massacre them. We may suppose that the five thousand recovered their credit by slaughtering without mercy. Caesar's object was to destroy the Germans, and he did it.

15. *post tergum*] The women and children would of course try to escape by the part that was not attacked. The men faced the Romans, and on turning round at the cries, they saw their wives and children falling beneath the swords of the valiant Galli. Their flight does not appear to have been for any great distance. They were in the angle below the confluence of the Mosel with the Rhine, and on the west side of the Mosel.

The narrative of Caesar clearly brings us to this point. A difficulty arises on account of the word 'Mosae,' which Cluverius would alter to 'Mosulae.' It seems that two rivers had the same name, if Caesar's text is right, the Meuse or Maas, and the Mosel. Caesar might have said, 'ad confluentes Mosam et Rhenum,' an expression which occurs in an inscription quoted by Orelli. Justin (xxxii. 3) has 'in confluente Danubii et Savi.' At the other angle formed by the confluence of the Mosel and the Rhine, and opposite to the place where the Germans were drowned, is Coblenz, which under the Roman empire was Confluentes. The name Koblenz is also given to a place at the junction of the Aar and Rhine in Switzerland. Florus (iii. 10) has a chapter on the Gallic war full of blunders, and yet he had some authority for writing as follows, "Hic vero jam Caesar ultra Mosulam navali ponte transgreditur ipsumque Rhenum;" which Cluverius corrects thus, 'infra Mosellam . . . ipsum Rhenum.'

Schneider assumes that the place is the junction of the Mosa and Rhine mentioned in c. 10, which junction, as he understands it, is below the Batavorum Insula, and eighty miles from the sea. Such a monstrous blunder is almost past belief. It contradicts all possibilities and the whole tenor of Caesar's narrative. He of course supposes the battle to be fought west of the Maas, and the Germans to have retreated towards the Rhine through the country which they had devastated. Kraner says that the place is the junction of the Waal and the Maas, though Caesar says it was at the junction of the Rhine and Mosa. Herzog has a similar blunder; only he makes the confluence to be "at Thiel, where the Waal turns to the Maas." He has inserted a map by Reichard in his book, which map he highly commends in his preface; but the map contradicts his notes, and places in the right spot this dreadful calamity of the Germans. Those critics who misplace the site of the German rout, do not explain how Caesar came to make his bridge in the country of the Treviri after defeating the Germans in the country of the Menapii. Caesar tells us nothing of a long march up the Rhine to make his bridge somewhere between Andernach and Coblenz, where some persons admit that he made his bridge, and at the same time assume that the battle was fought on the lower Rhine. (See vi. 5, and 35, note.)

magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes perpaucis vulneratis ex tanti belli timore, quum hostium numerus capitum CDXXX milium fuisset, se in castra receperunt. Caesar his quos in castris retinuerat discedendi potestatem fecit. Illi supplicia cruciatusque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem concessit.

16. Germanico bello confecto multis de causis Caesar statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum; quarum illa fuit justissima quod, quum videret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, quum intelligerent et posse et audere populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. Accessit etiam quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tenchtherorum, quam supra commemoravi praedandi frumentandique causa Mosam transisse neque proelio interfuisse, post fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sigambrorum rece-

reliqui se] All the men perished; 100,000, at least, according to his computation; for (i. 29) we may suppose that about one-fourth were fighters. Schneider remarks with great simplicity that Caesar says nothing certain about the women and children, and that perhaps he knew nothing certain. He might have added that Caesar did not care. Comp. Orosius vi. 8; Plut. Caesar, c. 22.

libertatem] They would not go away, because they knew that they would be massacred by the Galli. Caesar let them stay without making slaves of them. Nor did he put them to death; for, as he says himself in a letter to Cicero, he was not cruel. He would not kill a man, unless it was necessary. His sparing the lives of these Germans is strong evidence that he believed them to be blameless in the matter of the attack on his cavalry. He put the senate of the Veneti to death (iii. 16), even after his victory, but it was done to make an example.

16. *suis . . . timere voluit*] 'He resolved ('voluit') that the Germans should fear for their own safety,' that they should have to look after their own affairs. So Virgil, Georg. i. 185, "inopi metuens formica senectae."

Sigambrorum] Whether we write 'Sigambri,' 'Sicambri,' or 'Sugambri,' is immaterial. The small river Sieg, which joins the Rhine on the right bank, nearly opposite to Bonn, is supposed to retain a trace of the name. The Sicambri were north of the Ubii (c. 18, 19). Schneider thinks that the fact of these horsemen crossing the Rhine confirms his opinion that the battle was fought west of the Mosa, and that 'trans Mosam,' here and before, when applied to these men, means that they went from the west side to the east to forage. If, he says, they had crossed to the west side of the Mosa they must have crossed it again, in order to reach the Rhine, and have passed

perat seque cum iis conjunxerat. Ad quos quum Caesar nuntios misisset, qui postularent eos qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent sibi dederent, responderunt: Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existimaret, cur sui quidquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet? Ubii autem, qui uni ex Transrhenanis ad Caesarem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magno opere orabant Ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suevis premerentur; vel si id facere occupationibus rei publicae prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi ad auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum. Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem ejus exercitus Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

17. Caesar his de causis quas commemoravi Rhenum transire decreverat, sed navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur neque suae neque populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur propter latitudinem, rapiditatem altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi conten-

through the very regions in which their countrymen had perished, and in which they knew the victorious Romans now to be; 'quod prorsus a vero abhorret.' But if these horsemen got to the Rhine by the north side of the Laacher See, they would be far enough out of the reach of Caesar; and if they wanted a rough road, where he could not follow them, they might plunge down the valley of the Ahr, and come out at Remagen. Caesar was with his army and not far below Coblenz. All the country to the north was open to the German horsemen.

cur sui &c.] 'why should he claim any thing beyond the Rhine as within his command or authority?' 'Sui imperii' depends on 'esse.' See i. 21, and B. C. i. 13, "docent sui judicii rem non esse."

ad auxilium] There appears to be no MSS. authority for 'ad;' but the sense requires the word. Comp. vii. 66, 'id sibi ad praesentem,' &c. However, 'satis' is omitted in some MSS., and, with that omission, 'ad' is not necessary.

Tantum esse nomen . . . ad ultimas] This 'ad' is used like 'ad' in iii. 9, "quod nomen ad omnes nationes."

opinione, &c.] 'by the opinion that the Germans had of the Roman people and the friendship of the Roman people for the Ubii.' See ii. 8; vii. 83.

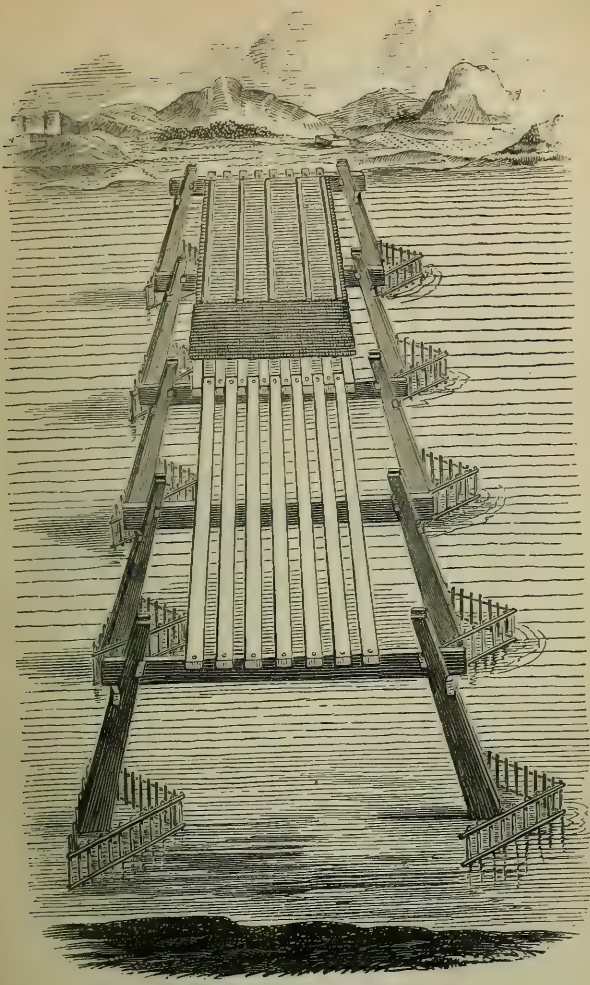
17. *difficultas . . . proponebatur*] 'though the very great difficulty of making a bridge was presented to him,' was manifest.

dendum aut aliter non transducendum exercitum existimabat. Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paulum ab imo praeacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. Haec quum machinationibus immissa in flumen defixerat fistucisque adegerat non sublicae modo directe ad perpendiculum, sed prone ac fastigate ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent, his item contraria duo

Rationem pontis] See ii. 19, 'ratio atque ordo agminis.'—The place where Caesar made his bridge has been much discussed. If he was on the Rhine, somewhere between the point where the Mosel flows into it and Andernach, we cannot suppose that he would go to another place to make his bridge. If the conclusion is true as to the place where the Germans were driven into the Rhine, he made his bridge between Coblenz and Andernach, where the passage is practicable, and where it was crossed by the French armies in the Revolutionary war. Hoche, with the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, crossed the Rhine opposite to Neuwied, and this is probably about the place where the Roman crossed it. Caesar could not cross above Coblenz, if the battle was fought where I have placed it, without crossing the Mosel; nor is the river practicable above Coblenz, for the bed is deep sunk in a ravine, as far south as Bingen; nor could he cross below Andernach till he came near to Bonn. He must therefore have crossed between Andernach and Coblenz, or at some place near Bonn, or lower down. The river was rapid where he crossed it, and therefore above the place where it enters the wide flat of the Netherlands. But he crossed it in the country of the Treviri (vi. 8. 9. 35), and we cannot make the Treviri extend further north than Andernach, or, at the most, the valley of the Ahr. This rugged valley, which lies deep below the level of the surrounding high lands, would be a natural boundary between two conterminous peoples. To repel the arguments or the assumptions of those who make him cross at any other place than that which I have fixed, is really not worth the trouble. Lipsius (Opp. iii. 545) asks if Caesar did not first divert part of the stream of the Rhine before making his bridge. He admits that Caesar says nothing about it; but, he adds, that it would have been very useful. Caesar thought differently, and so would most people. Hoffmann considers it certain that he did. Lipsius has given a plan of the construction of the bridge, which appears to be the original of those with which editors have embellished their editions of the Commentaries.

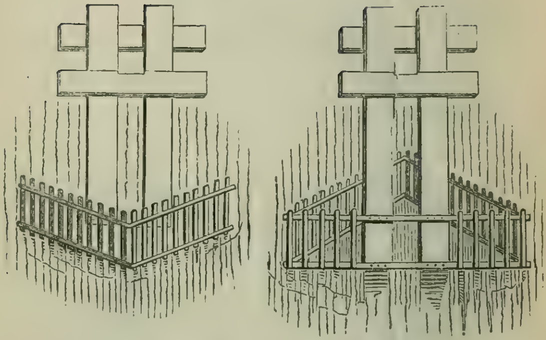
sesquipedalia] These timbers were a foot and a half in the square, sharpened near the end, fixed two feet apart, and driven down into the bed of the river with mallets or rammers ('fistucae'). They were not driven in perpendicularly ('ad perpendiculum'), but sloping ('fastigate'), like the ends of a gable (ii. 8; vii. 73). The two timbers were fastened together, he does not say how, but we may suppose by strong cross pieces, to keep them together, and to support the beams which were to be let in between them. Each pair of timbers was fastened together by the cross pieces before they were let down and driven in.—Elb. has 'derecta—prona ac fastigata.'

contraria duo] Oudendorp reads II which he takes for 'bina,' but all the MSS. have 'duo.' The opposite pair of timbers was placed lower down the river ('ab inferiore parte'),



CAESAR'S BRIDGE, IV. 17.

To face p. 194



SUBLICAE . . . PRO ARIETE SUBJECTAE (IV. 17).

ad eundem modum juncta intervallo pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. Haec utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis, quantum eorum tignorum junctura

and sloped against the stream; the upper pair sloped on the side towards which the stream flowed, so that two opposite pairs, if produced far enough upwards, would have met, and with the bed of the river would have formed a triangle.

Haec utraque] These words refer to 'tigna bina.' Beams two feet wide ('bipedales trabes') were let into these pairs of timbers, and extended across from one pair of timbers to the other. Being two feet wide, they would exactly fit the space between each pair of timbers ('quantum—distabat'), for 'quantum' refers to 'bipedalibus.' The word 'insuper' belongs to 'immissis.' This seems to be the meaning, 'These pairs of timbers were kept apart ('distinebantur') by beams two feet wide let in upon and between them, for such was the width of the cross pieces which joined the pairs of timbers, these beams having a pair of braces on each side at their ends. Now these pairs of timbers being thus kept at their proper distances ('quibus disclusis') and on the other hand held together, such was the strength of the construction, and such the nature of the circumstances, that the stronger the force of the water came against it, the more firmly was the whole ('tigna — trabes') held tight bound together.' Caesar's description is brief, and all descriptions of such constructions are somewhat obscure. The main part of the structure was the pairs of timbers or piles, on which he particularly dwells, for if they were secure, all the rest was safe. He does not say on what the beams rested which were let into the pairs of timbers, but this omission may be supplied from the context. The pairs were fastened together by cross pieces, as I have supposed; and the 'trabes' were let into the openings at the upper part. 'Immittere tignum' was the Roman expression used for describing one of the urban 'servitutes' (Dig. viii. 2. 2); and as it was the ordinary expression for letting in a beam or horizontal piece of wood, it was, as a matter of course, understood that there was something to let it into and for it to rest on. Caesar does not say that the 'trabes' extended across from one pair of timbers to the opposite pair, but that is implied, and so clearly, that it need not be expressed. The beams ('trabes') may have been one piece in length, though not in width, for it might be difficult to find pieces two feet wide, and it would not be necessary. The vicinity must have contained large trees to furnish the timber for this bridge. Lipsius explains the 'pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte' to mean forty feet apart at the foundation in the river; but he is mistaken in joining 'quadragenum pedum' with 'ab inferiore parte,' though he is perhaps right in making the forty feet the space between the bases of the piles.

The meaning of 'revinctis' is this: the things were not simply 'vinctus,' which is said of a man in chains (i. 53). Caesar explains the word (vii. 73), "stipites — ab imo revincti, ne revelli possent." So in iii. 13, "ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae;" the anchors were attached to the ships by iron cables. Here the effect of the 'trabes' was to keep the 'tigna' apart ('discludere'). The effect of the braces was to hold them together; the effect was opposite ('in contrariam partem') to that of the 'trabes immissae.' Schneider completely misunderstands 'in contrariam partem.'

distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur; quibus disclusis atque in contrariam partem revinctis tanta erat operis firmitudo atque ea rerum natura ut quo major vis aquae se incitavisset, hoc artius illigata tenerentur. Haec directa materia injecta contexebantur ac longuriis cratibusque consternebantur. Ac nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique ageban-

directa] These pairs of timbers and beams were held together by timbers laid in a straight direction, that is, in the direction of the bridge; and these timbers were covered with long pieces of wood ('longurii') placed at right angles to them. The whole was floored with small pieces of wood placed so as to form a close network. Comp. v. 40; viii. 58. 'Haec' means both the 'tigna' and 'trabes.' Schneider has 'derecta.'

As to the 'fibulae,' whether they were braces or something else, I do not know; nor is it quite clear how they were fixed. There was a pair at each end of the 'trabes.'

sublicae] Piles were also driven into the river on the lower side of the river, and in an oblique direction ('oblique'). 'Sublicae' are stakes driven in perpendicularly, and 'oblique' refers to their direction with respect to the river. In the representations of the bridge, these 'sublicae' are made to incline towards the lower side of the bridge, at a smaller angle than the inclination of the 'tigna,' and to be attached to the upper part of the 'tigna,' just as we shore up a house. But the 'sublicae' below and above the bridge were fixed in the same manner ('et aliae item supra'); and the representations properly make them perpendicular in the part above the bridge. Also, when Caesar says that the 'tigna' were not driven in like 'sublicae,' perpendicularly, but sloping, we must infer that all the 'sublicae' were perpendicular. The difficulty is to explain 'oblique,' but that is helped by 'pro ariete,' which gives the form in which they were arranged. As to the reading 'pro pariete,' there is little MS. authority for it, and nothing to recommend it. The 'sublicae' then on the lower side ('ad inferiorem partem') were placed so as to form an angle with the direction of the current, and they presented as they were viewed from the lower side of the bridge the appearance of a head or solid angle. It may be said that it would have been better if the 'sublicae' on the lower side of the stream had been placed with the ram's head ('aries') towards the stream, and inside and under the bridge; but Caesar seems to place this work in the lower part on the outside, as he certainly does place it outside in the upper part, for there the 'sublicae' were not connected with the piles, but placed in front of them, to break the force of any thing that might come down against the piles. These 'sublicae' were placed in a triangular form, and they were connected with the bridge, or the 'tigna,' on the lower part, as Caesar says, though Schneider says they were not; and this could only be done by uniting them to the several pairs of 'tigna.' Thus, any strain upon the 'tigna' would also be upon the uprights, which would react and tend to keep the 'tigna' in their places. Schneider's explanation of the position of these 'sublicae' is wrong. The representation of the bridge in Lipsius (Op. vol. iii.; Poliorcet. Lib. ii. Dial. 5) and Oudendorp's edition, and Kraner's also, is incorrect as to the 'aries.' The 'aries' was added after the bridge was made, and it would have been impossible to drive

tur, quae pro ariete subjectae et cum omni opere conjunctae vim fluminis exciperent, et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut si arborum trunci sive naves dejiciendi operis causa essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur neu ponti nocerent.

18. Diebus decem quibus materia coepta erat comportari omni opere effecto exercitus transducitur. Caesar ad utramque partem pontis firmo praesidio relicto in fines Sigambrorum contendit. Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit, obsidesque ad se adduci jubet. At Sigambri ex eo tempore, quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata hortantibus iis quos ex Tenchtheris atque Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant suaque omnia exportaverant seque in solitudinem ac silvas abdiderant.

19. Caesar paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis aedificiisque incensis frumentisque succisis, se in fines Ubiorum recepit, atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suevis premerentur, haec ab iis cognovit: Suevos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri compperissent, more suo concilio habito nuntios in omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores

in the 'sublicae' on the lower side of the bridge in the way in which they are represented in the common plates.

causa] Schneider and Elb. omit 'causa.'—'Ut . . . neu :' comp. v. 34 and 58.

18. *Diebus decem*] A short time for such a work; but Caesar had a good body of 'fabri,' or engineers, and all his men could help. Lipsius says of his own time, that they had seen such a work, when Alexander Farnese bridged the Schelde below Antwerp, a more difficult undertaking than Caesar's, even though the piles were only carried to some distance from each bank, and the interval was joined by a bridge of boats (F. Strada, De Bello Belgico, Decas Secunda, Lib. vi.).

As to 'decem diebus quibus,' see iii. 23, note.

Sigambrorum] The words 'in fines . . . contendit' imply that he was not immediately in the territory of the Sigambri after crossing the river; and this is confirmed by c. 19. After burning the buildings of the Sigambri and destroying the crops, Caesar 'se in fines Ubiorum recepit,' returned to the territory of the Ubii, and therefore he came into it on crossing the river. The Ubii were opposite to the Treviri. See vi. 29, 35.

19. *oppidis*] He speaks of 'oppida;' but we can hardly suppose that the Suevi had 'oppida' (see vi. 22).

suaque omnia in silvis deponerent, atque omnes qui arma ferre possent unum in locum convenirent: hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum quas Suevi obtinerent: hic Romanorum adventum exspectare atque ibi decertare constituisse. Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus rebus his confectis quarum rerum causa transducere exercitum constituerat, ut Germanis metum injiceret, ut Sigambros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino X et VIII trans Rhenum consumptis satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus se in Galliam recepit pontemque rescidit.

20. Exigua parte aestatis reliqua Caesar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septemtriones vergit, maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat, et si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur si modo insulam adisset et genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere praeter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque his ipsis quidquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones quae sunt contra Gallias notum est. Itaque vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo,

medium fere regionum] 'About the middle of those regions.' See vi. 13 and i. 34, where the meaning is not quite the same.

obsidione] This word is used in the same way (vii. 32), and may apply to a people who are hemmed in within certain limits. They were probably hard pressed by the Sigambri, as Dion Cassius (xxxix. 48) states the fact, either explaining the text of Caesar or following some other authority.

20. *auxilia*] The relations between Britannia and Gallia have been mentioned before, ii. 4, 14; iii. 8, 9. Some of the 'mercatores' may have been Italians or Romans from the Provincia, who gave Caesar his information; the rest Galli. Britannia was said to be an island; but the fact was first established, so far as we know, by the Roman circumnavigation during the government of Agricola (Tacit. Agric. 10, 38), in the time of Domitian. The Veneti (iii. 9) must have known more about Britain than Caesar got by his inquiries. But he might not choose to trust the Veneti, whom he had handled so roughly; and, besides, they could not tell him about the shortest 'cut across' (c. 21). Their passage to Britain was a long one.

Gallias] He means 'the different divisions of Gallia' (i. 1). He does not use the plural 'Galliae' elsewhere. The 'mercatores' in the several divisions of Gallia knew those parts of the British coast which were opposite to them.

neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad haec cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus C. Volusenum cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat uti exploratis omnibus rebus ad se quam primum revertatur. Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus et quam superiore aestate ad Veneticum bellum effecerat classem jubet convenire. Interim consilio ejus cognito et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt qui polliceantur obsides dare atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis liberaliter pollicitus hortatusque ut in ea sententia permanerent eos domum remittit, et cum iis una Commium, quem ipse Atrebatibus superatis regem ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem et consilium probabat et quem sibi fidelem esse arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in his regionibus magni habe-

quem usum] 'what was their mode of warfare,' as some explain it; or it may be what practice or experience they had of war, as in i. 39.

21. *C. Volusenum*] See iii. 5; vi. 41; viii. 48. The passage in Suetonius (Caesar, c. 58), where he says, "neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se portus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset," is at variance with this passage; for though Caesar does not say that he did not go himself, the context clearly implies that he did not. Various explanations of the passage of Suetonius have been made. The whole difficulty is in the words 'per se,' which may be corrupt. If they are not, we ought to prefer Caesar's statement to that of Suetonius.

effecerat] 'Fecerat,' Elb. The MSS. authority is divided. 'Effecerat' may mean more than 'fecerat,' as Schneider suggests: and it may include the ships supplied by the Pictones and Santoni (iii. 9, 11).

mercatores] We may assume that these 'mercatores' crossed over to Britain from the country of the Morini, and so we see that the Veneti were not the only Gallic people who then traded with Britain (iii. 8). Accordingly in c. 20 he says 'contra Gallias.'

Commium] The Atrebates were defeated in the great battle with the Nervii (ii. 4, 16, 23); but nothing is said there of king Comm. Caesar only tells what is necessary for his purpose. If Comm had not been sent to Britain, and had quietly held his kingship, we should have heard nothing of him from Caesar. Comm rebelled afterwards (vii. 76).

in his] 'In iis,' Elb. Gallia is meant, as Schneider observes. Perhaps Caesar means in and about the

batur, mittit. Huic imperat quas possit adeat civitates horteturque ut populi Romani fidem sequantur, seque celeriter eo venturum nuntiet. Volusenus perspectis regionibus omnibus quantum ei facultas dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem revertitur quaeque ibi perspexisset renuntiat.

22. Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari et nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum populo Romano fecissent, seque ea quae imperasset facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi Caesar satis opportune accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat neque has tantularum rerum occupationes Britanniae anteponendas judicabat, magnum iis numerum obsidum imperat. Quibus adductis eos in fidem recepit. Navibus circiter LXXX onerariis coactis contractisque, quod satis esse ad duas transportandas

parts where he was going to embark, for he cannot mean all Gallia. Comp. iv. 22, 'Dum in his locis,' &c.

fidem sequantur] Comp. v. 20, 'Caesaris fidem secutus,' and v. 3, 'ejus fidei permissurum.' He means that they should confide in the Roman people, and submit to him. 'In fidem recipere' (c. 22) is the correlative expression.

regionibus] 'Omnibus' is omitted in some MSS. Volusenus returned after examining every thing as far as a man could who durst not leave his ship. See ii. 33, note on 'qui.'

22. *tantularum — occupationes*] This may be compared with iv. 16, 'occupationibus rei publicae.' This passage means that Caesar did not think that such small matters as these should occupy him in preference to the affairs of Britain.

LXXX] Some MSS. have 'octingentis octoginta,' manifestly a blunder, for eighty trading ships ('onerariae') would be enough to carry two legions, or about 8000 men. The legions were the seventh and the favourite tenth. In the text of Orosius (vi. 19) the number of 'onerariae' and 'actuariae' is stated at about eighty. Caesar pressed into his service the trading ships on the Gallic coast: this is 'cogere;' and he had got them all together: this is 'contrahere.' The fact of his being able to get so many ships shows that the people in these parts had some trade by sea.

quod satis] Elb. has 'quot,' for which there is less authority than Oudendorp affirms. He has also 'quidquid praeterea.' Kraner has 'coactis, contractisque quot satis esse,' and he says that 'coactis contractisque' cannot be united and referred to 'onerariis,' because, if it were so, Caesar would say that he took over his legions only in 'onerariae,' and this would be inconsistent with c. 29. But Kraner's reading will not remove this inconsistency,

legiones existimabat, quod praeterea navium longarum habebat, quaestori, legatis praefectisque distribuit. Huc accedebant XVIII onerariae naves, quae ex eo loco ab milibus passuum octo vento tenebantur quo minus in eundem portum venire possent: has equitibus distribuit. Reliquum exercitum Q. Titurio Sabino et L. Aurunculeio Cottae legatis in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinorum, ab quibus ad eum legati non venerant, ducendum dedit; P. Sulpicium Rufum legatum cum eo praesidio, quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit.

23. His constitutis rebus nactus idoneam ad navi-

if it is an inconsistency, for Caesar would then say that he impressed eighty 'onerariae,' and also got together ships enough to convey over two legions, without telling us what these ships were. They were not 'longae naves,' for he mentions the 'longae naves' next, and as it seems to me, he opposes them to the 'onerariae.' The war ships ('naves longae') were perhaps used for the auxiliaries, slingers, &c. (c. 25.) The eighteen remaining trading ships, which were for the cavalry, were detained eight miles from the place of Caesar's embarkation. It looks like carelessness not to mention the name of the 'portus' here. He calls it 'Itius' in another place (v. 2, 5). Drumann (Geschichte Roms, iii. p. 294) affirms that it is not proved that Caesar sailed from Itius on his first voyage, and that the passage in v. 2 rather proves the contrary: 'he chose this harbour afterwards, because he had learned that the passage from here to the island was the *most convenient*; before it was consequently unknown to him: also at first he sought the *shortest passage*.' Caesar thought that the shortest way was the best for him. Drumann may prove in the same way that Caesar did not land at the same place in the first and in the second expedition (v. 8). Strabo (p. 199) says that Caesar sailed from Itius in the night, and reached Britain on the next day at the fourth hour. The time agrees with that of Caesar. Strabo knew that Caesar invaded the island twice (p. 200); but he has not carefully distinguished the two expeditions. It is clear, however, that he understood Caesar to mean that he sailed from Itius on the first expedition. He makes the length of the voyage 320 stadia, or forty Roman miles. He may have found XXXX in his copy of Caesar instead of XXX (v. 2). The place eight miles off is called the 'ulterior portus' in the next chapter. If the Itius is Witsand, the 'ulterior portus' may be Sangatte; but it cannot be Calais, which is thirteen Roman miles from Witsand or Wissant.

quaestori] See i. 52.

ex eo loco] He has not mentioned any place, but we learn from the end of this chapter that it was a 'portus,' and in the country of the Morini, for he went into the country of the Morini (c. 21), and while he was in these parts ('in his locis,' c. 21) he got his ships together.

ducendum] 'Deducendum,' Elb., for which there is good MSS. authority; but the simple verb is used in speaking of an invasion. The usage of 'deducere' is different in B. G. i. 54; ii. 35; v. 27. 'Ducere' is said in iv. 38 of the movement which is mentioned here. See also vii. 34.

gandum tempestatem tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi et naves conscendere et se sequi jussit. A quibus quum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci haec erat natura atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naves eo convenirent, ad horam nonam in ancoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quae ex Voluseno cognosset et quae fieri vellet ostendit, monuitque, ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimae res postularent, ut quum celerem

23. *tertia—vigilia*] He sailed the 25th or 26th of August, when the night in the latitude of London was ten hours long. He sailed after the second 'vigilia,' after half the night was spent. The night (Roman) is always twelve hours, and as the sun set about seven, Caesar sailed about midnight, if 'tertia fere vigilia' means about the beginning of the third watch. It is something different from 'tertia vigilia.' See i. 12, note. The next day (Roman) would begin about five, and the day being fourteen hours, he was under the high cliffs on the coast of Britain between eight and nine in the morning. It was eight or nine hours' sail. I believe 'circiter hora quarta' is the beginning of the fourth hour.

paulo] 'id paulo,' Elb.; but 'id' is not used with 'administrare.' See c. 29. 31. The 'equites' were slow in doing his orders: and they did not effect the passage (c. 26).

atque ita] Elb. has 'adeo.' The context explains Caesar's meaning: the sea was closely bounded by hills so steep that a missile could be thrown from the upper parts upon the shore. 'Angustus' is a participle, like 'onustus,' and means 'contracted.' In vii. 44 the 'dorsum,' or ridge of a hill, is called 'angustum.' The ridge was narrow, and it follows that the sides were steep. If Caesar had simply said 'altis,' instead of 'angustis,' he would not have expressed the fact that the hills rose steep from the shore. As a mountain generally has a slope, it may be said to be contracted, if it has not a slope. I see no other way of explaining the word; and I cannot find any passage exactly like it. Livy however writes (21, c. 36), "ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem," which can only mean that the steepness of the rock made the road along it more contracted ('angustiorem viam,' c. 34). In B. G. i. 6, the road between the Rhone and the Jura is made 'angustus' by the mountains rising steep above it. Some of the German commentators are sorely puzzled about this passage, and their explanations are absurd. Cicero, writing to Atticus the next year (Ad Att. iv. 16), gives the same description, probably from the letters of his brother Quintus: "Constat enim aditus insulae esse munitos mirificis molibus," a description that applies to the coast between Folkstone and South Foreland, and to the coast of Thanet.

ut quum] 'Ut quae,' the correction of Lipsius, as it seems, followed

atque instabilem motum haberent ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum dato signo et sublatis ancoris circiter milia passuum VII ab eo loco progressus aperto ac plano litore naves constituit. —

24. At barbari consilio Romanorum cognito, praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant, militibus autem ignotis locis, impeditis manibus magno et gravi onere armorum oppressis, simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, quum illi aut ex arido aut paulum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expeditis, notissimis locis, audacter tela conjicerent et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti atque hujus omnino generis pugnae imperiti non eadem alacritate ac studio quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant utebantur.

by most editors. 'Ut quam' is the reading of nearly all the MSS. Three MSS. have 'quae quam.' Some editions have 'ut quia.' Schneider has 'ut [quae] celerem.' The simplest change is to write 'ut quum.' 'Postularent' does not depend on 'monuit.' The sense is this: 'Caesar warned them, consistently with the rules of military art, and particularly of naval matters, that, as they had to move with rapidity, and on an unstable surface, every thing must be done with strict regard to the signal and the time.'

aestum] He was at anchor from the fourth to the ninth hour, that is, five or six hours. About three in the afternoon, wind and tide being favourable, he was carried about seven Roman miles from his anchorage along the coast, and there he found a landing-place on an open, flat shore.

Caesar landed in the same place in both invasions, which place I believe to be Deal. See note at the end of the Fifth Book.

24. *essedariis*] Caesar mentions these two-wheeled cars several times, but it happens that he always has occasion to use the form 'essedis.' We learn from other authorities that the nominative is generally 'essedum,' but whether it is a Roman or Gallic word is uncertain. Cicero (Ad Div. vii. 7) uses the word, and Virgil (Georg. iii. 204) calls them 'Belgica esseda.' Though Caesar says 'equitatu,' it appears that the Britanni had no cavalry, and only 'essedarii.' See v. 16, note.

membris expeditis] 'Membris expediti,' Elb.

insuefactos] 'Trained to go into the water.' The verb 'insuefacere,' it is said, occurs only here.—'utebantur:' Schn. and Elb. have 'nitebantur,' on the authority of two MSS.; Kraner also has 'nitebantur.' The two words are easily and often confounded. The repetition is no objection to 'utebantur.'

25. Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitatior et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum hostium constitui, atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac summoveri jussit; quae res magno usui nostris fuit. Nam et navium figura et remorum motu et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti barbari constiterunt ac paulum modo pedem rettulerunt. Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, Desilite, inquit, commilitones, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero. Hoc quum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi projecit atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis primis navibus quum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus appropinquarunt.

26. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi quibus-

25. *removeri — summoveri*] Two compounds of 'move,' which are often used. The 're' in 'removere' is not an idle addition, for 'removere' is not simply to 'move,' but to change a thing from one position to another; as Ovid has it, Met. 5, v. 488: "Rorantesque comas a fronte removit ad aures."

'Summovere' is to put aside; to put an obstacle out of the way; as when a lictor clears the road for a 'magistratus,' or the like; or a man forces his way through a crowd.

paulum modo] A little and no more: for this is what 'modo' means, a word that limits the signification of 'paulum.' See vi. 27. 'Tantum modo' is a like usage, and 'dum modo' is another.

decimae] The legion had the eagle placed on a pole for its standard. Caesar does not mention the gallant soldier's name, though he mentions names sometimes (v. 37). Valerius Maximus (iii. 2, § 23) has a story of the bravery of M. Scaeva on the occasion of the landing as it seems, a story which has a very apocryphal appearance. But there is no reason for disbelieving it because Caesar does not mention it, for it is not his fashion to tell any thing that is not material to his purpose.

proximis primis] Nearly all the MSS. have both words, but not all in the same order. Kraner omits 'primis.' 'Proximis' should stand first. It signifies the nearest ships, but 'primis' adds something to it, and signifies those in the first line. This is Clarke's explanation. Cicero (Orat. c. 64) has 'proximum superiorem;' and Tacitus (Ann. i. 77), 'proximo priore anno.'

cunque signis occurrerat se aggregabat, magno opere perturbabantur: hostes vero notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur, plures paucos circumsistebant, alii ab latere aperto in universos tela conjiciebant. Quod quum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri jussit, et quos laborantes conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat. Nostri simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis in hostes impetum fecerunt atque eos in fugam dederunt neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari defuit.

27. Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt, obsides daturos quaeque imperasset facturos sese polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Caesare in Britanniam praemissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, quum ad eos oratoris modo Caesaris mandata deferret, comprehen-

26. *conspexerant . . . adoriebantur*] Comp. 'occurrerat se aggregabat;' and iii. 15, 'quum circumsteterant . . . contendebant.'—'ab latere aperto:' see i. 25.

scaphas . . . navium] The boats of the ships of war. 'Speculatoria navigia,' light vessels for keeping a look out. They had no 'rostra.' Livy 36, c. 42 (Kraner).

cursum tenere] In v. 8, 'cursum non tenuit.' This is explained by c. 28. The cavalry did not land in Britain; they could not reach the island. See c. 36, and v. 8; also i. 25, 'monte capto.' All the MSS. are said to have 'non potuerunt,' and Schneider follows them.

27. *simul atque*] In the preceding chapter 'simul . . . constiterunt' is used without 'atque.' 'Simul,' in such passages as these, is often followed by 'atque' or 'ac,' and by 'ut' also, as it appears from some examples.

legatos] Dion Cassius (xxxix. 51) says that the Britanni sent some of the Morini, their friends, to Caesar. He does not mention Comm. We may conclude that he is following some other authority than Caesar, or inventing a story.

oratoris modo] He was not sent as an 'orator,' for Caesar sent him to try what he could do, as if he came without being sent (c. 21). His mission was like that of an 'orator,' or envoy, for 'orator' is often used like 'legatus.' Cicero (Brutus, c. 14) speaks of C. Fabricius: "quia sit ad Pyrrhum de captivis recuperandis missus orator;" and Virgil (Aen. vii. 153). Schneider remarks that the phrase 'jus oratorum' does not occur. 'Jus legatorum' is a common expression.

deferret] There is good authority both for 'perferret' and 'deferret;' and either might be used here. But the meaning of the two words differs.

derant atque in vincula conjecerant: tum proelio facto remiserunt, et in petenda pace ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur petiverunt. Caesar questus, quod quum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiae dixit obsidesque imperavit; quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus locis arcessitam paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. Interea suos remigrare in agros jusserunt, principesque undique convenire et se civitatesque suas Caesari commendare coeperunt.

28. His rebus pace confirmata post diem quartum quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves XVIII, de quibus

'Perferre' is simply to carry to a place, and nothing more. 'Deferre' has a technical sense, and signifies to carry some special message, or to lay some matter before constituted authorities, and the like. Thus, in Livy (ii. 4), a slave informed the consuls of a conspiracy: 'rem ad consules detulit.' Caesar in one passage (B. C. i. 9) uses both 'perferre' and 'deferre' in the same sentence. See iii. 23, note.

contulerunt] Schneider and Kraner have 'conjecerunt.' There is authority for both. Caesar may have used 'conjecerunt,' and some copyists may have tried to improve him by varying the expression; or, if he wrote 'contulerunt,' they may have unwittingly repeated the former word 'conjecerant.'—'ejus rei' refers to putting Comm in chains.

paucis diebus] 'Within a few days,' as we say. See i. 31, 'paucis annis;' and v. 2. When thus used it seems to refer to future time; whereas 'paucis post diebus' generally refers to past time.

28. *post diem, &c.*] This means, literally, 'on the fourth day after the arrival in Britannia.' The full expression would be: 'on the fourth day after the day on which Caesar reached Britain.' It is no explanation to say that it is equivalent to 'die quarto postquam.' 'Post diem quartum' is 'after the fourth day;' and 'quam' has the place of a relative attracted to the preceding accusative. It is no objection to this explanation that 'quam' does not agree in gender with 'quartum.' The expression had by usage got into a form which does not admit of strict grammatical analysis. Livy has "anno trecentesimo altero quam condita Roma erat" (iii. 33), and other like expressions. Caesar probably means that two full days had elapsed between the day on which he landed and the day on which the cavalry set sail; as in c. 9, 'post diem tertium' means that only one full day intervened, as the narrative shows. In these two instances then the two extremes and the intermediate time are included, to make up the numbers three and four. But the Romans did not always reckon thus. Sometimes they did and sometimes they did not, as Savigny shows (*System*, &c. iv. Beylage xi.) by many examples. The expressions were ambiguous, as they always will be, and this ambiguity is exemplified in the history of Caesar's reformation of the Calendar, for the rule for intercalating was that it should be made 'quarto quoque anno,' which was very soon mistaken; and the intercalation was at first made at the end of three full years.

supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quae quum appropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo dejicerentur; quae tamen ancoris jactis quum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectae continentem petierunt.

29. Eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, qui dies

superiore portu] Which he called the 'ulterior portus' in c. 23. The 'inferiorem partem' is the south, or south-east and south coast of Kent, to which they were driven ('dejicerentur'); and he makes this clearer by adding 'propius solis occasum.' The use of 'inferior' also shows that the port on the Gallic coast which Caesar calls 'superior' is east of the port from which he sailed.

sui] This word occupies the same position as the noun in 'sine ullo periculo legionis' (i. 46).

quae tamen] Caesar's general formula is 'etsi—tamen.' But he often uses 'tamen' by itself, as here and in iii. 10. 14. 22, and in many other passages. By comparing these with the passages in which he uses 'etsi ... tamen' it will appear that when 'tamen' only is used, the form of the first part of the sentence is different from what it would be if 'etsi' were used, and we cannot say here that 'tamen' refers to a suppressed 'etsi' or 'quamquam.' The difficulty of translation is mainly caused by 'quae;' but it is made easier if we observe that Caesar could have said simply 'quae quum fluctibus complerentur,' and 'as the vessels began to fill with water.' The words 'tamen ancoris jactis,' however, are interposed, and they must be referred to the former part of the sentence, and the whole stands thus: 'others were driven from their course with great risk: still they cast anchor, but as the vessels were filling with water,' &c. 'Adversa nocte,' 'as the night was unfavourable to them;' it increased their danger. Müller explains 'adversa nocte' to mean 'towards night,' the 'night coming on,' which explanation, as he says, was first proposed by Herzog and then withdrawn.

Orosius (vi. 9) mistakes this matter about the cavalry.

29. *luna plena*] Dr. Halley fixed this full moon as happening on the night of the 30th and 31st of August, after midnight, B.C. 55, of the reformed Calendar. See note at the end of Book V. Kraner has this note: "According to astronomical computation (Wex Tac. Agric. p. 181) the full moon fell on the night of the 9th and 10th of September of the year 55 B.C. Caesar consequently landed in Britain on the 6th of September."

It is strange that none of Caesar's men had observed the spring tides on the French coast during the war with the Veneti (iii. 12), or heard of them. He says 'nostris,' not 'Caesari.' Did he know the fact himself, and not foresee the danger? He speaks of the tides on the Venetian coast (iii. 12).

qui dies] Compare 'is dies' (i. 6); and as to the use of the relative, ii. 1.

maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit, nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus complebat, et onerarias quae ad ancoras erant deligatae tempestas afflictabat, neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi aut auxiliandi dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquae quum essent funibus, ancoris reliquisque armamentis amissis ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta est. Neque enim naves erant aliae quibus reportari possent, et omnia deerant quae ad reficiendas naves erant usui; et quod omnibus constabat hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis principes Britanniae, qui post proelium ad Caesarem convenerant, inter se collocuti, quum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse intelligerent et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent, quae hoc erant etiam angustiora quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transportaverat, optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta, frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere et rem in hiemem producere, quod his superatis aut reditu interclusis neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque rursus conjuratione facta paulatim

exercitum] He has said (c. 22) that the 'onerariae' were sufficient for the transport of two legions, and that the 'longae naves' were assigned to the quaestor, legati, and praefecti. Here he says that part of the army was in the 'longae naves.' See c. 25.

administrandi] 'Managing' the ships.

quod omnibus constabat] See iii. 9. 'And because every body knew that they must pass the winter in Gallia, corn in these parts for the winter was not provided.' It was generally known, and therefore no provision in these parts had been made by the commander and by those who had to look after the winter supplies.

30. *post proelium*] 'Post proelium factum ad ea, quae jusserat Caesar, facienda convenerant,' Elb.

hoc—quod] 'For this reason . . . . because.' Caesar often uses the ablative of the demonstrative 'hic' in this way (i. 2. 32). He also uses 'propterea . . . quod' (i. 1. 6, 7. 16, &c.), and 'ea de causa quod' (iii. 17; iv. 30). But with 'hoc' the comparative is used.

esse duxerunt] 'Considered it to be.' This use of 'ducere' occurs in Cic. Verr. ii. 5, c. 55, and elsewhere.

rursus] That is 'revorsus,' 'in

ex castris discedere ac suos clam ex agris deducere coeperunt.

31. At Caesar etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium suarum et ex eo quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id quod accidit suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat. Nam et frumentum ex agris quotidie in castra conferebat et quae gravissime afflictae erant naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur, et quae ad eas res erant usui ex continenti comportari jubebat. Itaque quum summo studio a militibus administraretur, XII navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa, quae appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, quum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, ii qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant Caesari

the opposite direction,' changing from peaceable to hostile intentions (Kraner).—'conjuratione:' see vii. 1.

31. *eventu navium*] 'What had happened to the ships.'—The meaning of 'subsidia' is collected from what follows, 'Nam,' &c.

ex continenti] 'Continens terra' is a continuous, uninterrupted mass of land, as opposed to an island. Comp. v. 11. In iii. 28 there is 'continentesque silvas ac paludes.'

quum summo] 'Quum id summo,' Elb. But 'id' is omitted in many MSS. See also c. 23, note. It ought properly to refer to something that precedes, as Schneider observes, but if 'id' stands here, it must refer to what follows, for the meaning is: 'Accordingly as the soldiers worked with the greatest ardour, Caesar, with the loss of twelve ships, was enabled to get the rest into seaworthy condition.'

32. *septima*] A name like 'septima' seems to imply that when this legion was formed the Romans had only six. See Cicero, Paradox. vi. 1, § 45. The two legions which came over to Britain were the seventh and the tenth (c. 25). Caesar had now eight legions in all. He found one in the Provincia (i. 7). He brought three from Aquileia, and raised two in Cisalpine Gallia (i. 10. 24). He raised two more in Cisalpine Gallia (ii. 2. 8. 19). The ninth, tenth, eleventh, eighth, twelfth, and seventh, are mentioned (ii. 23. 26). The thirteenth is mentioned (v. 53), and a fourteenth (vi. 32). But see the note on vi. 1.

interposita] Nothing having happened to make the Romans suspect an attack between the submission of the Britanni and this day. 'Pars hominum' is some of the Britanni.

in statione] This is a military phrase. It means those who were on guard (Ovid, Fasti ii. 65). He speaks (vi. 37) of the 'cohors in statione' at the 'decumana porta.' Perhaps one cohort was generally on guard at each gate. Here Caesar leaves two cohorts only to guard the camp.

nuntiaverunt pulverem majorem quam consuetudo ferret in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. Caesar id quod erat suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes quae in stationibus erant secum in eam partem proficisci, ex reliquis duas in stationem cohortes succedere, reliquas armari et confestim sese subsequi jussit. Quum paulo longius a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi atque aegre sustinere, et conferta legione ex omnibus partibus tela conjici animadvertit. Nam quod omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes huc nostros esse venturos noctu in silvis delituerant; tum dispersos depositis armis in metendo occupatos subito adorti paucis interfectis reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant, simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

33. Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae: primo per omnes

consuetudo ferret] See vi. 7, 'fert consuetudo.' This is one of the usages of 'fert' which does not bear a literal translation. 'They reported that there was more dust seen in that quarter than usual;' more than would be raised simply by the march of a body of men. The subjunctive 'ferret' seems to depend on 'nuntiaverunt.'

ex reliquis duas] He ordered the four cohorts who were keeping watch to join him; out of the rest, the other six cohorts of the legion, he left two cohorts to guard the camp, and he took with him the remaining four cohorts ('reliquas').

conferta legione] An emendation, or rather corruption, has been proposed, 'in confertam legionem.' The ablative is Caesar's fashion. The soldiers had closed their ranks: this is all that is meant.

incertis ordinibus] See c. 26, 'ordines servare.' The position of 'reliquos .... perturbaverant' with 'incertis ordinibus' interposed, shows how it happened that the Britanni threw the rest into confusion, which was owing to their lines being hardly formed, or to the inability of the soldiers to maintain their lines.

Dion Cassius (xxxix. 52) describes this affair differently. He could not get his statement from Caesar's text.

33. *Genus hoc*] This description interrupts the narrative, and the passage seems out of place, for Caesar describes the way in which these 'essedarii' attack cavalry, and he brought none with him. The description may be derived from his experience of the following year; or it is possible that the Galli, some of whom had settled in Britain, had experience of this British mode of fighting, and that it was known to the Gallic auxiliaries of Caesar. He seems to say, indeed (c. 20), that he could not learn any thing about the British military system. However (c. 35), he had got Comm's thirty horsemen.

'Ex essedis pugnae,' 'of the chariot fighting.' 'Ex essedis' has the force of an adjective. See v. 27, 'ex Hispania quidam.' This is a common Roman way of placing words, which the French use a great deal; as 'festin de roi,' 'a royal feast;' 'âge d'or,' 'golden age;' 'les forêts d'Italie,' 'the Italian forests.'

partes perequitant et tela conjiciunt atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant, et quum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt et pedibus proeliantur. Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt atque ita currus collocant, ut si illi a multitudine hostium premantur expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant, ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere et brevi moderari ac flectere et per temonem percurrere et in jugo insistere et se inde in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

34. Quibus rebus perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae tempore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit; namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. Quo facto ad lacessendum et ad committendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbitratus suo se loco continuit, et brevi tempore intermisso in castra legiones reduxit. Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, qui erant in agris reliqui discesserunt. Secutae sunt continuos complures dies tempestates quae et nos-

pedibus proeliantur] A better reading than 'pedites,' which a few MSS. have. See ii. 2, and v. 16, 'pedibus contendere.'

praestant] The nominative is the 'essedarii,' whom he has not named in this chapter ('perequitant, conjiciunt,' &c.); but the word is easily derived from 'ex essedis.' By this practice the 'essedarii' supply the place, in a manner, of both cavalry and infantry; they have the rapid movement of cavalry by means of their chariots, and by alighting they act as infantry. The 'temo,' or pole, must have been so made as to give a footing to these nimble fighters; and the 'jugum,' which held the horses' necks together, so fitted as to enable a man to place one foot at least on it to steady him while he threw his missile. Some people think that all this is very strange and hardly credible; but they measure the story of Caesar by the activity of a modern British soldier.—'brevi moderari,' &c., probably means 'quickly to control and turn them,' for 'brevi,' which means 'within a short time,' can hardly mean here 'within a small space,' as some suppose.

34. *Quibus rebus*] Oudendorp places a comma after 'rebus,' and Elberling follows him. 'Quibus rebus' is the ablative case, explained by 'novitate pugnae;' and it depends on 'perturbatis nostris.' It does not differ in principle from 'Quod ubi Caesar' &c. c. 25.

ad lacessendum] A few MSS. add 'hostem.'

Dum haec geruntur] While the Romans were engaged with their wounded and strengthening their camp ('occupatis') the Britanni, who remained (c. 32) on their lands ('in agris'), went off to join their countrymen in a fresh attack on the Romans.

quae ... continerent] This subjunc-

tros in castris continerent et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuntios in omnes partes dimiserunt paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis praedicaverunt, et quanta praedae faciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus celeriter magna multitudine peditatus equitatusque coacta ad castra venerunt.

35. Caesar etsi idem quod superioribus diebus acciderat fore videbat, ut si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent, tamen nactus equites circiter xxx, quos Commius Atrebas, de quo ante dictum est, secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. Commisso proelio diutius nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt ac terga verterunt. Quos tanto spatio secuti quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt complures ex iis occiderunt; deinde omnibus

tive is usually explained by saying that the construction is the same as if it were 'tempestates, tales, ejusmodi, tam vehementes ut,' &c.; and the explanation is so far true that these other forms of expression could be used. The indicative 'quae continebant' would express the fact, which Caesar means; but it is not Caesar's fashion, or that of the contemporary writers, to make two direct predications in such a sentence as this. The fashion is to make one direct predication ('secutae sunt') which expresses the main fact, or that on which the emphasis rests: the predication is particular and special. The other predication ('quae .... continerent') is subordinate in emphasis, and it is general, not particular or special. See ii. 33, note on 'contra eos qui.'

35. *superioribus diebus*] He has only mentioned one occasion on which the want of cavalry prevented a pursuit (c. 26); but Schneider suggests that something of the kind may have occurred in the battle described in c. 32. 34. Caesar must have checked the enemy on that occasion, or he could not have secured his retreat. He has not mentioned before the thirty horsemen which Comm had taken over with him. Caesar would not have told us this, except for the accident of his getting the assistance of these horsemen. It was a piece of good luck. He applies the same word ('nactus') to getting a fair wind (c. 23) for his voyage. It does not appear what these horsemen had been doing since they landed. The fact of Comm taking thirty horses with him shows that the passage between Gallia and Britannia was a usual thing. The horse was probably introduced into Britannia from the coast of Gallia.

Quos—ex iis] See i. 12, 'eos ... eorum.'—'quantum:' there is a reading 'quanto,' and it is possible that 'quanto' might, by a kind of attraction, be a Latin expression. But there is much better authority for 'quantum.' See also v. 19.—'aedificiis incensis:' Elb. has 'adflictis incensisque,' omitting 'aedificiis,' the reading of a few MSS., and a bad reading. The Britanni had many 'aedificia' (v. 12).

longe lateque aedificiis incensis se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Caesarem de pace venerunt. His Caesar numerum obsidum quem ante imperaverat duplicavit, eosque in continentem adduci jussit, quod propinqua die aequinoctii infirmis navibus hiemi navigationem subjiciendam non existimabat. Ipse idoneam tempestatem nactus paulo post mediam noctem naves solvit, quae omnes incolumes ad continentem pervenerunt; sed ex iis onerariae duae eosdem quos reliquae portus capere non potuerunt et paulo infra delatae sunt.

37. Quibus ex navibus quum essent expositi milites circiter CCC atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos Caesar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat, spe praedae adducti primo non ita magno suorum numero

36. *in continentem adduci*] They had ships then, or they could not take hostages to the continent (c. 38). In c. 21 'legati' come to Caesar in Gallia from several parts of the island; and 'mercatores' were regularly passing from one coast to the other. This is the answer to the false conclusion of some modern writers that the Britons in Caesar's time had no ships. They had none with which they could resist him at sea. The first great maritime power that existed in the English Channel was the Veneti (lib. iii.).

aequinoctii] There is also 'trinoctium,' a space of three nights. Caesar knew that the weather might be bad about the autumnal equinox. The time that he was in Britain from his landing to his departure was about three weeks, as this passage shows, compared with c. 29.

reliquae] 'reliqui,' Schneider and Kraner.—'paulo infra' means farther south, as we learn from Caesar's use of the words 'inferiorem' and 'superiore' in c. 28. The men could not reach the 'same ports' as the rest. These seem to be the two ports that he has mentioned (c. 22, 23). The 300 men, who are mentioned in the next chapter, must have landed south of both ports, and as the port from which Caesar sailed was the more southern of the two, this will explain how Caesar could come to their help. For we may assume that he went to the place from which he sailed, and where he had left P. Sulpicius Rufus.

37. CCC] These two 'onerariae' carried about 300 men. He had about eighty 'onerariae' (c. 22), and if each carried 150 men, like these two vessels, the eighty would carry 12,000 men, but this is more than they did carry (c. 22). The 'onerariae' were impressed from all quarters, and would be of various sizes. Besides, we do not know how many men the 'longae naves' carried. Caesar lost twelve ships in Britain by the storm (c. 31), and probably also some of his men. The troops must have been close packed on the return voyage.

non ita magno] 'Not so very large,' as we say. 'Ita' is often so used, both with a negative and without: "ita magni fluctus ejiciebantur" (Cic. Verr. i. 1, c. 18). See v. 47.

circumsteterunt, ac si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere jusserunt. Quum illi orbe facto sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter milia VI convenerunt. Qua re nuntiata Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt atque amplius horis IV fortissime pugnaverunt et paucis vulneribus acceptis complures ex his occiderunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abjectis armis terga verterunt magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Caesar postero die T. Labienum legatum cum his legionibus quas ex Britannia reduxerat in Morinos qui rebellionem fecerant misit. Qui quum propter siccitates paludum quo se reciperent non haberent, quo perfugio superiore anno erant usi, omnes fere in potestatem Labieni pervenerunt. At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem receperunt. Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates

orbe facto] This was a movement practised as a last resource against an overwhelming force. The men formed a circle, and presented a front all round (v. 33). Gellius (x. 9) gives a list of the various names applied to the form in which soldiers in the field ('acies') were arranged: "frons, subsidia, cuneus, orbis, globus, forfices, serra, alae, turres," and he adds that these military terms are derived from the things themselves, which are literally so called.

omnem ex castris equitatum] 'all the cavalry in the camp;' and Caesar sent it out of the camp. Kraner compares 'omnis ex fuga . . . multitudo' (ii. 12), 'all the flying multitude,' which multitude ended their flight by getting into the town.

38. *cum his legionibus*] 'Cum iis legionibus,' Elb., Kraner. There is a perpetual confusion between the nominatives plural and the ablatives of 'is' and 'hic,' though the difference in meaning is well marked. I prefer 'his' here; 'those legions which,' &c. It seems likely that Labienus went with Caesar to Britain. He is not mentioned among those who were left in Gallia.

siccitates] See v. 24. He uses the plural as he generally does when he means that the same thing happens in several places. Thus v. 48, 'fumi incendiorum;' in this chapter (38), 'in . . . silvas;' 'fossas,' v. 51; and ii. 19, 'in silvas' and 'ex silva.'—'superiore anno:' see iii. 28.

Menapii] The Menapii had houses and corn-fields. They were settled on the land, and were agriculturists. All the nations between the Rhine and the ocean were agriculturists. The Germans, some of them at least, east of the Rhine had not yet reached that state of civilization when the land is appropriated and regularly cultivated (vi. 22).

ex Britannia obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis ex literis Caesaris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

viginti] Twenty days, which is more than the fifteen, of which Caesar boasts (ii. 35). If his despatches told no more than his book, there was little matter for such rejoicing. But a new world was opened to the Romans, and they expected to find more in the island than they did. (Dion Cassius, xxxix. 53; and Tacitus, Agric. c. 13.)

LIBER QUINTUS.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. 1. Caesar orders a great number of ships to be built in Gallia: he visits Illyricum. 2. He returns to Gallia, and orders his vessels to meet at Portus Itius for a second invasion of Britannia. In the mean time he visits the Treviri. 3. 4. He settles the disputes of the two factions among the Treviri. 5—8. The death of Dumnorix. Caesar lands in Britannia at the place where he landed the year before. 9. The Britanni are defeated. 10, 11. Caesar's fleet is damaged by a storm, and repaired. 12—14. Description of Britannia and of the habits of the Britanni. 15—19. Caesar advances into the interior of the island and crosses the Tamesis. 20—23. The surrender of the Trinobantes and of other British peoples: the town of Cassivellaunus is taken; Caesar returns to Gallia with a large number of captives. 24, 25. He distributes his troops in various winter quarters on account of the failure of the harvest; the assassination of king Tasgetius. 26—37. The winter camp of Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta in the country of the Eburones is attacked by Ambiorix and Cativolcus; the Romans are induced by the enemy to leave their camp, and are slaughtered. 38—44. The winter camp of Q. Cicero in the territory of the Nervii is attacked by the Eburones and the Nervii: Cicero makes a brave defence: the centurions T. Pulfio and L. Varenus. 45—52. Caesar is informed of the danger of Cicero: he comes to the relief of Cicero and defeats the enemy. 53. Induciomarus, who was going to attack the winter camp of Labienus, retreats to his countrymen the Treviri: Caesar spends the winter in Gallia on account of its disturbed state. 54. The Senones eject their king. 55, 56. The Treviri invite the Germani to cross the Rhine to aid them against the Romans; the Germani refuse: Induciomarus collects a force; he causes Cingetorix, the head of the other faction, to be declared an enemy. 57, 58. Induciomarus leads his men against the winter camp of Labienus, who defeats him: Induciomarus is killed.

The events in this book belong to B.C. 54, and the consulship of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher.

LUCIO DOMITIO Appio Claudio Coss. discedens ab hibernis Caesar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere consuerat, legatis imperat, quos legionibus praefecerat, uti quam plurimas possent hieme naves aedificandas veteresque

ab hibernis] He placed all his troops in quarters in the country of the Belgae (iv. 38), at the close of B.C. 55, and he left his soldiers for Italy after the beginning of B.C. 54, as we learn from this chapter.

quam plurimas possent] See i. 7, "quam maximum potest . . . numerum," and vii. 74, "regiones secutus quam potuit aequissimas." Schneider

reficiendas curarent. Earum modum formamque demonstrat. Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque paullo facit humiliores quam quibus in nostro mari uti consuevimus; atque id eo magis quod propter crebras commutationes aestuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat: ad onera et ad multitudinem jumentorum transportandam paullo latiores quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus. Has omnes actuarias imperat fieri, quam ad rem multum humilitas adjuvat. Ea quae sunt usui ad armandas naves ex Hispania apportari jubet. Ipse con-

explains it thus: "tam plurimas quam illi possent plurimas facere." It is a common Latin formula, the origin of which we do not know.

modum] Comp. iii. 13, "naves ad hunc modum factae." Caesar determines the fashion (generally) of these ships, and the form (particularly).

subductiones] 'For hauling up' on the beach. See iv. 29, "in aridum subduxerat," and v. 11. The word which expresses taking down to the sea is 'deducere' (c. 2).

nostro mari] The term 'nostrum mare' is used by Mela (i. 1, § 4) to comprehend the sea from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Palus Maeotis. Schneider attempts to show that in Caesar's time the term 'nostrum mare' did not comprehend all the Mediterranean, but only the part from the coast of Italy to the Straits. His explanation seems to be confirmed by the words 'reliquis maribus,' which will then mean the other parts of the Mediterranean, as distinguished from 'nostrum mare' in this limited sense. Müller maintains that 'nostrum mare' here is simply the Mediterranean as opposed to the ocean; and he supposes that the 'reliqua maria' may be other closed seas, such as the Euxine, the Propontis, and even the Aegean. It can hardly be doubted that 'nostrum mare' must have originally had a limited signification, though it is certain that it was ultimately used to signify all the Mediterranean; and Mela makes it include the Black Sea also. The name Mediterraneum was not applied by the Romans to this sea. Such a use of the word would have been absurd, for 'mediterraneus' means the inner or central parts of a country (c. 12).

minus magnos ibi] He attributes the smaller size of the waves in the English Channel to the ebb and tide. But the shortness of the waves in such a sea must depend in some degree on the narrowness of the channel. There is no word for 'ibi' to refer to except 'commutationes aestuum,' which has a tacit reference to the sea in which the ships were to be used.

actuarias] Ships propelled at the same time by oars and sails. The words 'quam ad rem' refer to 'actuarias,' and to the notion of the verb 'agere' contained in 'actuarias.'

armandas] 'For the fitting out the ships.' The 'armamenta' comprise every thing except the hull of the ship; ropes, anchors, and so forth (iv. 29). The term included 'vela,' for in iii. 14 'velis armamentisque' does not differ from 'velis reliquisque armamentis.' Spain furnished ropes, and iron and other metals (Strabo, p. 146). Pliny (H. N. xix. 2) describes the Spanish 'spartum' of which ropes were made. The Spaniards still make cordage of what they call 'esparto,' which is a kind of grass. Cn. Pompeius was at this time proconsul of Spain, but he was in Rome, and his legati

ventibus Galliae citerioris peractis in Illyricum proficiscitur, quod a Pirustis finitimam partem Provinciae incursionibus vastari audiebat. Eo quum venisset, civitatibus milites imperat certumque in locum convenire jubet. Qua re nunciata Pirustae legatos ad eum mittunt qui doceant nihil earum rerum publico factum consilio, seseque paratos esse demonstrant omnibus rationibus de injuriis satisfacere. Percepta oratione eorum Caesar obsides imperat eosque ad certam diem adduci jubet; nisi ita fecerint, sese bello civitatem persecuturum demonstrat. His ad diem adductis ut imperaverat, arbitros inter civitates dat qui litem aestiment poenamque constituant.

2. His confectis rebus conventibusque peractis in citeriorem Galliam revertitur atque inde ad exercitum pro-

Afranius and Petreius administered the province.

Illyricum] See Introd. p. 35. The Pirustae are mentioned by Strabo (p. 314) as a people of Pannonia, but other authorities make them Illyrians. Caesar does not include them in Illyricum, which was his 'provincia.'

rationibus] Elb. omits 'rationibus,' and it is omitted in some MSS.; but it is a good Latin expression.— 'Percepta:' this is perhaps a better reading than 'accepta.' It means 'having heard all that they had to say.' See vi. 8, "percepta Ubiorum fuga."

arbitros] Caesar uses Roman terms. The Roman praetor was said 'judicem arbitrumve dare' in the case of suits between individuals. In Caesar's time when a single 'arbiter' was named, he was called 'judex.' The business of 'arbitri' was to examine and decide according to a formula or instructions from the praetor. Caesar's 'arbitri' had to decide on the claims of the Provincials against the Pirustae for the damage which they had sustained. The 'litis aestimatio' is generally the ascertaining of the value of the thing which is the matter of dispute; and in this case 'lis' is equivalent to the thing, the recovery of which is sought, or its value. But this was a case that resembled a 'delictum' in the Roman sense, a wrong for which compensation was sought; and there might be also, in addition to the actual damages, something further to be paid to the plaintiff in the nature of a penalty, and this is what Caesar means by 'poena.'

2. *citeriorem*] Caesar was in Citerior Gallia at the end of May, according to the unreformed Calendar. Cicero (Ad Q. Fr. ii. 15) received a letter from him then; and also letters from his brother Quintus (Ad Q. Fr. ii. 14), who had gone to join Caesar, dated from Ariminum, Placentia, and Laus (Lodi), which is between Placentia and Mediolanum (Milan). Caesar was probably then on his road to Gallia Transalpina in company with Quintus, for the letter from Laus came to Cicero together with a letter from Caesar, in which Caesar speaks of his satisfaction at Quintus' arrival. One of these letters (ii. 15) shows that Cicero knew that Caesar was intending to invade Britain again. Caesar's great activity may be collected from his own brief notices. He left his troops in Bel-

ficiscitur. Eo quum venisset, circumitis omnibus hibernis, singulari militum studio in summa omnium rerum inopia circiter DC ejus generis cujus supra demonstravimus naves et longas XXVIII invenit instructas, neque multum abesse ab eo quin paucis diebus deduci possint. Collaudatis militibus atque iis qui negotio praefuerant, quid fieri velit ostendit, atque omnes ad portum Itium convenire jubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam trajectum esse cognoverat circiter milium passuum XXX transmissum a continenti. Huic rei quod satis esse visum est militum reliquit: ipse cum legionibus expeditis IV et equitibus DCCC in fines Trevirorum proficiscitur, quod hi neque ad concilia veniebant, neque imperio parebant, Germanosque Transrhenanos sollicitare dicebantur.

gium at the beginning of the year, travelled all through Transalpine Gallia and Citerior Gallia, crossed over into Illyricum, stopped the maraudings of the Pirustae, and returned to his army. Altogether he must have travelled at least 2000 miles to Illyricum and back, without reckoning his journeys to the different towns where he held his courts.

cujus supra] Some suppose that 'cujus' is put in the genitive by a Greek form of attraction. Schneider supplies 'generis naves' after 'cujus;' quite unnecessarily, if we remove the comma which he places after 'demonstravimus.'

neque multum—quin] Schneider has a long note on this, but it is not clear. Cicero (Tusc. i. c. 31) has "tantum abest ab eo ut malum mors sit," which means 'death is so far from this, from being an evil.' Caesar means that 'the ships were not far from this, from the possibility of being put to sea,' and yet he has used 'quin.' I see no way of explaining the text except by supposing that the negative notion of 'quin' is neglected here, as we know that it was in some forms of expression, and that Caesar wrote 'quin' when he might perhaps more properly have written 'ut.'

Collaudatis] This word conveys no notion of approbation in the presence of others, or of bestowing approbation on many at once, as Herzog supposes. 'Con' merely strengthens the signification of the simple verb, as in 'cohortari,' 'consolari,' and many like compounds.

Itium] See the addition to the note at the end of Book V. Strabo (p. 199), speaking of Caesar's expedition, makes this port (τὸ Ἴτιον) in the country of the Morini the place of embarkation; but he reckons the distance to Britain 320 stadia, or forty Roman miles. It has been asserted that there is some MSS. authority for XXXX in this passage of Caesar, but no MSS. reading of XXXX has ever been cited, and all the known collations give XXX. I have in this edition followed Schneider's reading, 'trajectum . . . transmissum a continenti,' the reading of nearly all the MSS., which makes the words 'a continenti' more intelligible.

Huic rei] These words refer to 'omnes . . . convenire jubet:' 'for this purpose he left what he considered a sufficient force.' It was not to secure the passage, but to secure the port for those who were ordered there, that the troops were left.

concilia] 'Concilia' of the Galli

3. Haec civitas longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatu valet magnasque habet copias peditum, Rhenumque, ut supra demonstravimus, tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se contendebant, Induciomarus et Cingetorix: e quibus alter, simul atque de Caesaris legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit; se suosque omnes in officio futuros neque ab amicitia populi Romani defecturos confirmavit, quaeque in Treviris gererentur ostendit. At Induciomarus equitatum peditatumque cogere, iisque qui per aetatem in armis esse non poterant in silvam Arduennam abditis, quae ingenti magnitudine per medios fines Trevirorum a flumine Rheno ad initium Remorum pertinet, bellum parare instituit. Sed posteaquam nonnulli principes ex ea civitate, et familiaritate Cingetorigis adducti et adventu nostri exercitus perterriti, ad Caesarem venerunt et de suis privatim rebus ab eo petere coeperunt, quoniam civitati consulere non possent, Induciomarus veritus ne ab omnibus desereretur legatos ad Caesarem mittit: sese idcirco ab suis discedere atque ad eum venire noluisse, quo facilius civitatem in officio contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter imprudentiam laberetur: itaque esse civitatem in sua potestate, seque, si Caesar permitteret, ad eum in castra venturum, suas civitatisque fortunas ejus fidei permissurum.

4. Caesar, etsi intelligebat qua de causa ea dicerentur,

nave been mentioned before (i. 30), and of the Belgae (ii. 4). Caesar here means the assemblies of the Galli which he summoned himself (vi. 3), though he has not mentioned them before.

3. *supra demonstravimus*] See ii. 24; iii. 11.

in officio] This means that they would remain faithful, they would do their duty. Comp. 'ab officio discessurum' (i. 40), and vi. 8. Cicero (Ad Fam. xiv. 4) writes, "est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus."

per aetatem] See i. 42, note.—'in . . Arduennam abditis.' See vi. 29, and 'in silvas abdiderant,' i. 12.

familiaritate] Elb. has 'auctoritate.'

privatim] This is a better reading than 'privatis,' though there is no objection to 'privatis.' They came to Caesar as individuals, singly, severally, to provide for their own interests, since the state of affairs was such that they could do nothing for the public interest. Comp. 'qui privatim,' &c., i. 17.

ne omnis] 'Lest if all the nobility went away, the common folk might, through their want of forethought, fall off from their duty,' or, as he explains it, their fidelity to Caesar.—'ejus fidei.' See iv. 21, 'fidem sequantur.'

quaeque eum res ab instituto consilio deterreret, tamen, ne aestatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur omnibus ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis, Induciomarum ad se cum ducentis obsidibus venire jussit. His adductis, in iis filio propinquisque ejus omnibus, quos nominatim evocaverat, consolatus Induciomarum hortatusque est uti in officio permaneret: nihilo tamen secius principibus Trevirorum ad se convocatis, hos singillatim Cingetorigi conciliavit: quod quum merito ejus ab se fieri intelligebat, tum magni interesse arbitrabatur ejus auctoritatem inter suos quam plurimum valere, cujus tam egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset. Id factum graviter tulit Induciomarus, suam gratiam inter suos minui; et qui jam ante inimico in nos animo fuisset, multo gravius hoc dolore exarsit.

5. His rebus constitutis Caesar ad portum Itium cum legionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit LX naves quae in Meldis factae erant tempestate rejectas cursum tenere

4. *in iis*] 'Et in iis,' Elb.—'nominatim.' See iii. 20.—'permaneret:' 'maneret,' Schn.—'merito ejus:' 'according to his deserts.' Comp. i. 14, 'merito populi Romani.'

Id factum] 'Induciomarus was much annoyed at what was done, that his credit with his countrymen was impaired.' The neuters 'id' and 'quod' are often followed by an explanatory clause of this kind (i. 7). Schneider suggests, that 'factum' is purposely added; for if it were omitted, 'id' might simply refer to the explanatory clause, so that 'id' should mean 'suam gratiam . . . minui.' But 'factum' expresses directly the thing that Induciomarus was annoyed at ('hos . . . conciliavit'), and 'gratiam . . . minui' is the view that Induciomarus took of what Caesar had done.

'Qui' with 'fuisset' is explained to be equivalent to 'quum,' but this is not quite correct. It generalizes the expression, which is individualized by the indicative. It therefore means the same as 'because' or 'since,' and contains what is generally called the reason of what is affirmed ('exarsit').

5. *Meldis*] They were a maritime people, as Caesar's words show; but there is no evidence about their position. As the wind had driven these ships back, but had not prevented the rest from reaching Itius Portus, we may assume that the Meldi were not on the same side of the Itius as the places from which the other ships came; and as the chief part of the fleet must have been constructed south of the Itius, we may look for the Meldi to the north of the Itius. D'Anville accordingly fixes on Meldfelt, a district of West Flanders, near Bruges, as the site of the Meldi. The real name of this place is Maldeghem. There is also a place on the Schelde, about a league from Oudenaerde, named Melden, which under the empire was a Roman station, as the medals dug up there show. (Recueil d'Antiquités, &c., trouvées dans la Flandre, par M. J. de Bast.)

There are in this passage various readings, 'Medis,' 'Meluis,' 'He-

non potuisse atque eodem unde erant profectae revertisse: reliquas paratas ad navigandum atque omnibus rebus instructas invenit. Eodem equitatus totius Galliae convenit numero milium IV, principesque ex omnibus civitatibus: ex quibus perpaucos, quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia, reliquos obsidum loco secum ducere decreverat; quod, quum ipse abesset, motum Galliae verebatur.

6. Erat una cum ceteris Dumnorix Aeduus, de quo ab nobis antea dictum est. Hunc secum habere in primis constituerat, quod eum cupidum rerum novarum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis cognoverat. Accedebat huc, quod jam in concilio Aeduorum Dumnorix dixerat sibi a Caesare regnum civitatis deferri; quod dictum Aedui graviter ferebant, neque recusandi aut deprecandi causa legatos ad Caesarem mittere audebant. Id factum ex suis hospitibus Caesar cognoverat. Ille omnibus primo precibus petere contendit ut in Gallia relinqueretur, partim quod insuetus navigandi mare timeret, partim quod religionibus sese diceret impediri. Posteaquam id obstinate sibi negari vidit, omni spe impetrandi adempta, principes Galliae sollicitare,

duis,' and 'Belgis.' It appears that the ships for the invasion of Britain were constructed in the country of the Belgae (iv. 38), for all the legions had their winter quarters there; they were therefore all constructed on the Seine and north of it. The Meldi of Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy were east of the Parisii, and their territory was intersected by the Marne. The diocese of Meaux represented their ancient limits, and the town of Meaux preserves the name of the Meldi. The hypothesis of these ships being built on the Marne and carried down the Seine is inadmissible. If Caesar had built ships on the Seine he would have built them lower down, and Strabo (p. 193) says that he did build ships at the mouth of the Seine. These ships of the Meldi returned to the place from which they set sail; and it is absurd to suppose that they sailed back up the Seine and the Marne to the country of the Meldi.

numero milium] He writes 'numero ad duodecim' (i. 5).

6. *Dumnorix*] See i. 3, 18.

deferri] So the Roman people were said 'deferre honores,' to confer the high offices of state by their votes. Caesar had given the Atrebates a king (iv. 21), and he gave the Senones a king (v. 54). The chief magistrate of the Aedui was elective (vii. 33). Caesar heard from his Gallic friends ('hospites') what Dumnorix had said.

religionibus] He alleged certain religious obligations, which prevented his leaving Gallia. Caesar says (vi. 16) "natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus." We see how little Caesar respected the Gaul's pretended scruples.

sevocare singulos hortarique coepit uti in continenti remanerent; metu territare, non sine causa fieri ut Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur: id esse consilium Caesaris, ut quos in conspectu Galliae interficere vereretur, hos omnes in Britanniam transductos necaret: fidem reliquis interponere, jusjurandum poscere, ut quod esse ex usu Galliae intellexissent communi consilio administrarent. Haec a compluribus ad Caesarem deferebantur.

7. Qua re cognita Caesar, quod tantum civitati Aeduae dignitatis tribuebat, coercendum atque deterrendum quibuscumque rebus posset Dumnorigem statuebat; quod longius ejus amentiam progredi videbat, prospiciendum ne quid sibi ac rei publicae nocere posset. Itaque dies circiter XXV in eo loco commoratus, quod corus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit, dabat operam ut in officio Dumnorigem contineret, nihilo tamen secius omnia ejus consilia cognosceret: tandem idoneam nactus tem-

metu territare] Schneider says that there ought to be a colon after 'territare.' 'Territare' is what is called the historical infinitive, and 'non sine causa,' &c., depends upon it, and is an explanation of 'metu territare.' We might suppose that 'non sine causa,' &c., introduce the words of the speaker, as is often the case in Caesar. But the infinitives 'interponere,' 'poscere,' show that this is not so. 'Causa' has many meanings. It here signifies a 'purpose' or 'design.' As the Romans said 'sine causa,' so they said 'cum causa,' as in Cic. Verr. ii, 1, c. 8, "meum fuit cum causa accedere ad accusandum."

reliquis interponere] The 'reliqui' are opposed to the 'principes.' He endeavoured to prevent them from going with Caesar by making them promise to one another not to go, and by requiring them to sanction their promise with an oath. 'Interponere' is therefore to interpose the mutual pledge as an obstacle to the voyage. Comp. the use of 'interponere' in iv. 9, and vii. 40. Some critics say that 'fidem' means 'suam fidem:' 'he gave the rest his promise,' as in c. 36, 'reliquis' being opposed to himself, Dumnorix, and 'required their oath' ('jusjurandum poscere').

7. *corus*] 'Chorus,' Schneider, for which there is authority. It is a wind which blows from about W.N.W., the Argestes of the Greeks. Plin. (N. H. ii. 47), "ab occasu aequinoctiali Favonius, ab occasu solstitiali Corus: Zephyrum et Argesten vocant." Midway between Corus and Septemtrio was Thrascias. According to this statement of Pliny, the number of degrees between due west (Favonius or Zephyrus) and Corus was not the same as between Corus and Thrascias and between Thrascias and Septemtrio. But practically, perhaps, they considered the two points between west and north to divide the quadrant into three equal parts. If then Corus is a wind from the summer solstice, it is somewhat further north than W.N.W. If it is a point one-third north of west, it is not quite so far north as N.W. by

pestatem milites equitesque conscendere in naves jubet. At omnium impeditis animis Dumnorix cum equitibus Aeduorum a castris insciente Caesare domum discedere coepit. Qua re nunciata Caesar, intermissa profectione atque omnibus rebus postpositis, magnam partem equitatus ad eum insequendum mittit retrahique imperat: si vim faciat neque pareat, interfici jubet, nihil hunc se absente pro sano facturum arbitratus qui praesentis imperium neglexisset. Ille enim revocatus resistere ac se manu defendere suorumque fidem implorare coepit, saepe clamitans liberum se liberaeque civitatis esse. Illi, ut erat imperatum, circumsistunt hominem atque interficiunt; at equites Aedui ad Caesarem omnes revertuntur.

8. His rebus gestis, Labieno in continente cum tribus legionibus et equitum milibus duobus relicto, ut portus

W. The Africus (c. 8) is a wind which blows 'ab occasu brumali,' and between this point and south (Notus) was the Libonotus. Africus therefore was either somewhat further south than W.S.W., or not quite so far south as S.W. by W.

conscendere in naves] Caesar elsewhere omits the preposition. He may have used it here, as Cicero does in like cases (Ad Att. xiv. 16).

impeditis] Distracted, as we might say, by the trouble of embarkation. Cicero (De Leg. i. c. 3) distinguishes 'occupatus,' 'employed or engaged,' from 'impeditus,' 'troubled.'

pro sano] 'Like a sound or soberminded man.' It is masculine, not neuter, as Schneider shows. Comp. Livy xxxix. 49; and B. G. iii. 18, 'pro perfuga.'

qui—neglexisset] 'After paying no regard to,' 'as he had paid no regard to.' Comp. c. 4, 'cujus . . . perspexisset,' and the note on 'qui fuisset.'

Ille enim] The interpreters resort to the device of an ellipsis to explain 'enim,' which is a mistake. Schneider compares a passage of Terence (Phorm. i. 2. 62),

"Postridie ad anum recta pergit, obsecrat
Ut sibi ejus copiam faceret. Illa enim se negat," &c.

The critics seem to suppose that 'enim' must be always a word of inference, which it is not, as the frequent use of 'et enim' and 'at enim' at the beginning of a sentence shows. 'Nam,' which appears to be akin to 'enim,' is also used at the beginning of a sentence, where it is not a word of inference, as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 85), "mihi frumento non opus est; nummos volo. Nam sperabam, inquit arator, me ad denarios perventurum." Schneider knows of only one other instance (Bell. Civ. i. 81, 'illi enim,' &c.), where, however, the reading is doubtful. There are two examples in Cicero (Verr. ii. 1, c. 9), which may be compared with this. 'Enim' means in this passage of Caesar, 'as might be expected,' 'as a matter of course.'

hominem] 'The man.' See v. 58.

tueretur et rei frumentariae provideret quaeque in Gallia gererentur cognosceret, consiliumque pro tempore et pro re caperet, ipse cum quinque legionibus et pari numero equitum quem in continenti relinquebat solis occasu naves solvit, et leni Africo provectus media circiter nocte vento intermisso cursum non tenuit, et longius delatus aestu orta luce sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum rursus aestus commutationem secutus remis contendit ut eam partem insulae caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognoverat. Qua in re admodum fuit militum virtus laudanda, qui vectoriis gravibusque navigiis non intermisso remigandi labore longarum navium cursum adaequarunt. Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore; neque in eo loco hostis est visus, sed, ut postea Caesar ex captivis comperit, quum magnae manus eo convenissent, multitudine navium perterritae, quae cum annotinis pri-

8. *rei—provideret*] There is also a reading 'rem frumentariam.' Caesar uses both forms; but there is perhaps some difference between the meanings. In vi. 10 'rem frumentariam providet' seems to signify the same as 'he provides a supply of corn.' Labienus was instructed to look after the corn, to see that there should be no deficiency generally. There is nothing that leads us to suppose that he was to send corn over to Britain. Caesar must have taken some supplies with him. When he got into the island he would live at the cost of the Britanni (c. 20).

pari—quem] One MS. has 'pari . . . quam,' which may be Latin. 'Pari . . . quem' means 'the same as,' an expression that can only be explained by supposing that it is an abbreviation of a complete form. In c. 13, 'pari spatio atque;' and see i. 28. Caesar's five legions would amount to 20,000 men, if we assume that the legions were 4000 men each (i. 10). The cavalry were 2000 (c. 5).—'reliquerat, ad solis occasum,' Sch., Kraner.

Africo] See c. 7; and the note at the end of this book.

aestu—rursus aestus commutationem] He was carried out of his course by the flood tide, and he took advantage of the ebb tide ('aestus commutatio') to get to the place where he wished to land. See the note at the end of Lib. V.

annotinis] A word formed like 'horno-tinus,' 'diu-tinus,' and others. The word is generally explained to mean the ships that Caesar used the former year, which he calls 'veteres' (c. 1). Pliny, speaking of certain trees (xvi. 26), says, "novusque fructus in his cum annotino pendet," where the fruit of the year is contrasted with the fruit or produce of the past year. Some have taken the 'annotinae' to be the provision ships; others ridicule this explanation, but I am not certain that it is wrong: and so far from being ridiculous, it gives a very appropriate meaning. There is a reading 'publicis privatisque.' Some MSS. add 'causa' after 'commodi,' which expresses the meaning, but is not necessary. These 'privatae' were ships of 'mercatores,' who followed the Roman camp, and perhaps ships or boats belonging to others, which

vatisque, quas sui quisque commodi fecerat, amplius DCCC uno erant visae tempore, a litore discesserant ac se in superiora loca abdiderant.

9. Caesar exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit quo in loco hostium copiae consedissent, cohortibus X ad mare relictis et equitibus CCC qui praesidio navibus essent, de tertia vigilia ad hostes contendit, eo minus veritus navibus quod in litore molli atque aperto deligatas ad ancoram relinquebat, et praesidio navibus Q. Atrium praefecit. Ipse noctu progressus milia passuum circiter XII hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et proelium committere coeperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt locum nacti egregie et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici belli ut videbatur causa jam ante praeparaverant; nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant praeclusi. Ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant, nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis VII, testudine facta et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt eosque ex silvis expulerunt paucis vulneribus acceptis. Sed eos fugientes longius Caesar prosequi vetuit, et quod loci naturam

they took for their own convenience.

9. *loco—capto*] See the notes on c. 10, and note at the end of Lib. V.

veritus navibus] 'Fearing for the ships.' 'Veritus,' says Kraner, is not often used with the dative, as 'metuere,' 'timere' are (iv. 16).

molli] This description corresponds well to the coast of Deal. It is sandy ('mollis') and perfectly open. Some editors misunderstand 'aperto.' Caesar does not mean a coast without obstructions of rocks, but one which is open towards the sea, that is low and level: a coast that lets you look into the country; not a place like the chalk cliffs further south, which shut the view out.

praesidio navibus] 'He set Q. Atrius over the forces for the protection of the ships.' 'Praesidio navibus,' both of which are datives, is like one word. He has just said 'qui praesidio navibus essent,' 'to protect the ships.'

flumen] Twelve Roman miles from Deal, or thereabouts, we find Grove Ferry on the Stour, where the land is low on the east side, or the side by which Caesar would approach; but it rises on the opposite side, that on which the Britanni posted themselves ('locus superior'). The locality fits the description.

ex silvis—propugnabant] 'They threw their missiles out of the wood,' Schneider, who compares vii. 86, "ex turribus propugnantes."

prosequi] 'To follow up the pursuit,' 'to continue the pursuit.' See c. 52, and ii. 1. 'Persequerentur' in the next chapter means 'to make a pursuit,' 'to pursue.'

ignorabat, et quod magna parte diei consumpta munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat.

10. Postridie ejus diei mane tripertito milites equitesque in expeditionem misit, ut eos qui fugerant persequerentur. His aliquantum itineris progressis, quum jam extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Q. Atrio ad Caesarem venerunt qui nunciarent, superiore nocte maxima coorta tempestate prope omnes naves adflictas atque in litore ejectas esse; quod neque ancorae funesque

munitioni castrorum] He had chosen the ground, but had not fortified his camp. He neglected this Roman practice because he saw a chance of surprising the enemy and giving them such a defeat as would keep them quiet. But after defeating the enemy he returned to fortify his camp.

10. *expeditionem*] An army sent 'in expeditionem' is sent not to fight a battle, but for a purpose which requires rapid movement, which is here explained by 'ut . . . persequerentur.' The troops were 'expediti,' 'unencumbered.' (See viii. 8.)

extremi] The rear of the enemy was just in sight, according to Schneider, when the cavalry from Atrius came to announce the damage done to the ships; and Caesar, it is supposed, may have been at the head of his troops and had just caught sight of the enemy. But this is not the true explanation. The camp was at some distance from the ships, as we may infer from the beginning of c. 9. When Caesar returned from his short expedition to the Stour, he returned to his camp, as the end of c. 9 shows. He had no other place to return to. On the next day he sent the men from the camp in three divisions; and when they had advanced some distance, and the rear ('extremi') were still in sight, news came to Caesar of the damage done the night before. I think there is no doubt that 'extremi' are Caesar's men. Where then was Caesar? He could be no where except in the camp, for he was not with the 'milites' and 'equites.' When he says that the 'extremi' were 'in prospectu,' it means the 'prospectus' of Caesar and of the messengers who came to him. Caesar may have intended to follow, but he had not followed when he heard this news. He must have passed the night at some distance from the ships, for he did not know what damage they had suffered. We have therefore a certain conclusion that his camp was not very near the ships; and it has been conjectured by others that it may have been on the Stour, about where the enclosure of Richborough now is. Here he would find water, which he could not get any where else on this coast. He afterwards drew up his ships, and connected them with his camp, 'una munitione;' and this appears from his own account to have been a work of very great labour. All his men were employed in repairing his ships and securing the ships and the camp for ten days without intermission. Before he went into the interior he made all quite safe behind him. In c. 11 Caesar says that after fortifying the camp, 'ipse eodem unde redierat proficiscitur.' Schneider thinks this 'eodem' is the place mentioned at the beginning of c. 11, from which he returned, and this place was not the camp; and he thinks that this passage (c. 11) confirms his interpretation, which is given at the beginning of this note.

in litore] There is a reading 'in

subsisterent, neque nautae gubernatoresque vim pati tempestatis possent; itaque ex eo concursu navium magnum esse incommodum acceptum.

11. His rebus cognitis Caesar legiones equitatumque revocari atque itinere desistere jubet, ipse ad naves revertitur: eadem fere quae ex nunciis literisque cognoverat coram perspicit, sic ut amissis circiter XL navibus reliquae tamen refici posse magno negotio viderentur. Itaque ex legionibus fabros deligit et ex continenti alios arcessi jubet; Labieno scribit ut quam plurimas posset iis legionibus, quae sunt apud eum, naves instituat. Ipse etsi

litus.' The text seems to mean that the ships were damaged by collision, and were ashore, having been cast there. Thus in Ovid, Met. xiii. 536,

"Adspicit ejectum Polydori in litore corpus."

—'subsisterent:' 'neither the anchors nor ropes held.' 'Subsistere' is to keep ground or position, as in i. 15.

11. *itinere, &c.*] 'in itinere resistere,' Schn., Kraner. Schneider assuming that Caesar was with his troops explains the meaning to be that Caesar bade his men stop in their march, and halt where they were. If this is so, he returned to his ships himself ('ipse'), leaving his men in the country doing nothing for ten days. But he tells us that his soldiers were employed in making his 'munitio,' and therefore they must have come back to the camp.

reliquae tamen] 'Caesar being on the spot sees that the facts were pretty much as he had been informed by the messengers and letter, the state of the fleet being such that, with the loss of about forty ships, it seemed still possible for the remainder to be repaired with considerable trouble.'

fabros] 'Fabri' are workers in wood and iron, carpenters and smiths. The directors of the 'fabri' were 'praefecti.' The 'fabri' at this time seem to have been reckoned as legionary soldiers, though we may suppose that they would be mainly employed where they would be most useful, and would not be exposed to useless risk. The 'fabri' were the skilled workmen; but all the soldiers worked at such things as they could do. Livy (i. 43) mentions the origin of the 'fabri.' See also B. C. i. 24.

arcessi] The form 'arcessiri,' which some editors adopt, is found in MSS.; but is probably a corrupt form. As the perfect is 'arcessivi,' and this is one of the forms compounded of the third and fourth conjugations, we can understand how such words as 'arcessiunt,' 'arcessiri,' are found occasionally in the MSS. The form 'accerso,' which is also found in MSS., is an erroneous mode of writing 'arcesso,' and a blunder not unlikely to be made. It is possible also that the blunder was at last established as a legitimate form. See i. 31, note.

quae sunt] There is no authority for 'quae sint,' though it would be Latin. The difference between the indicative and subjunctive is easily explained. Labienus, according to Caesar's orders, had certain legions with him. Caesar could not tell if the legions would be on the spot when the order came to Labienus, but if Caesar's orders were observed they would be there. The order was to get ready as many ships as he could with the legions that he had with him, those which Caesar

res erat multae operae ac laboris, tamen commodissimum esse statuit omnes naves subduci et cum castris una munitione conjungi. In his rebus circiter dies x consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque egregie munitis easdem copias quas ante praesidio navibus reliquit: ipse eodem unde redierat proficiscitur. Eo quum venisset, majores jam undique in eum locum copiae Britannorum convenerant, summa imperii bellique administrandi communi consilio permissa Cassivellauno, cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter milia passuum LXXX. Huic superiore tempore cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella intercesserant; sed nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc toti bello imperioque praefecerant.

12. Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos

had ordered to guard the ports. 'Quae sint' would mean with such force as he had, and would admit the possibility that all the force might not be at the ports, but absent on some expedition. As to 'iis legionibus,' comp. i. 8, 'ea legione.'

ad laborem] These words must be understood as Caesar has placed them, after 'temporibus.' Caesar has the same expression (c. 40); but in Bell. Civ. i. 32, "ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur;" as in B. G. vii. 24.

Subductis navibus] This was Roman fashion and Greek too. Livy (xxiii. 28) has "navibus subductis et vallo circumdatis." See also Livy, xxxvi. 45.

ipse eodem — proficiscitur] The place mentioned in c. 9, the 'locus munitus,' which the Romans had taken, or the parts about it.

Tamesis] The Thames separated the territories of Cassivellaunus from the maritime states. There is no indication that Caesar knew the true course of the Thames. He knew that the south side of the island terminated on the east in the angle of Kent; but he erroneously supposed that the east side of the island was turned to the north (c. 13), and if he supposed that the outlet of the Thames was on that side, as he ought to have supposed, he could have had no exact notion at all about its course. He reckons the distance of the river from the sea by the length of his march from the coast to the place where he crossed the Thames. This seems to be the meaning of the passage 'a mari circiter.' He could not estimate the distance in any other way.

12. *Britanniae*] The mention of Cassivellaunus serves to introduce these three chapters on Britannia. It has been remarked that this digression would have been just as appropriate in the fourth book as here; and so it would if Caesar had been writing a history. But he wrote his Commentarii as the events occurred, and according to the plan of his work it would have been absurd to insert in the fourth book what he did not know when he wrote it. If we compare the little that he could learn about Britain before he sailed on his first expedition (iv. 20) with what he tells us here, it is plain that in his fourth book he wrote down what he knew at the time; and in

in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt et bello illato ibi permanserunt atque agros colere coeperunt. Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrimaque aedificia, fere Gallicis consimilia; pecorum magnus numerus.

this, his fifth, he wrote down what he learned in his second expedition.

Schneider supposes that he may have written these three chapters during the ten days (c. 11) when the military operations were suspended. But Caesar was as busy then as if he had been engaged in fighting the enemy. Three such chapters Caesar might have written any morning before the business of the day commenced, or any evening after the day's work was over; for he was always busy.

A trade between Britain and the continent had existed long before Caesar's invasion, and the Belgae had invaded and settled in the country. The 'mercatores' may have been Caesar's chief authority for his facts, and they would report partly as eye-witnesses, and partly from hearsay. Under the later empire in Julian's time Britain exported grain to Gallia (Ammian. Marcell. xviii. 2); and even Strabo (p. 199) says that in his time, the time of Augustus and Tiberius, Britannia produced corn and cattle, also gold, silver, and iron; these articles, as well as skins, slaves, and good hunting dogs, were exported. The Britons paid light duties on the things which they exported to Gallia and from it. The imports into Britain from Gallia were ivory armlets and necklaces, and what he calls 'linguria,' with glass vessels and such small matters. Strabo wisely says that if the Romans had the island, the cost of keeping it would exhaust all that they got from it, and that they derived more from the customs in Gallia than they would have got from taxing the people of Britain and keeping a force there to collect the tax (p. 116). Strabo writes like a wise man. He knew that more might be got from trade than by seizing and holding a foreign country. After Strabo wrote the Romans tried the experiment of holding Britain, and they found it an expensive possession.

memoria proditum] 'Transmitted by tradition,' as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 1, c. 18), "proditum memoria ac literis." There is also 'memoriae prodenda' (vi. 25). Schneider and Kraner have 'in insula ipsi.'

Belgio] There is better authority for this reading in this passage than for 'Belgis.' 'Belgium' is a word formed like 'Latium,' 'Samnium.' Caesar sometimes uses 'Belgae' for the 'tertia pars Galliae,' and at other times he makes the 'Belgae' or 'Belgium' only a part of this third division of Gallia, as in v. 24. These 'Belgae,' in the limited sense, who occupied Belgium, were the Bellovaci, Atrebates, and Ambiani. There was a people in Britannia called Belgae in the counties of Hampshire and Sussex, and a people called Atrebates north of the Thames; both, we may suppose, of the Belgian stock of the continent. (Introd. p. 25.)—'permanserunt:' there is also 'remanserunt.'

Gallicis] Strabo (iv. 197), probably on the authority of Posidonius, says that the Gallic houses were large, built of planks and wattling, of a round form (θολοειδεῖς), with a high roof. They were thatched sometimes (B. G. v. 43). In form they would not be unlike some of our circular wheat ricks.

pecorum—numerus] The modern Britons are still great cattle feeders.

Utuntur aut aere, aut nummo aereo, aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo. Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum, sed ejus exigua est copia: aere utuntur importato. Materia cujusque generis ut in Gallia est praeter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

13. Insula natura triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam. Hujus lateris alter angulus qui est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appelluntur, ad

The inhabitants of the island began of necessity with grazing, and their improved agriculture is now founded on the feeding of sheep and cattle.

aut nummo aereo] These words are omitted by Elb., but the MSS. readings are in favour of them. The reading 'aureo' for 'aereo,' which occurs in some MSS., can hardly be correct; for Cicero says in a letter to Trebatius (Ad Fam. vii. 7), written during this summer: "in Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti." Cicero might have heard this from his brother Quintus, who accompanied Caesar on his second expedition. Still I doubt if the text is right; and the words 'aut aere' seem to be unnecessary. The Britanni would probably receive 'nummus aereus,' copper coin, in the course of commerce with Gallia, for the Galli had coin.

'Taleis,' which is perhaps the true reading, occurs in vii. 73. It means ong pieces, in the shape of rods or thin bars probably, which would serve as a means of exchange and also as a useful commodity. The 'plumbum album' is tin, the trade in which is much older than Caesar's time (Introd. p. 16.) He speaks of it as coming from the central parts of the country, which is incorrect. The iron of the maritime tracts may have been that of Sussex, where the making of iron has not been long discontinued. So far as Caesar's information goes, the copper was unknown; nor does he mention the lead, which, after the Roman occupation of the island, was worked extensively in Derbyshire at least. As to 'plumbum,' see Plin. 34, c. 16 &c.

As to timber ('materia') and the want of the beech and the fir, his testimony is no more than this,—he did not see them and heard nothing of them. The Roman 'abies' is said to be the silver fir, a plant which is native in Britain; and so is the beech. His remarks on the climate are correct, for 'temperatiora' does not apply to cold only. He does not mean that Britain is more temperate than Gallia because the cold is less severe, but that the heat is less and the cold too; and he mentions more particularly the fact of the less degree of cold, which however he must have learned from others.

animi—causa] In vii. 77, 'animi causa,' &c.; and in Cicero (Pro Q. Rosc. Amer. c. 46), there is "animi et aurium causa." It means for a pastime or amusement.

13. *Cantium*] Caesar gives the word a Latin termination, like Belgium (c. 12). The British name is Cant, or Kent, as we have it now, a term which seems to mean corner or angle.—'pertinet:' it is doubtful if 'pertinet,' or 'tenet' (Elb.), is the true reading; but the authority for 'perti-

orientem solem, inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc [latus] pertinet circiter milia passuum D. Alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem, qua ex parte est Hibernia dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia, sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula quae appellatur Mona; complures praeterea minores objectae insulae existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt dies continuos XXX sub bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percontationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex aqua mensuris breviores esse quam in continenti noctes videbamus.

net' is as good. The objection to 'pertinet' is that it generally has an adverb joined with it or a preposition, as 'ad,' or something to express a direction. But, as Schneider observes, this has been already indicated, and he adds, 'this side extends.' Schneider omits 'latus.'

transmissus] This is the genitive case. He says 'loci spatio' c. 15. See i. 52, note. 'Par' is used with 'atque' in a similar way in i. 28. The expression is one of those irregular forms which have arisen from the colloquial abbreviation of the complete form of speech.

Mona] Is probably the Isle of Man, as we may judge from the name and the position; for the Isle of Anglesey is too near the mainland to be the foundation of this description. As to the 'minores insulae,' they are probably those on the west coast of Scotland, though the description is not exact.

bruma] 'Bruma' is the winter solstice. But the fact of thirty days without sunlight is not true of any of the British islands. By means of the clepsydra ('ex aqua mensuris') Caesar found that the summer nights were shorter than in Gallia.—The use of 'nisi' is peculiar. There is a like use in Cicero (Ad Fam. xiii. 73), "de re nihil possum judicare, nisi illud mihi persuadeo," &c.

The circuit of 2000 Roman miles which Caesar assigns to the island is much below the truth; but if we measure from one salient point to another, it is so far near to the truth that it appears to be founded on the estimates of voyagers who had sailed along the coasts. We need not assume that the island had been circumnavigated by any one voyager, which was first done, so far as we know, in the time of Agricola (Tacit. Agric. c. 38). The general form is correctly described by Caesar: the chief error lies in making the west side opposite to Spain. The Romans knew no better in the time of Tacitus (Agric. 10). The position of the northern angle towards Germany is modified by 'maxime:' if there is any country to which it is turned, Caesar means to say it is Germany. He could learn little of the form and position of the island from his own observation. His information about it was got apparently chiefly from the traders, from those of Armorica, and those who went over from Portus Itius. The writers to whom he alludes were Greeks. We cannot affirm that he learned any thing from the voyage of Himilco the Carthaginian, for we do not know that Caesar was acquainted with this Punic work. He may have got something from Pytheas of Marseille, though the passage which Pliny (ii. 77) quotes from Pytheas about the six months' night in Thule does not indicate Pytheas to be the source of the statement about the thirty days' night.

Hujus est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum opinio, DCC milium. Tertium est contra septemtriones, cui parti nulla est objecta terra; sed ejus angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat: hoc milia passuum DCCC in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum milium passuum.

14. Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt, pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna adspectu: capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa praeter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quaeque deducta est.

15. Equites hostium essedariique acriter proelio cum equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt, ita tamen ut nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint atque eos in silvas collesque compulerint: sed compluribus interfectis cupi-

14. *lacte et carne*] So it is still. An excellent French writer has remarked this. Milk in some form and meat are consumed more by the English than by any other European nation. (L. de Lavergne, Economie rurale de l'Angleterre, &c., p. 35.)

vitro] Caesar says that the Britanni of the interior, most of them ('plerique') are a pastoral people; but all of them dye their bodies a blueish colour with 'vitrum,' a plant which Pliny (35, c. 6; 37, c. 8) describes as used for the adulteration of indigo; though woad, which is 'vitrum,' is said to improve the quality and colour of indigo. Woad is still cultivated in France and Flanders. The dye is produced from the leaves. Strabo (p. 200) saw some British young men at Rome. He describes them as taller than the Celtae, with hair not so yellow. They were loosely made and bad in the feet. In stature they exceeded the tallest men in Rome by half a foot.

horridiores] There is a reading 'horridiore,' and other varieties.

deni duodenique] 'Each ten or twelve,' as we say. Each of the ten or twelve had a wife; but there was a community among the ten or twelve. 'Quo' means 'ad quos.' There is very little authority for 'a quibus.' 'Deducere' means to take a wife home.

15. *in itinere*] The narrative is resumed from c. 11, 'eo quum venisset.' Caesar was advancing from the place at which he had arrived, and was opposed by the enemy. He says nothing of the duration of his march.

dius insecuti nonnullos ex suis amiserunt. At illi intermisso spatio, imprudentibus nostris atque occupatis in munitione castrorum, subito se ex silvis ejecerunt impetuque in eos facto, qui erant in statione pro castris collocati, acriter pugnaverunt, duabusque missis subsidio cohortibus a Caesare, atque iis primis legionum duarum, quum hae perexiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se constitissent, novo genere pugnae perterritis nostris, per medios audacissime perruperunt, seque inde incolumes receperunt. Eo die Q. Laberius Durus tribunus militum interficitur. Illi pluribus immissis cohortibus repelluntur.

16. Toto hoc in genere pugnae quum sub oculis omnium ac pro castris dimicaretur, intellectum est nostros propter gravitatem armorum, quod neque insequi cedentes possent neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad hujus generis hostem, equites autem magno cum periculo proelio dimicare, propterea quod illi etiam consulto plerumque cederent, et quum paulum ab legionibus nostros removissent, ex essedis desilirent et pedibus dispari proelio contenderent. Equestris autem proelii

intermisso spatio] 'After a short interval of time.' See i. 52.

statione] The Romans were preparing the encampment to pass the night in. The men 'in statione' are the pickets placed to keep watch.

atque iis] A better reading than 'atque his.' Two cohorts were sent to support the men 'in statione,' 'and these the first cohorts of the two legions.' Instead of simply saying the first cohorts, Caesar says, 'two cohorts and these the first,' where 'atque' adds to the fact of the 'two cohorts' the additional fact of their being the first; and 'iis' is added to prevent any ambiguity, as Schneider observes. (See 'atque hoc,' c. 18.) It appears that one of the cohorts of a legion was called 'prima,' as being the first in rank. (Lipsius, de Mil. Rom. ii. c. 4.) It has been inferred from this passage that the 'prima cohors' had more men than the other cohorts. If this was not so in Caesar's time, we may at least infer that it contained the best men. In the imperial time it is said that the 'prima cohors' contained 1000 men.

immissis] 'Submissis,' Schn., which means 'sent to their relief.' There is better authority for 'immissis.'

16. *armorum*] 'Armaturae,' Elb. —'proelio dimicare:' the word 'proelio' is doubtful; but as the Romans can say, 'cum hoste dimicare,' perhaps the addition of 'proelio' in this passage may be genuine, not to prevent any ambiguity about the phrase 'magno cum periculo,' but to give greater precision.

hujus generis hostem] This use of 'hujus generis' may be compared with 'hujusmodi' and 'ejusmodi' (iii. 12).

Equestris autem] After describing the difficulties of the infantry, Caesar explains the danger to which the cavalry was exposed, when they pursued the 'essedarii,' for the Britanni quitted their 'esseda' and fought on foot among the Roman 'equites' in

ratio et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. Accedebat huc ut numquam conferti sed rari magnisque intervallis proeliarentur, stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent integrique et recentes defatigatis succederent.

17. Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus constiterunt, rarique se ostendere et lenius quam pridie nostros equites proelio lacessere coeperunt. Sed meridie, quum Caesar pabulandi causa tres legiones atque omnem equitatum cum C. Trebonio legato misisset, repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores advolaverunt, sic uti ab signis legionibusque non absisterent. Nostri acriter in eos impetu facto reppulerunt, neque finem sequendi fecerunt quoad subsidio confisi equites, quum post se legiones viderent, praecipites hostes egerunt, magnoque eorum numero interfecto, neque sui colligendi neque consistendi aut ex essedis desiliendi facultatem dederunt. Ex hac fuga protinus quae undique convenerant auxilia discesserunt, neque post id tempus umquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt.

the manner described in iv. 33. This was an unequal kind of fighting ('dispar proelium') for the Roman 'equites.' Caesar adds, that on the other hand ('autem') the British mode of fighting from the 'esseda' ('equestris proelii ratio') was equally dangerous to his cavalry and legions in the pursuit and the retreat. This is Schneider's explanation, and I believe that it is right. The Britanni had no cavalry; they had only 'essedarii,' to whom Caesar (iv. 33) applies the term 'perequitant.' It follows that 'equites hostium essedariique' (c. 15) are no more than the 'essedarii' (iv. 24). In iv. 34, however, Caesar says, 'peditatus equitatusque.' Strabo (p. 200), who seems to have followed Caesar in his account of Britain, says that they use chariots for the most part (τὸ πλέον) like some of the Celtae.

17. *C. Trebonio*] Trebonius was a 'tribunus plebis' in B.C. 55, and he carried a 'rogatio' which gave Caesar the government of Gallia for five years more, from the beginning of B.C. 53 to the end of B.C. 49 (viii. 53, note). Trebonius was now a 'legatus' under Caesar, who thus rewarded him for his services during his tribuneship. He was afterwards one of Caesar's assassins. There are extant four letters of Cicero to C. Trebonius.

pabulatores] The men on foot who were employed in the foraging (viii. 17). They retreated, but the Britanni followed them up to the standards and the legions.

reppulerunt] See ii. 10; iii. 28. This appears to be the genuine form like 'rettuli' and 'repperi.' For the true perfect would be 'repepuli,' of which 'reppuli' is a shorter form. The Romans, infantry and cavalry, followed the enemy, and did not stop until the cavalry, who were encouraged by the legions behind them, had put the Britanni to flight.

summis—copiis] With all their orces, all united (vii. 42).

18. Caesar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamesin in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit, quod flumen uno

18. *consilio*] Their design was not to hazard any general engagement, but to stop Caesar at the river.

Tamesin] Called Tamesa, or Tamesas by later writers. (Tacit. Ann. xiv. 32. Dion Cassius, 40, c. 3.) Caesar's route from the Stour to the Thames cannot be determined. He mentions woods and hills on the road; not hills that he crossed himself, but where the enemy posted themselves. He does not mention the Medway, and we must suppose that he crossed the upper part of it, where it is an insignificant stream. His probable line of road would be along the weald of Kent, and near the present line of the south-eastern railway. It may be asked, how did he get into these parts from the neighbourhood of Deal? The easiest way would be to go up the valley of the Stour, past Canterbury to Ashford. He had Britanni with him who could guide him. If he had gone from Canterbury to Rochester, he could not have forded the Medway there, and he would have had no water on the way. His best road would be in the line from Ashford to Tunbridge, at least for water. Of wood he would have had more than enough; but both were necessary. From Tunbridge he might march to Reigate and Dorking. I think he would not get on the chalk hills. From Dorking he might go down the valley of the Mole, and he would come on the Thames about Hampton or Walton; and there I suppose he might, at that time, have got across the river. In Walton parish 'is a great camp' (Gibson's Camden); but that may have been made later.

Though it is not certain where he crossed the Thames, it is a fair conclusion that it was above the point where the tide was perceptible. The remark about 'a single ford' may be compared with the remark (i. 6) as to the two passages through the Jura: there was only one ford in the part that he came to. The Britanni had placed sharp stakes on their side of the river, and also fixed stakes in the bed of the river. Beda (Hist. Angl. 1, 2) describes some stakes in the bed of the Thames which he supposes to be these stakes; and he describes them as weighted with lead. He does not say that he saw them. Antiquaries, who lay hold of any thing, find these stakes at Cowey Stakes, near Oatlands, near the junction of the Wey and the Thames (Camden, Britannia, p. 182, ed. Gibson); but they are probably the stakes of an old weir. There is another objection to these stakes being the British stakes. They lie across the river, and Caesar does not say that the British stakes did; nor would that be the mode of defence. The bank at the ford was lined with stakes, and stakes were placed along the bank under the water. There is a paper in the Archaeologia (ii. 184) by Mr. S. Gale on these Cowey stakes. There are also two papers in the Archaeologia (ii. 134) on Caesar's invasion of Britain, by Daines Barrington, who says that the Cowey stakes lie in a single line across the river. He suggests that they are the remains of a fishing weir, "so many of which, in the Thames particularly, are directed to be destroyed by the 23rd chapter of Magna Charta." Others place the passage of Caesar about Kingston on Thames, a position probable enough. Caesar estimates the distance of the Thames from the sea at about eighty miles, and he would estimate this distance by his march from the coast to the place where he crossed the river. There is an intrenched camp on Wimbledon Common near Kingston which may have been Caesar's resting place before he crossed the river. If it was his camp, we may conclude that he crossed about there; but how

omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegre, transiri potest. Eo quum venisset, animum advertit ad alteram fluminis ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas: ripa autem erat acutis sudibus praefixisque munita, ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixae sudes flumine tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque Caesar praemisso equitatu confestim legiones subsequi jussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites ierunt, quum capite solo ex aqua exstarent, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimitterent ac se fugae mandarent.

19. Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni deposita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter IV essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat paulumque ex via excedebat, locisque impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultabat, atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat; et quum equitatus noster liberius praedandi vastandique causa se in agros effunderet, omnibus viis notis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum iis confligebat, atque hoc metu latius vagari prohibebat. Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar pateretur, et tantum in agris vastandis incendiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

are we to know that it is his camp? When the Emperor Claudius visited Britain (A.D. 43) he found the army of Aulus Plautius encamped on the Thames somewhere, and he crossed the river with the troops (Dion, lx. 21). It seems that the cavalry were ordered to swim the river. for they would not go against the stakes. The infantry got over first, but how they managed it we cannot discover. It was enough for Caesar's purpose to tell us the fact, but the narrative is deficient. Polyaenus (Strateg. viii. 23, § 5) tells a story of Caesar having with him a very large elephant cased in mail, with a tower on his back containing bowmen and slingers. The elephant with his load entered the river and frightened the Britanni away. Some of the stories in Polyaenus about Caesar agree with Caesar's text; others, like this, were got from other sources.

19. *circiter* IV] This is a large number of 'essedarii,' perhaps too large, but it is the MSS. reading.

effunderet] 'Ejecerat,' Schn., for which there is good MSS. authority. One MS. has 'ejiceret.'

Relinquebatur ut] 'All that remained was for Caesar not to allow.' 'Restava solo che,' Forcellini. Compare i. 9, 'Relinquebatur;' and Cicero (Ad Att. x. 8), "Relinquitur ut . . . quiescamus."

quantum labore] The cavalry ravaged the country, but it was dan

20. Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, ex qua Mandubratius adolescens, Caesaris fidem secutus, ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat (cujus pater Imanuentius in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno; ipse fuga mortem vitaverat), legatos ad Caesarem mittunt pollicenturque sese ei dedituros atque imperata facturos; petunt ut Mandubratium ab injuria Cassivellauni defendat atque in civitatem mittat qui praesit imperiumque obtineat. His Caesar imperat obsides XL frumentumque exercitui, Mandubratiumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum frumentumque miserunt.

21. Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum injuria prohibitis, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci,

gerous for them to be separated much from the infantry. Caesar therefore ordered the cavalry not to ramble far from the infantry's line of march; consequently, the damage that they could do was limited by the capacity of the legionary soldiers to march and to act ('itinere et labore').

20. *Trinobantes*] The Trinobantes, or Trinovantes, were the people of Essex. There is no indication of Caesar's route north of the Thames. But if he crossed at Kingston, or even a little higher, it seems that his line of march was to the east of the high chalk hills that run past Tring and Dunstable to Royston. He would not go on the high lands to his left. This line of march seems to be indicated also by his being in or near the borders of the Trinobantes, and in a manner perhaps by the names of the tribes which sent to him. His march would be along the centre of Hertfordshire. I take 'earum regionum,' not to mean, as Schneider does, 'those parts of which Cassivellaunus had been appointed commander-in-chief' (c. 11), but the 'regiones' in which, and towards which, Caesar was marching. The 'firmissima civitas' is 'a most warlike people.' See i. 3, and v. 54, 'in primis firma.'

Mandubratius] It is not said when Mandubratius came over to Gallia to Caesar. 'Caesaris fidem secutus,' means 'trusting to Caesar,' and of course attaching himself to Caesar. See i. 46, 'per fidem;' iv. 21, and v. 56. This British prince would know the way home, and he may have served as Caesar's guide. He was now with Caesar.

21. *defensis—prohibitis*] Protected against Cassivellaunus ('defensis'), and saved from all damage that the Roman soldiers might do them. Cicero says (Verr. ii. 5, c. 64), "quod praedones procul ab insula Sicilia prohibuisset Verres." See B. G. i. 10. 15. We must infer from the beginning of this chapter that Caesar was among the Trinobantes, or at least on their borders. The following are the probable positions of the tribes which Caesar mentions here: the Cenimagni, in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge; the Segontiaci, in parts of Hampshire and Berks; Ancalites, in Berks and Wilts; Bibroci, parts of Berks, and the adjacent counties; Cassi, in Herts. But some of these positions are very doubtful; for instance, the Ancalites, who have been placed according to Camden by some antiquaries

Cassi, legationibus missis sese Caesari dedunt. Ab iis cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse, silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt. Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum repperit egregie natura atque opere munitum; tamen hunc duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes paulisper morati militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt, seseque alia ex parte oppidi ejecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus, multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

22. Dum haec in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus quatuor reges praeerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segonax, nuncios mittit, atque

at Henley on the Thames, in Oxfordshire. The name of Ancastle is said to remain in one part of the town (Camden, i. 320, 321, ed. Gibson). Henley is within the possible limits of Caesar's movements, but all these people are only mentioned as sending 'legationes.' The name that seems most clearly preserved is Berks, which may be a corruption of Bibroc, or it may be that Berks is the genuine name, and the Roman name is a corruption. The hundred of Cassio or Cashio in central and south-west Herts may preserve the name of the Cassi, as Camden suggests. In place of 'Cenimagni,' Kraner has 'Iceni, Cangi,' the emendation or rather the corruption of Lipsius.

ex eo loco] The place where Caesar had received the corn and hostages. The division into chapters often obscures what is plain. When there is no name for a place, there is nothing left to do but what Caesar does, to say the place which I have last mentioned. Strabo's description of a British town (p. 200) seems to be taken from this passage. It has been conjectured that Verulam, near St. Albans, in the hundred of Cashio, may have been the town of Cassivellaunus, a supposition plausible enough, but merely a supposition. It is a good site, and the Romans built Verulamium on it. There still remains a bit of wall, but the chief part of Verulamium is embodied in the great church of St. Albans. (Camden, i. p. 351, ed. Gibson.)

incursionis—vitandae] These 'oppida' were places of refuge, not places of abode. They may be traced still in many parts of England, sometimes on the hills.

22. *quibus regionibus*] This common form of expression seems to have arisen from the omission of what is easily supplied: 'to Cantium, which is divided into four districts, over which districts four kings were governors.' The name Cingetorix is purely Celtic, like Orgetorix, Vercingetorix. The name of this distinguished commander, Lugotorix, is not certain, further than that the MSS. agree in making it end in *rige*.

his imperat uti coactis omnibus copiis castra navalia de improviso adoriantur atque oppugnent. Ii quum ad castra venissent, nostri eruptione facta multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lugotorige, suos incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus hoc proelio nunciato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum, legatos per Atrebatem Commium de deditione ad Caesarem mittit. Caesar, quum statuisset hiemem in continenti propter repentinos Galliae motus agere, neque multum aestatis superesset atque id facile extrahi posse intelligeret, obsides imperat et quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo Romano Britannia penderet constituit: interdicit atque imperat Cassivellauno, ne Mandubratio neu Trinobantibus noceat.

23. Obsidibus acceptis exercitum reducit ad mare, naves invenit refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum magnum numerum habebat, et nonnullae tempestate deperierant naves, duobus commeatibus exercitum reportare instituit. Ac sic accidit uti ex tanto navium numero, tot navigationibus, neque hoc neque superiore anno ulla omnino navis quae milites portaret desideraretur, at ex

Commium] Comm was with Caesar this year. as he had been the year before (iv. 21. 27).

Galliae motus] He means 'troubles that he apprehended.' Strabo speaks of actual disturbance among the Celtae (p. 200) and mutiny of the Roman soldiers. — 'statuisset hiemem . . . agere:' 'constituisset hiemare in,' &c., omitting 'agere,' Schn.

id—extrahi] He has said that there was not much of the summer left; and he adds that this little might soon be wasted or spent ('extrahi'). Schneider cites three other like examples from Caesar, Bell. Civ. i. 32, "Catone dicendi mora diem extrahente;" and i. 33, and iii. 28.—'obsides:' Strabo (p. 200) says that Caesar carried off hostages, slaves, and other booty; and that in the time of Augustus some of the British princes solicited his favour by embassies and other signs of submission, and dedicated offerings in the Capitol. The effect of Caesar's invasion was not so small as some have represented it. But the Romans did not visit the island again until A.D. 43, in the reign of Claudius.

quid—vectigalis] 'What annual tribute.' 'In annos singulos' supply the place of an adjective.

interdicit] In c. 58 there is both 'praecipit' and 'interdicit.'

noceat] 'bellum faciat,' Elb.

23. *instituit*] There is a reading 'constituit.' These two words are often confounded. —'commeatibus' has not the ordinary meaning of 'supplies,' but a meaning that agrees quite as well with the notion of the root 'mea.' Cicero uses the word in the same way.

quae milites portaret] 'Any soldier-carrying ship,' if we could use such an expression. It is a general

iis quae inanes ex continenti ad eum remitterentur, [et] prioris commeatus expositis militibus, et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero LX, perpaucae locum caperent, reliquae fere omnes rejicerentur. Quas quum aliquamdiu Caesar frustra exspectasset, ne anni tempore a navigatione excluderetur, quod aequinoctium suberat,

way of speaking, like (i. 29) "qui arma ferre possent."

[*et*] *prioris*] Some editors have omitted this 'et.' Caesar sent his men back in two voyages. The ships that were first sent back to Gallia set out again to bring the remainder from Britain. Labienus also (c. 11) had got ready other ships and dispatched them to Britain. Caesar observes, that 'of the ships which were sent back empty, both those sent back after landing the men of the first voyage, and of the sixty which Labienus built after Caesar had set out to Britain, very few could make the island, almost all the rest were driven back.' The 'et' before 'prioris' seems wanted to give force to the sentence; but if we keep it, the expression is incomplete, and 'remitterentur' cannot apply to the ships of Labienus; but this little irregularity remains even if we omit the 'et.'

aequinoctium] The autumnal equinox was near, and we may infer that Caesar left the island before the last week of September. Cicero says, in a letter to Atticus (iv. 17), "I received a letter from my brother Quintus and from Caesar on the 24th of October, to the purport that Britannia was finished ('confecta;' perhaps corrupt), that hostages were received, no booty gotten, but a tribute imposed: the letters were dated from the coast of Britannia, on the 25th of Sept. ('proximo a. d. VI. Kal. Octobr.'). They were bringing back the army from Britain." These are of course the dates of the unreformed Calendar. M. Cicero sent several letters to his brother Quintus, while Quintus was in Britain with Caesar, and he received several letters from Quintus. One of the letters from Quintus was dated the 10th of August (Ad Quint. Fr. iii. 1, c. 4) from Britain. Thus from the two letters of the 10th of August and 25th of September of the unreformed Calendar, we ascertain that Caesar was at least forty-five days in Britain. Caesar wrote to Cicero from Britain on the 1st of September, and Cicero received the letter on the 27th of September. In this letter Caesar told Cicero that he must not be surprised at not hearing from Quintus, for Quintus was not with him when he reached the coast. Quintus was probably bringing up the rear of the army. In another letter of Cicero (Ad Quint. Fr. iii. 3) without date, he says, "I am greatly troubled that it is now more than fifty days that I hear nothing from you, nothing from Caesar, no news from your whereabouts, no letter, not even a rumour has reached me. I am uneasy about that sea where you are and the country too." This letter appears to have been written just before Cicero received the last letter from Britain, as will appear from the following arrangement of the letters:

Letter from Quintus to Cicero, dated 10th August: received 13th September.

Letter from Caesar to Cicero, dated 1st September: received 27th September.

Letters from Caesar and Quintus to Cicero, dated 25th September: received 24th October.

If Cicero wrote the letter to Quintus (iii. 3) just before the 24th of October, he might say that it was more than fifty days since he had any news, for he would refer to the date of the last news, the 1st of Sep-

necessario angustius milites collocavit, ac summa tranquillitate consecuta, secunda [inita] quum solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit omnesque incolumes naves perduxit.

24. Subductis navibus concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivae peracto, quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius provenerat, coactus est aliter ac superioribus annis exercitum in hibernis collocare legionesque in plures civitates distribuere: ex quibus unam in Morinos ducendam C. Fabio legato dedit; alteram in Nervios Q. Ciceroni; tertiam in Essuos L. Roscio; quartam in

tember; and the twenty-nine days which September then had, and twenty-two or twenty-three days in October, would make up the full fifty. Caesar left the island before the equinox, but it was very near. He may have left about the 20th of September of the reformed Calendar. On the 25th of the unreformed Calendar, he had not yet brought his troops back. It appears therefore from these letters, that the date of the equinox was after the 25th of September in the unreformed Calendar; but it is not easy to say how much the unreformed Calendar was in advance of the time. It may have been near a month; and therefore the first letter of the 10th of August may belong to the middle of July, and Caesar was full two months in Britain. This will allow time enough for his march north of the Thames, the repairs of his ships, and the construction of his two camps. Caesar may have crossed to Britain in July of the unreformed Calendar, for Cicero says in a letter to Atticus (iv. 15) of the 27th of July that he supposes from Quintus' letters that he must now be in Britain; but no certain conclusion can be made from this.

summa &c.] There is a reading 'summam tranquillitatem consecutus.' The word 'inita' is omitted in some of the best MSS., and it may not be genuine.

24. *Samarobrivae*] Introd. p. 16.

in Gallia—siccitates] See iv. 38.

Q. Ciceroni] Quintus informed his brother Marcus (Cic. Ad Att. iv. 18) that Caesar gave him the choice of his winter quarters: "cum Caesare suavissimam conjunctionem —qui quidem Quintum meum tumque, dii boni, quemadmodum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia, non secus ac si ego essem imperator. Hiberna legionum eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me scribit." Again, Cicero writing to Quintus after he was in the country of the Nervii says, "ubi enim sint isti Nervii et quam longe absint nescio" (Ad Q. Fr. iii. 8). Caesar does not inform us that Q. Cicero was with him in Britain.

Essuos] See ii. 34. The troops were placed in North Gallia, among the Morini, Nervii, Remi, and the Belgae, or in Belgium. The Essui were somewhere else. Caesar says at the end of this chapter, that all the winter quarters were within 100 miles of one another, except those in the country of the Essui. Walckenaer places the Essui in Luxembourg; and he observes, that there is a place Esch and a river Eischen 'on the borders of the Treviri and of Lower Germany.' Esch is on the Sure, which receives the Eischen: the Sure is a branch of the Mosel. But in c. 53 the Armoric states meet together to attack Roscius and his legion. It is clear, then, that these people, whatever the true name may

Remis cum T. Labieno in confinio Trevirorum hiemare jussit; tres in Belgio collocavit: his M. Crassum quaestorem et L. Munatium Plancum et C. Trebonium legatos praefecit. Unam legionem, quam proxime trans Padum conscripserat, et cohortes quinque in Eburones, quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum, qui sub imperio Ambiorigis et Cativolci erant, misit. His militibus Q. Titurium Sabinum et L. Auruncleium Cottam legatos praeesse jussit. Ad hunc modum distributis legionibus facillime inopiae frumentariae sese mederi posse existimavit: atque harum tamen omnium legionum hiberna, praeter eam quam L. Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam partem ducendam dederat, milibus passuum centum continebantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiones collocasset munitaque hiberna cognovisset, in Gallia morari constituit.

25. Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius, cujus majores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. Huic Caesar pro ejus virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singulari ejus opera fuerat usus, majorum locum restituerat. Tertium jam hunc annum regnantem

be, were near the Armoric states, and between the Seine and Loire. It is probable that the Sesuvii, Essui, and other corrupt varieties, are all one people. There is no variation in the MSS. as to the word 'Essuos.' The proposed correction 'Aeduos' is bad.

in Belgio] 'In Belgis,' Schn. Whether 'Belgio' or 'Belgis' is the true reading, it appears that Caesar means only a part of those Belgae, whom he makes one of the three divisions of Gallia.

M. Crassum] The elder brother of Publius (i. 52). Publius had left Gallia and gone with his father to Syria.

Plancum] L. Munatius Plancus was consul in B.C. 42. Horace has addressed an ode to him (Carm. i. 7).

proxime] Caesar has not mentioned this legion before. It was levied 'trans Padum,' that is, north of the Po, and probably when he was leaving Illyricum (c. 2). But it had not arrived at the time of the British expedition, for Caesar took five legions with him and left three with Labienus. This made the ninth legion. But after mentioning the winter quarters of seven legions, he mentions the new legion, and five cohorts or half a legion, as being quartered among the Eburones. There is therefore half a legion not accounted for. Caesar seldom reports the death of his men. He must have lost some in Britain. Perhaps he kept five cohorts with him.

continebantur] No two 'hiberna were more than 100 Roman miles apart, except the 'hiberna' of Roscius. There may be an error in the numerals, for it is certain that the quarters of Q. Sabinus were more than 100 miles from the quarters of Crassus.—'collocasset:' 'collocatas,' Schn.

25. *Tertium jam*] 'Hunc' is Tas-

inimici multis palam ex civitate auctoribus interfecerunt. Defertur ea res ad Caesarem. Ille veritus, quod ad plures pertinebat, ne civitas eorum impulsu deficeret, L. Plancum cum legione ex Belgio celeriter in Carnutes proficisci jubet ibique hiemare; quorumque opera cognoverit Tasgetium interfectum, hos comprehensos ad se mittere. Interim ab omnibus legatis quaestoribusque, quibus legiones tradiderat, certior factus est in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis esse munitum.

26. Diebus circiter XV quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige et Cativolco; qui quum ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottaeque praesto fuissent frumentumque in hiberna comportavissent, Induciomari Treviri nunciis impulsi, suos concitaverunt, subitoque oppressis lignatoribus magna manu ad castra oppugnatum venerunt. Quum celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque adscendissent, atque una ex parte Hispanis equitibus emissis equestri proelio superiores fuissent, desperata re hostes ab oppugnatione suos reduxerunt. Tum suo more con-

getius. In some editions 'eum' is prefixed to 'interfecerunt.'

quod ad plures] Because the matter concerned a good many. Many had taken part in the assassination of Caesar's king. See vii. 43, "quod ea res ad multos pertinebat."

Carnutes] The Carnutes were on both sides of the Loire. Their chief places were Genabum (Orléans), and Autricum (Chartres). The name is retained in that of Chartrain, one of the antirevolutionary divisions of France. We learn from this little notice how much Caesar had been doing, which he never speaks about, unless it relates to the main business of his campaigns. The services of Tasgetius, and his elevation, would never have been mentioned but for his unlucky end. Another of Caesar's kings is mentioned in c. 54.

quaestoribusque] In c. 24 he has only named one quaestor. In c. 53 L. Roscius is called 'quaestor,' according to the reading of some MSS. In this passage it is said that two MSS. have 'quaestoreque' instead of 'quaestoribus.'

26. *Diebus—quibus*] See iii. 23 and the note, and iv. 18. He does not say where the 'hiberna' were, and, I suppose, because he did not know. He knew at a later time, and has told us the name (vi. 32).—'tumultus,' 'an alarm.' See i. 40.

praesto fuissent] 'Had met.' Cicero uses the word in the same way, or to signify waiting in readiness for a person.

Hispanis] These Spanish horsemen are not mentioned again in the Gallic war. King Juba (Bell. Civ. ii. 40) had Spanish cavalry in Africa, and Caesar (Bell. Afr. c. 39) had them. Horses are mentioned as having been bought in Italy and Spain (B. G. vii. 55). It was not Caesar's fashion to explain things that were of no importance. He had Spaniards here, but he does not tell us how they came.

clamaverunt uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodiret; habere sese quae de re communi dicere vellent, quibus rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.

27. Mittitur ad eos colloquendi causa C. Arpineius, eques Romanus, familiaris Q. Titurii, et Q. Junius ex Hispania quidam, qui jam ante missu Caesaris ad Ambiorigem ventitare consueverat; apud quos Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: Sese pro Caesaris in se beneficiis plurimum ei confiteri debere, quod ejus opera stipendio liberatus esset quod Aduatucis finitimis suis pendere consuesset: quodque ei et filius et fratris filius ab Caesare remissi essent, quos Aduatuci obsidum numero missos apud se in servitute et catenis tenuissent; neque id quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum aut judicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis; suaque esse ejusmodi imperia ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam, quod repentinae Gallorum conjurationi resistere non potuerit: id se facile ex humilitate sua probare posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum ut suis copiis populum Romanum superari posse confidat; sed esse Galliae commune consilium; omnibus hibernis Caesaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne qua legio alteri legioni subsidio venire posset: non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, praesertim quum de reciperanda communi libertate consilium initum videretur. Quibus quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit, habere nunc se

aliqui—prodiret] There are the readings 'aliqui . . . prodirent,' and 'aliquis . . . prodiret.' The singular seems more appropriate; and there is good authority for 'aliqui.'

27. *Junius ex Hispania quidam*] 'A certain Spaniard Q. Junius;' a Spaniard who had got a Roman name. See i. 47, and the note. 'Ex Hispania' performs the office of an adjective. See iv. 33.

ad hunc] 'in hunc,' another reading. Either is Latin.

Aduatucis] See ii. 29.

ejusmodi—ut] A common use in Cicero, as in Verr. ii. 2, c. 46, and elsewhere. 'Ejusmodi' is equivalent to 'talia.'—'minus juris in se,' &c., 'the people had no less authority over him than he had over the people.' 'In' is thus used also by the poets (Hor. Od. iii. 1, 5),

"Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis."

superari] 'Se superare,' another reading, seems less appropriate to the 'humilitas,' or weakness, which Ambiorix pretended.—'alteri:' there is authority for the dative 'alterae,' which Schn. has.

Quibus—pro pietate] 'And since

rationem officii pro beneficiis Caesaris; monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio, ut suae ac militum saluti consulat: magnam manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc adfore biduo. Ipsorum esse consilium velintne prius quam finitimi sentiant eductos ex hibernis milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere, quorum alter milia passuum circiter L, alter paulo amplius ab iis absit. Illud se polliceri et jurejurando confirmare, tutum iter per fines daturum; quod quum faciat, et civitati sese consulere quod hibernis levetur, et Caesari pro ejus meritis gratiam referre. Hac oratione habita discedit Ambiorix.

28. Arpineius et Junius quae audierunt ad legatos deferunt. Illi repentina re perturbati, etsi ab hoste ea dicebantur, non tamen negligenda existimabant; maximeque hac re permovebantur, quod civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum sua sponte populo Romano bellum facere ausam vix erat credendum. Itaque ad consilium rem deferunt, magnaque inter eos exsistit controversia. L. Aurunculeius compluresque tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones nihil temere agendum neque ex hibernis injussu Caesaris discedendum existimabant: quantasvis copias etiam Germanorum

he had done enough for them ('quibus') in respect of his duty to his country.' Cicero (Or. Part 22) has a definition of 'pietas,' "justitia erga parentes pietas nominatur." The Roman sense of 'justitia' is 'the giving to a man his due.' The fair-dealing of Ambiorix towards his countrymen in the matter of liberty was 'pietas.'—'habere . . . rationem :' 'ratio' is a word applied to matters of reckoning with 'habere' and 'ducere,' and with a genitive. Also in another form with a neuter, as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 14), "habeo rationem quid a populo Romano acceperim." Here Ambiorix says that 'he had regard to what was due from him in return for the favours of Caesar.'

conductam] 'Got together,' or 'hired,' we cannot say which is the meaning, for the words 'mercede' or 'pretio' can be omitted. Compare i. 4; ii. 2; vi. 31, and also ii. 1; vii. 31, which passages are referred to by Müller.

Ipsorum] This word refers to Titurius and Cotta, not to the two barbarians: 'it was for their consideration whether they would choose before the bordering people hear of it.'—'fines suos daturum,' Elb.

quod quum faciat] 'And by doing this he was both acting for the interest of his state in relieving it from the (Roman) winter quarters.'—'quod . . . levetur' cannot be translated literally. Compare ii. 1, "populi Romani . . . moleste ferebant."

28. *primorum ordinum*] See i. 40; v. 37.

quantasvis] 'Quantasvis magnas,' Elb. Some good MSS. omit 'mag-

sustineri posse munitis hibernis docebant: rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum, multis ultro vulneribus illatis, fortissime sustinuerint: re frumentaria non premi: interea et ex proximis hibernis et a Caesare conventura subsidia: postremo, quid esse levius aut turpius quam auctore hoste de summis rebus capere consilium?

29. Contra ea Titurius sero facturos clamitabat, quum majores manus hostium adjunctis Germanis convenissent, aut quum aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset acceptum: brevem consulendi esse occasionem: Caesarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam; neque aliter Carnutes interficiendi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos, neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta cum contemptione nostri ad castra venturos esse: non hostem auctorem sed rem spectare; subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem et superiores nostras victorias: ardere

nas,' which seems to be superfluous, and no instance like it is cited.

rem—testimonio] 'The fact was evidence of what they urged, the fact that they most valiantly sustained the first attack of the enemy, and had even inflicted on them many wounds.' 'Testimonio' is the dative.

Schneider correctly explains 'ultro.' He says that the valour of the soldiers was not limited to sustaining the attack of the enemy, but had gone further ('ulterius') and done the enemy great damage. He compares v. 40, and vi. 35; but he adds that the other signification of 'voluntarily' is more common in these Commentarii; and in this passage the Greek translator has so rendered it (ἑκουσίως). He refers to iii. 27; iv. 27; v. 56, &c. But in none of these passages does 'ultro' mean 'voluntarily,' a translation which is generally supported by a false derivation from 'volo.' One would suppose that 'ultro' followed by 'in continentem' (iv. 27) would have been sufficient to prevent such a mistake. There is 'ul-tra,' 'ul-tro;' 'ci-tra,' 'ci-tro;' and 'ultra' and 'ultro' contain the same root as 'ill,' or 'oll,' 'that,' the more remote.

re—non premi] He means that they were in no want of supplies: they were not hard pressed in or by this matter.

quid esse] 'Quid,' like 'num,' is used with an infinitive in these reported speeches. See i. 14.—'levius' means 'more light,' 'less considerate,' and the like.

auctore] 'On the advice of an enemy.' This is one of the many uses of 'auctor,' which is derived from the primitive sense of the word. In c. 33, "profectionis auctor."

29. *sero*] Titurius said that it would be too late to follow the enemy's advice, when &c. 'Arbitrari' means 'se arbitrari,' 'he thought that Caesar had set out to Italy,' and he alleges as a reason for thinking so that the Carnutes would not have killed their king if it had not been so.—'mortem:' see i. 53.

ardere] 'That all Gallia was in a blaze,' burning for war, for vengeance, as in vi. 34, where 'ad ulciscendum' is added; not 'ardere . . . se esse redactam,' as some say.

Galliam, tot contumeliis acceptis sub populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore gloria rei militaris exstincta. Postremo quis hoc sibi persuaderet, sine certa re Ambiorigem ad ejusmodi consilium descendisse? Suam sententiam in utramque partem esse tutam: si nihil sit durius, nullo cum periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros; si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiat, unam esse in celeritate positam salutem. Cottae quidem atque eorum qui dissentirent consilium quem haberet exitum? in quo si non praesens periculum, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset timenda.

30. Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, quum a Cotta primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur, Vincite, inquit, si ita vultis, Sabinus, et id clariore voce ut magna pars militum exaudiret: neque is sum, inquit, qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear: hi sapient, et si gravius quid acciderit, abs te rationem reposcent; qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis conjuncti communem cum reliquis belli casum sustineant, non rejecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant.

31. Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt utrumque

certa re] So says Cicero (Ad Div. xii. 25), "neque solum spe, sed certa re." 'Certa res' is a certainty, a sure or certain thing, as opposed to an expectation: "quae res? quae spes?" (Cicero, Ad Div. iv. 5).

descendisse] 'Resorted to such advice.' 'Descendisse' often implies a last and desperate resource. Compare vii. 78 and vi. 16.

nihil sit—consentiat] 'Nihil esset . . . consentiret,' Schn. Either is Latin, but, as Schneider remarks, the imperfect is used in other parts of this speech.—'longinqua.' There is a reading 'longa.' Comp. i. 47, "longinqua consuetudine."—'quem habere exitum,' Kraner; but Schneider gives no variation in the readings.

si non—at certe] See i. 43, note.

30. *primis ordinibus*] See i. 40.—'clariore . . . ut.' So in Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 22), "Tum iste maxima voce Venereis imperat ut Xeno audiret . . . hominem ut asservent," where the first 'ut' depends on 'maxima voce.'—'exaudiret:' see vi. 39.

hi sapient] These words convey no clear meaning, but the meaning is explained by what follows, 'these will judge, and if any evil befalls us, will call you to account for it.'—'si per te liceat,' 'if you would let them,' 'if you do not hinder them.' See v. 41, and the note.

31. *comprehendunt*] 'Their friends lay hold of them. The words which follow ('et orant') explain this word. After their fashion the Romans take by the hand the two disputants and entreat them.—'dat manus,' 'he yields;' a man who surrenders, offers his hand to be bound, or signifies by his gesture

et orant Ne sua dissensione et pertinacia rem in summum periculum deducant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant, seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac probent; contra in dissensione nullam se salutem perspicere. Res disputatione ad mediam noctem perducitur: tandem dat Cotta permotus manus: superat sententia Sabini. Pronunciatur prima luce ituros: consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, quum sua quisque miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instrumento hibernorum relinquere cogeretur. Omnia excogitantur quare nec sine periculo maneatur et languore militum et vigiliis periculum augeatur. Prima luce sic ex castris proficiscuntur ut quibus esset persuasum non ab hoste, sed ab

that he makes no further resistance. Cicero, De Am. c. 26. Horat. Epod. 17, v. 1.

instrumento] This word denotes any collection of things for use. On a farm it is what we call the stock (Dig. 33, tit. 7); and so it is used by Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 21, 50). Here it means what they had for use in their quarters. See vi. 30, "militare instrumentum."

excogitantur—augeatur] Schneider has a long note here, at the end of which he concludes that Davis, who followed D'Ablancourt, has given the true meaning, "ita se gerunt, quasi id operam dent, ne sine periculo," &c. But 'quare' is used as in i. 33, "quare ... putaret." The passage seems to mean, 'every reason is suggested why there was no staying without danger, and why the danger would be increased by the lassitude and watches of the soldiers.' Caesar puts it in the most general way. It was settled that they must go, and every body, at least those who were in favour of going, thinks of every possible reason to confirm his opinion, and to convince others that if they stayed in the camp, it was not without risk, and this risk was increased by the lassitude or discouragement of the men, who saw themselves hemmed in, and by the fatigue of being constantly on the watch. Kraner at the end of his edition proposes another version, 'just as if it were their deliberate purpose that the affair should turn out badly, they devise every thing by which ('quare,' comp. Cicero, pro Rosc. Amer. c. 33), while with such a beginning to remain was now dangerous, the danger which as a matter of course was connected with the retreat must be still increased, since they could only begin the march when wearied after a night spent in watching.' But I think that I gave the true explanation in the first edition, and I find that Müller (1855) has the same.

Prima luce] Dion Cassius (40, c. 6) says that they set out as soon as it was evening, for εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας can mean nothing else.

sic—quibus] 'They leave the camp like men who were convinced.' This expresses the state of the men's minds. 'Sic' has this subjective meaning here, as Herzog calls it. He makes 'sic' altogether subjective and logical; 'ita,' he says, is to be taken objectively, that is, with reference to certain given facts. He adds that, as one can naturally consider a thing from both points of view, and accordingly use either 'sic' or 'ita,' all depends on this, whether we combine the thing logically or historically in our under-

homine amicissimo Ambiorige consilium datum, longissimo agmine maximisque impedimentis.

32. At hostes, posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu vigiliisque de profectione eorum senserunt, collocatis insidiis bipertito in silvis opportuno atque occulto loco a milibus passuum circiter duobus, Romanorum adventum exspectabant; et quum se major pars agminis in magnam convallem demisisset, ex utraque parte ejus vallis subito se ostenderunt, novissimosque premere et primos prohibere ascensu atque iniquissimo nostris loco proelium committere coeperunt.

33. Tum demum Titurius, qui nihil ante providisset, trepidare et concursare cohortesque disponere; haec tamen ipsa timide atque ut eum omnia deficere viderentur: quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit qui in ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur. At Cotta qui cogitasset haec posse in itinere accidere, atque ob eam causam profectionis auctor non fuisset, nulla in re communi saluti deerat, et in appellandis cohortandisque militibus imperatoris et in pugna militis officia praestabat.

standing. He makes this note on the passage in iv. 29, "Ita uno tempore," &c. 'Ita' is etymologically related to 'is,' and 'sic' to 'hic;' and so 'sic' has the demonstrative character, which is in itself no objection to Herzog's doctrine. But I don't think that he is right. See 'sic uti,' &c., in v. 51.

longissimo] This shows their confidence. They marched in the most convenient order for marching, but in the most dangerous order if an enemy should attack them. (See c. 33; and ii. 17 and 19, "quod ad hostes appropinquabat.")

32. *a milibus*] They had laid their ambuscade about 2000 paces from the Roman camp. This use of 'ab,' however, is not explained by all writers in the same way. The simplest explanation is this, that 'ab' points out the termination of 2000 paces from the camp as the place where the ambuscade began. Thus it was from or after the space of 2000 paces that the ambuscade was seen and felt. In ii. 30, there is "ao tanto spatio;" see also ii. 7. 'Εκ is used exactly in the same way in Xenophon, Anab. i. 10, 11, *οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι . . . ἐκ πλέονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον.*

33. *qui nihil*] 'ut qui nihil,' Elb.; and perhaps there is no great difference in meaning. In 'ut qui,' 'ut' may be compared with 'ut' in 'ut est,' iv. 3: but the use of 'qui' is a different one, and must be explained as before. See B. G. ii. 33. There is much better authority for omitting 'ut' here than for retaining it. Compare "At Cotta qui cogitasset," &c.

concursare] He hurried about from place to place. See B. G. i. 47; v. 50.

saluti deerat] This is an expression of Cicero and other writers:

> "Talibus in rebus communi deesse saluti."—Lucret. i. 43.

Quum propter longitudinem agminis minus facile per se omnia obire et quid quoque loco faciendum esset providere possent, jusserunt pronunciare ut impedimenta relinquerent atque in orbem consisterent. Quod consilium etsi in ejusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen incommode accidit; nam et nostris militibus spem minuit, et hostes ad pugnam alacriores effecit, quod non sine summo timore et desperatione id factum videbatur. Praeterea accidit, quod fieri necesse erat, ut vulgo milites ab signis discederent, quae quisque eorum carissima haberet ab impedimentis petere atque abripere properaret, clamore et fletu omnia complerentur.

34. At barbaris consilium non defuit, nam duces eorum tota acie pronunciare jusserunt Ne quis ab loco discederet; illorum esse praedam, atque illis reservari quaecumque Romani reliquissent; proinde omnia in victoria posita existimarent. Erant et virtute et numero pugnando pares nostri. Tamen etsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et quoties quaeque cohors procurreret, ab ea parte magnus hostium numerus cadebat. Qua re animadversa Ambiorix pronunciari jubet, ut procul tela conjiciant neu propius accedant, et quam in partem Romani impetum fecerint cedant; levitate armorum et quotidiana exerci-

pronunciare] The commanders ordered the tribunes and centurions to give the word, to form the 'orbis,' to face the enemy all round (iv. 37).—'abripere:' 'arripere,' Schn., Kraner.

34. *pronunciare*] This may be right; but there is a reading 'pronunciari.' In this chapter 'pronunciari' occurs. One may suspect that the readings should be 'pronunciari' in this chapter and in c. 33.

Erant et &c.] A (:) is sometimes put after 'pares' which makes nonsense. For it would mean that the barbarians were equal by their courage and their numbers in the fight ('pugnando'), which Caesar does not mean to say, for he does not allow that in courage the barbarians were equal to the Romans. Besides he has just spoken of the 'consilium' of the 'barbari;' their presence of mind, as the means by which they got the advantage. It remains to speak of the Romans, who by their courage and numbers were a match for the enemy in the fight; but they were inferior in 'consilium,' for they had no good general. I have followed Schneider. He shows that the order 'Erant . . . nostri' is a usage of Caesar; and that he begins sentences with 'etsi' followed by 'tamen.' Schneider has 'Tametsi ab,' &c. He says that Caesar never uses 'tamen etsi.' See i. 30. Müller thinks all the explanations of this passage are a failure, and he observes that it may be corrupt. Most of the best MSS. have 'pugnandi,' which cannot be explained.

procurreret] 'procurrerat,' Kraner.

tatione nihil iis noceri posse; rursus se ad signa recipientes insequantur.

35. Quo praecepto ab iis diligentissime observato, quum quaepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum fecerat, hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela recipi. Rursus quum in eum locum unde erant egressi reverti coeperant, et ab iis qui cesserant et ab iis qui proximi steterant circumveniebantur; sin autem locum tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquebatur neque ab tanta multitudine conjecta tela conferti vitare poterant. Tamen tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus acceptis, resistebant, et magna parte diei consumpta quum a prima luce ad horam VIII pugnaretur, nihil quod ipsis esset indignum committebant. Tum T. Balventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat, viro forti et magnae auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula transjicitur: Q. Lucanius ejusdem ordinis fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur: L. Cotta legatus omnes cohortes ordinesque adhortans in adversum os funda vulneratur.

36. His rebus permotus Q. Titurius, quum procul Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum Cn. Pompeium ad eum mittit rogatum ut sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellatus respondit: Si velit secum colloqui, licere; sperare a multitudine impetrari posse quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam fidem interponere. Ille

35. *eam partem*] The cohort which 'excesserat.' — 'Ab latere aperto' may mean the right side here, as that side was exposed. See i. 25. But it may also mean that the cohort was altogether exposed after leaving the 'orbis.' There is a reading 'recipere.'

primum pilum] Cicero (Phil. i. 8) writes "qui ordines duxerunt." In the previous year Balventius had been the first centurion of his 'ordo.' See ii. 25, note. We might infer that Balventius was not 'primus pilus' now; but perhaps Caesar means that he had been promoted 'superiore anno,' &c. Q. Lucanius is said to belong to the same 'ordo,' that is, to the 'ordo' to which Balventius belonged. It has been conjectured that Balventius had served his time and was now an 'evocatus.' But if so, it seems singular that the year of his last promotion should also be the last year of his service as 'primus pilus.'

in adversum os] 'Right in the face;' the stone came from the front. Schneider compares B. C. iii. 99, "gladio in os adversum conjecto."

36. *inque eam, &c.*] Schn. quotes the same expression from Cicero,

cum Cotta saucio communicat, si videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una colloquantur; sperare ab eo de sua ac militum salute impetrare posse. Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum negat atque in eo constitit.

37. Sabinus quos in praesentia tribunos militum circum se habebat et primorum ordinum centuriones se sequi jubet, et quum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, jussus arma abjicere imperatum facit suisque ut idem faciant imperat. Interim dum de conditionibus inter se agunt longiorque consulto ab Ambiorige instituitur sermo, paullatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant atque ululatum tollunt, impetuque in nostros facto ordines perturbant. Ibi L. Cotta pugnans interficitur cum maxima parte militum; reliqui se in castra recipiunt unde erant egressi: ex quibus L. Petrosidius aquilifer, quum magna multitudine hostium premeretur, aquilam intra vallum projecit, ipse pro castris fortissime pugnans occiditur. Illi aegre ad noctem oppugnationem sustinent: noctu ad unum omnes desperata salute se ipsi interficiunt. Pauci ex proelio elapsi incertis itineribus per silvas ad T. Labienum legatum in

Pro Rosc. Amer. c. 39, "inque eam rem fidem suam . . . interponeret;" which means to give his word or promise. See B. G. v. 6.

communicat] 'Communicat . . . . ut excedant.' 'Communicare' is to make something 'communis,' for instance, to share a thing with another, and hence to let a man know what the communicator knows or proposes.

impetrare] There is a reading 'impetrari.' "De sua salute impetrarent" occurs in Bell. Civ. i. 22. It expresses generally to obtain favourable terms without expressing exactly what they were.—'constitit:' 'perseverat,' Sch., Kraner.

37. *ululatum*] After Gallic fashion. Kraner quotes Livy (v. 37), "nata in vanos tumultus gens (Gallorum) truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverunt cantu."

L. Cotta] The story of the death of Cotta and Sabinus is told somewhat differently by Dion Cassius (xl. 6); but we cannot be certain whether it is only a perversion of this story, or whether he got it from some other authority than Caesar. If he preferred another narrative to Caesar's, it is an evidence of his want of judgment, for Caesar tells the story very clearly, and he could know the truth from the survivors of the massacre. Dion's narrative also has in it signs of puerile invention, as the words of Ambiorix, when he drove his spear through Sabinus. Suetonius (Julius Caesar, c. 67) says that Caesar, after hearing of the slaughter of his men, did not cut his hair or shave his beard until he had avenged them.

Pauci . . . elapsi] The force of Sabinus and Cotta was a legion and a half, about 6000 men, all of whom perished except a few. Kraner has 'lapsi,' the MSS. reading.

hiberna perveniunt atque eum de rebus gestis certiorem faciunt.

38. Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix statim cum equitatu in Aduatucos, qui erant ejus regno finitimi, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque diem intermittit, peditatumque [se] sequi jubet. Re demonstrata Aduatucisque concitatis postero die in Nervios pervenit hortaturque Ne sui in perpetuum liberandi atque ulciscendi Romanos pro his quas acceperint injuriis occasionem dimittant: interfectos esse legatos duos magnamque partem exercitus interisse demonstrat; nihil esse negotii subito oppressam legionem quae cum Cicerone hiemet interfici; se ad eam rem profitetur adjutorem. Facile hac oratione Nerviis persuadet.

39. Itaque confestim dimissis nunciis ad Ceutrones, Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidunos, qui omnes sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas manus possunt cogunt et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna advolant,

38. *intermittit*] He writes "nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso," i. 26; and v. 11, "ne nocturnis . . . intermissis."

[*se*] *sequi*] 'se sequi,' Schn.: 'se subsequi,' Elb. I suspect that the true reading is simply 'sequi,' or simply 'subsequi,' as in Kraner.

Aduatucis] See ii. 33.

Nervios] In ii. 28 it is said that nearly all the fighting men of the nation were destroyed. Schneider thinks that what is said in the second book could hardly have been written by a man who knew the fact of this fresh rising of the Nervii and remembered it. But the evidence that the same man wrote both is the same as the evidence that he wrote either, or any other part of these Commentarii. The true conclusion is, that he wrote both at the time of the events. In the second book he wrote that he had nearly destroyed the Nervii; and he might suppose so. He was writing as a man would do after a great victory. Here he states a fact which was notorious; the Nervii were again in arms. He did not correct his work to make the later parts agree with the earlier parts; and he did right.

nihil esse, &c.] 'It was an easy matter, no trouble at all, for the legion that was wintering with Cicero, to be surprised ('oppressam') and killed.' Cicero (Ad Att. xii. 14; Ad Div. xii. 2) uses 'nihil negotii' in the same way; "nihil esset negotii libertatem et rem publicam recuperare."

39. *Ceutrones*] or 'Centrones,' as some have it. All these are unknown people. The names are said to occur in no other author.—'imperio sunt:' there is a reading 'imperio continebantur.' 'Sunt' is more likely to be the genuine word, for Caesar may have used it in writing this part of his history at the time, or making his memorandums: and it is not the word that a copyist would introduce, for he would look rather to the permanent fitness of the word than to its fitness in Caesar's time.

Ciceronis hiberna] See note on Aduatuca, at the end of lib. vii.

nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata. Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nonnulli milites, qui lignationis munitionisque causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu interciperentur. His circumventis magna manu Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci atque horum omnium socii et clientes legionem oppugnare incipiunt: nostri celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vallum conscendunt. Aegre is dies sustentatur, quod omnem spem hostes in celeritate ponebant, atque hanc adepti victoriam in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant.

40. Mittuntur ad Caesarem confestim ab Cicerone litterae, magnis propositis praemiis si pertulissent: obsessis omnibus viis missi intercipiuntur. Noctu ex materia quam munitionis causa comportaverant turres admodum cxx excitantur incredibili celeritate; quae deesse operi videbantur perficiuntur. Hostes postero die multo majoribus coactis copiis castra oppugnant, fossam complent. Ab nostris eadem ratione qua pridie resistitur: hoc idem reliquis deinceps fit diebus. Nulla pars nocturni temporis ad laborem intermittitur: non aegris, non vulneratis facultas quietis datur: quaecumque ad proximi diei oppugnationem opus sunt, noctu comparantur: multae praeustae sudes, magnus muralium pilorum numerus

accidit] Schneider removes the (,) after 'accidit,' and also in c. 33, "that the *ut* may not seem to depend on this word more than on the following ('fuit necesse')." He might have struck out the (,) after 'necesse' also. I take the 'ut' to depend on 'accidit.' 'Huic' is Cicero: the same thing happened to him which had happened to Titurius and Cotta. Hotmann proposed the insipid emendation 'hic,' which Herzog approves, though not enough to put it in his text. He cites as one evidence in favour of it the Greek paraphrast who has ἐνταῦθα. I have seldom mentioned this paraphrast. He is generally worthless for the interpretation of Caesar.

adepti] This Latin participle expresses a condition, for it means, 'if they got this victory.'

40. *admodum*] This means 'full 120 towers,' or 'not less than 120;' not 'nearly' as some suppose. It signifies to the full measure. There may be an error in the number CXX. See vii. 56, "admodum magna;" and vii. 69, "admodum edito;" and vii. 73.—'excitantur:' see iii. 14.

reliquis deinceps] The true order, as Schneider shows, and not 'deinceps reliquis.' He compares iii. 29, "reliquis deinceps diebus;" and Bell. Civ. iii. 56.

praeustae sudes] Pieces of wood sharpened at the end by burning, and intended to be thrown at the enemy (vii. 81). The 'pila muralia' are mentioned vii. 82. As these 'pila muralia' are only mentioned as used for the defence of walls (comp. Tacit. Ann. iv. 51), it is probable that they were not

instituitur; turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus attexuntur. Ipse Cicero, quum tenuissima valetudine esset, ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem relinquebat, ut ultro militum concursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur.

41. Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum, qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant, colloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate eadem quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat commemorant, Omnem esse in armis Galliam, Germanos Rhenum transisse, Caesaris reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari. Addunt etiam de Sabini morte. Ambiorigem ostentant fidei faciundae causa. Errare eos dicunt, si quidquam ab his praesidii sperent qui suis rebus diffidant; sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum animo ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc inveterascere consuetudinem nolint: licere illis incolumibus per se ex hibernis disce-

thrown, but used to thrust with. The 'turres contabulantur' means that the 'turres' were furnished with 'tabulata' or floorings at different elevations for the men to stand on. (Lipsius, Op. iii. p. 538). 'Pinnae' and 'loricae' are mentioned again vii. 72. 'Pinnae' and 'loricae ex cratibus,' or parapets made of branches or thin pieces of wood (Lipsius, Op. iii. p. 514), are attached ('attexuntur') to the towers. The 'lorica' is mentioned by Curtius (ix. 4), and by Tacitus (iv. 37), "loricam vallumque." 'Pinna' is a tail feather of a bird, or a large feather from the wing, or any thing ending in a point. These 'pinnae' were apparently pieces of wood which rose above the 'lorica' and served for further protection. The 'pinnae' of walls were parts that rose above the rest at intervals. Virgil (Aen. vii. 159) seems to use the word in Caesar's sense:

"—— primasque in litore sedes
Castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit:"

where 'pinnis' expresses the same thing as 'vallum.'

instituitur] See vi. 9, and iv. 17. He means 'is ordered' or 'fixed.' 'Remiges . . . institui,' iii. 9.—'ultro:' 'even.' See v. 28.—'vocibus:' 'clamours.' See vi. 36.

41. *aditum*] See i. 43, "neque aditum (access to the senate) neque causam postulandi justam." 'Aditum commendationis' occurs in Bell. Civ. i. 74. Caesar means that these chiefs of the Nervii had been accustomed to have access to Cicero and to talk with him. 'Causa' is a Roman word which has many meanings, often difficult to render. It means here any thing which was a foundation for friendship; as in Cic. De Off. ii. 13, "causam celebritatis et nominis aut a patre acceptam," &c., where it means any ground or origin of celebrity.

his . . . qui] Caesar and the other legati in their several quarters.

inveterascere] This practice of wintering in Gallia. See ii. 1, "inveterascere in Gallia."—'licere . . . per se:' 'they might go away without any hindrance from the Galli.' Compare i. 42, and v. 30.—'ullam accipere:' Schneider omits 'ullam.'

dere, et quascumque in partes velint sine metu proficisci. Cicero ad haec unum modo respondit: Non esse consuetudinem populi Romani ullam accipere ab hoste armato conditionem: si ab armis discedere velint, se adjutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant: sperare pro ejus justitia quae petierint impetraturos.

42. Ab hac spe repulsi Nervii vallo pedum IX et fossa pedum XV hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiorum annorum consuetudine a nobis cognoverant, et quosdam de exercitu nacti captivos ab his docebantur; sed nulla ferramentorum copia quae esset ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis cespites circumcidere, manibus sagulisque terram exhaurire cogebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum multitudo cognosci potuit: nam minus horis tribus milium passuum XV in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt: reliquisque diebus turres ad altitudinem valli, falces testudinesque, quas iidem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere coeperunt.

43. Septimo oppugnationis die, maximo coorto vento,

sperare] 'sperare se,' in most MSS. There is good MSS. authority for 'se;' but it is Caesar's fashion to omit 'se' where it is not wanted. 'Pro ejus justitia,' 'in accordance with his justice,' 'his sense of fair dealing,' means that Caesar might relieve them from the burden of having his troops among them.

42. *pedum* IX] The 'vallum' was nine or eleven feet high, as some MSS. have it; and the ditch fifteen feet wide. Schneider compares ii. 5. When the depth of a ditch is not mentioned, and only one measure is given, Caesar means the width (vii. 72).—'a nobis:' 'a nostris,' Elb.

nulla copia] This is Caesar's ablative: 'as they had no stock of iron implements adapted for this purpose.' Compare ii. 9, "secundiore equitum proelio."

quae esset] There is also 'essent.' Elb. has 'quae sunt' on the authority of several good MSS.; but it is a palpable blunder. If Caesar wrote 'quae sunt,' he meant to say 'that ferramenta, or iron utensils, are useful for digging,' which is true; but he does not waste his words in telling us what we know.—'cespitem:' Elb.

exhaurire] This word can be applied to a spade, as Horat. Ep. 5, v. 30, "Ligonibus duris humum Exhauriebant." Men's hands as well as the cloaks were used for 'ferramenta,' spades, shovels, and even for baskets.—Elb. has 'decem millium in circuitu.' 'Passus' is often omitted in like cases. In place of 'passuum' there is a reading 'pedum,' which seems more probable. Orosius (vi. 10) agrees with the text. If there were 45,000 barbarians, or 3000 for every mile, they could make the ditch in three hours in some way. The want of proper tools would be a greater difficulty than the extent of the lines. See ii. 30, note. But all the circumstances of the siege indicate a much less circuit than fifteen miles.

ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis et fervefacta jacula in casas, quae more Gallico stramentis erant tectae, jacere coeperunt. Hae celeriter ignem comprehenderunt et venti magnitudine in omnem castrorum locum distulerunt. Hostes maximo clamore sicuti parta jam atque explorata victoria turres testudinesque agere et scalis vallum ascendere coeperunt. At tanta militum virtus atque ea praesentia animi fuit ut, quum undique flamma torrerentur maximaque telorum multitudine premerentur suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnes fortunas conflagrare intelligerent, non modo demigrandi causa de vallo decederet nemo, sed paene ne respiceret quidem quisquam, ac tum omnes acerrime fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic dies nostris longe gravissimus fuit; sed tamen hunc habuit eventum ut eo die maximus hostium numerus vulneraretur atque interficeretur, ut se sub ipso vallo constipaverant recessumque primis ultimi non dabant. Paullum quidem intermissa flamma, et quodam loco turri adacta et contingente vallum, tertiae cohortis centuriones ex eo quo stabant loco recesserunt suosque omnes removerunt: nutu vocibusque hostes si introire vellent vocare coeperunt, quorum progredi ausus est nemo. Tum ex omni parte lapidibus conjectis deturbati, turrisque succensa est.

44. Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri centuriones, qui jam primis ordinibus appropinquarent, T. Pulfio et L.

43. *glandes*] Balls made of clay softened or made plastic, and then burnt. Ovid, Met. xi. 126, has "fusile aurum." It has been suggested that the clay was mixed with coal, as it still is in those parts for warming stoves. But Caesar only speaks of clay. The commentators are troubled about these hot balls cast from leather slings, for such they say the slings were. If the barbarians did really throw hot clay balls with slings, let us be satisfied with the fact.

sicuti parta] 'Insecuti, quasi parta,' Elb.

praesentia animi] This is not our presence of mind, but firmness of resolution. (Schneid.)

non modo] See ii. 17.—'nemo:' see ii. 35, note on 'nulli.'

demigrandi causa] 'For the purpose of deserting the vallum.' See iv. 19, "de oppidis demigrarent."

ut se] See ii. 23, and vi. 7; vii. 45. 58. Our word 'as' expresses the 'ut' fully.—'ipso' denotes close to the vallum; but if it is omitted, as in vi. 37, the immediate proximity is not expressed. Livy, ii. 45, has "haec quum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent."

44. *qui . . . appropinquarent*] There is a reading 'qui jam appropinquarant,' which does not appear to be correct. The text means 'very brave centurions, and as such near being

Varenus. Hi perpetuas inter se controversias habebant quinam anteferretur, omnibusque annis de loco summis simultatibus contendebant. Ex his Pulfio, quum acerrime ad munitiones pugnaretur, Quid dubitas, inquit, Varene, aut quem locum probandae virtutis tuae spectas? hic dies de nostris controversiis judicabit. Haec quum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, quaeque pars hostium confertissima est visa, in eam irrumpit. Ne Varenus quidem tum vallo sese continet, sed omnium veritus existimationem subsequitur. Mediocri spatio relicto Pulfio pilum in hostes mittit atque unum ex multitudine procurrentem transjicit, quo percusso et examinato hunc scutis protegunt hostes, in illum tela universi conjiciunt neque dant regrediundi facultatem. Transfigitur scutum Pulfioni et verutum in balteo defigitur. Avertit hic casus vaginam et gladium educere conanti dextram moratur manum: impeditum hostes circumsistunt. Succurrit inimicus illi Varenus et laboranti subvenit. Ad hunc se confestim a Pulfione omnis multitudo convertit: [illum veruto transfixum arbitrantur.] Occursat ocius gladio comminusque rem gerit Varenus, atque uno interfecto reliquos paullum propellit; dum cupidius instat, in locum

advanced to the rank of primipili.' See i. 40. Schneider writes the names of these two centurions 'Pullo' and 'Vorenus.'—'de loco:' the rivalry between them was about promotion. Kraner has 'de locis.'

quinam] 'Uter' is the usual word in such a case.—'omnibusque annis:' 'all the time,' as we might say, that is all the time during which there was opportunity for this rivalry. Schneider compares iii. 23, 'omnes annos.'

quaeque pars] 'Quaque pars,' Elb. But if we read 'quaque,' 'pars' is unnecessary, as Schneider says, who omits 'in eam' before 'irrumpit.'

relicto] The old pointing before Oudendorp's edition was 'subsequitur mediocri spatio relicto: Pulfio, &c.' The 'mediocre spatium,' is the space which Pulfio allowed himself for discharging his 'pilum,' as the position of the words show, and not the space between him and Varenus.

protegunt] Schn. has 'protegunt, in hostem tela,' &c.; and Kraner.

verutum] This missile pierced through the shield and stuck in the belt, and this circumstance turned ('avertit') the scabbard from its place, so as to put the handle of the sword out of Pulfio's reach. The 'verutum' was also used by the Roman soldiers (Liv. xxi. 55). Virgil (Georg. ii. 168) makes it a Volscian weapon.

illum veruto, &c.] Schn. omits these words; and I am inclined to follow him. The text in this passage is very doubtful. Schn. has 'convertit. Illic vero obcursat,' &c. Elb., who retains the words which I have inclosed in [], has 'arbitrantur. Varenus gladio rem comminus gerit, atque uno,' &c.

inferiorem dejectus concidit. Huic rursus circumvento fert subsidium Pulfio, atque ambo incolumes compluribus interfectis summa cum laude sese intra munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna in contentione et certamine utrumque versavit ut alter alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset, neque dijudicari posset uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

45. Quanto erat in dies gravior atque asperior oppugnatio, et maxime quod magna parte militum confecta vulneribus res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat, tanto crebriores litterae nunciique ad Caesarem mittebantur; quorum pars deprehensa in conspectu nostrorum militum cum cruciatu necabatur. Erat unus intus Nervius, nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat suamque ei fidem praestiterat. Hic servo spe libertatis magnisque persuadet praemiis ut litteras ad Caesarem deferat. Has ille in jaculo illigatas effert, et Gallus inter Gallos sine ulla suspicione versatus ad Caesarem pervenit. Ab eo de periculis Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur.

46. Caesar acceptis litteris hora circiter XI diei statim nuncium in Bellovacos ad M. Crassum quaestorem mittit, cujus hiberna aberant ab eo milia passuum XXV. Jubet

dejectus] 'Being carried down the sloping ground, in the ardour of his pursuit he fell.' Comp. vi. 40, "se . . . iniquum in locum demiserant."

versavit] 'Versa-re,' one of the class of words that represent a repetition of an action, as here a repetition of 'vert-ere.' 'In their rivalry and their struggle with the enemy, fortune made such a turn for both of them, that' &c. Schn. makes 'sic' refer to what precedes, and the clause 'ut alter,' &c. to be explanatory; and he may be right. Compare vi. 41, "sic omnium animos," &c.

45. *necabatur*] It appears to be Caesar's fashion to use 'pars' with a singular verb. Elb. has 'necabantur.' See iii. 17, 'convenerat;' iv. 32; vi. 31; and other places.

46. *ab eo*] In c. 40 Cicero sends to Caesar; but neither in that chapter nor in this is it said where Caesar was. The meeting of the Gallic states (c. 24) was held at Samarobriva, where Caesar of course was present, and nothing has been said to show that he had quitted that place. In c. 47, Caesar appoints Crassus to command at Samarobriva, and, as it seems, to supply Caesar's place. We must infer, then, that Caesar was at Samarobriva when he heard of Cicero's danger; and indeed the words 'quod ibi . . . relinquebat' leave no doubt about it. A letter from Cicero to Trebatius, who had gone to Caesar with Cicero's recommendation, shows that Trebatius was at Samarobriva during this winter (Ad Div. vii. 16), and Caesar also came to Samarobriva (v. 53) after relieving Cicero.

media nocte legionem proficisci celeriterque ad se venire. Exit cum nuncio Crassus. Alterum ad C. Fabium legatum mittit ut in Atrebatum fines legionem adducat, qua sibi iter faciendum sciebat. Scribit Labieno, si rei publicae commodo facere posset, cum legione ad fines Nerviorum veniat: reliquam partem exercitus, quod paullo aberat longius, non putat exspectandam; equites circiter quadringentos ex proximis hibernis cogit.

47. Hora circiter III ab antecursoribus de Crassi adventu certior factus eo die milia passuum viginti progreditur. Crassum Samarobrivae praeficit legionemque ei attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum, litteras publicas frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandae hiemis causa devexerat, relinquebat. Fabius,

Dion (xl. 9) says that Caesar was on his road to Italy when he heard the news, and that he returned. But Caesar's narrative contradicts this. Crassus (c. 24) was stationed among the Belgae. Here his position is more particularly given. He was among the Bellovaci, XXV M. P. from the place whence Caesar sent his message, and south of Caesar's position.

qua] Fabius was ordered to march from the country of the Morini into that of the Atrebates, 'by which route Caesar knew that he must go' to reach Cicero's camp. This agrees with the supposition of Caesar setting out from Samarobriva.—'rei publicae commodo:' see i. 35, note.

ex proximis] From the quarters of C. Trebonius (c. 24), as Schneider supposes; but we can't tell where Caesar got them from. The rest of the army was with Roscius and with Plancus (c. 24, 25).—'cogit:' 'colligit,' Schn., Kraner.

47. *antecursoribus*] Schneider confuses all Caesar's movements, and completely misunderstands the matter. Caesar did not wait for the arrival of Crassus. As soon as he was sure that Crassus was near Samarobriva, he left the place; for 'adventus' is said both of an arrival and of an approach (vii. 10). There is nothing to show that Caesar saw Crassus, and the narrative is against that supposition. He left Crassus in command at Samarobriva, and marched twenty miles towards Cicero's camp. On the way he was joined by Fabius, who had been tolerably active ('non ita multum moratus'), but not quite so quick as his master.

Caesar took the 400 horsemen with him (c. 51), and the legion of Trebonius, for there was no other that he could take; and if Caesar was at Samarobriva, Trebonius was there too, for the stores of the army required protection, and Caesar sent for Crassus to supply the place of Trebonius' legion. Müller has explained all this matter right.—'progreditur:' 'procedit,' Schn.

litteras publicas] These are the books and papers of the army accounts. One sense of 'publicae litterae,' very common in Cicero (Verr. ii. 1, c. 34, &c.), is that of public records, or public documents. Schn. quotes a passage of Velleius (ii. 37) which is appropriate, "quae omnis, sicut Pompeio moris erat, redacta in quaestoris potestatem ac publicis descripta litteris." See also the story in Plutarch, Tib. Gracch. c. 6, about the quaestor's accounts.

ut imperatum erat, non ita multum moratus in itinere cum legione occurrit. Labienus interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita, quum omnes ad eum Trevirorum copiae venissent, veritus ne, si ex hibernis fugae similem profectionem fecisset, hostium impetum sustinere non posset, praesertim quos recenti victoria efferri sciret, litteras Caesari remittit, quanto cum periculo legionem ex hibernis educturus esset: rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit: docet omnes equitatus peditatusque copias Trevirorum tria milia passuum longe ab suis castris consedisse.

non ita multum] See iv. 37.

veritus ne, si &c.] The old reading is 'veritus si . . . ut hostium . . . non posset.' Kraner has 'veritus, si . . . ut hostium . . . posset.' The use of 'vereri' and 'metuere' is very perplexing, and it seems likely that the usage was not well fixed. Caesar has (B. G. i. 19. 42) 'vereri' with 'ne,' in which passages and like passages it is usual to translate it 'to fear lest,' &c. 'Ne' is a negative, and 'vereri' has for its object a negative proposition: 'that a thing should not be' is the object of fear or apprehension. Now this is ambiguous. All fear about a future event implies a wish that it shall happen or it shall not; and fear that a thing will not happen, means with us that the 'not happening' is the object of the fear. On the contrary, fear that a thing will happen, means that the happening is the object of fear. In B. G. i. 19, it is 'the not offending' which is the object of 'veritus,' for Caesar's purpose and wish was not to offend. It is clear that 'metuere' and 'vereri' in Latin followed by 'ut' or 'ne,' were not conceived by the Romans in the same way as we use the word 'fear' with and without a negative. It is absurd to say that in the phrase (Cic. Ad Div. xiv. 14) "vereor ut Dolabella ipse satis nobis prodesse possit," any negative notion is contained, though we may translate it in our language, 'I fear that Dolabella himself won't be able to do us much good.' But Cicero makes the positive notion, the help, the object of the mental condition, 'vereor;' and that is better than our form of expression. In all such cases the positive and the negative notion alternate in the mind; but the positive is the notion to which the mind fixes itself, and therefore to use a negative in such a form as this is a perverted form of speech. On the contrary, the negative is the true form with 'metuere' or 'vereri,' when the fear has for its object the negative of something. Thus Caesar's fear or trouble in i. 19 had for its object the negation of offending Divitiacus.

The Romans sometimes used 'ne . . . non' where they could have expressed the notion otherwise; as in Cicero, Ad Div. xiv. 5, "accepi tuas litteras quibus intellexi te vereri ne superiores mihi non redditae essent." The text of Caesar, as it stands in this passage, may be right. Forms of negation are often difficult to explain, and they differ very much in different languages.

litteras . . . quanto] He sends back an answer to Caesar, in which he shows what hazard there would be in quitting his camp with the legion. The notion of information contained in the word 'litteras' explains the connexion with 'quanto,' &c.

longe] See vii. 16, "ab Avarico longe," &c.

48. Caesar consilio ejus probato, etsi opinione trium legionum dejectus ad duas redierat, tamen unum communi saluti auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit quae apud Ciceronem gerantur, quantoque in periculo res sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis praemiis persuadet uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta epistola nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur. Si adire non possit, monet ut tragulam cum epistola ad amentum deligata intra munitionem castrorum abjiciat. In litteris scribit se cum legionibus profectum celeriter adfore: hortatur ut pristinam virtutem retineat. Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat praeceptum, tragulam mittit. Haec casu ad turrim adhaesit, neque ab nostris biduo animadversa tertio die a quodam milite conspicitur;

48. *dejectus*] Labienus could not come with his legion, and Caesar being disappointed in his expectation of three legions, had been reduced to two. If we take the legion of Crassus as one, and that of Fabius for the other, there are two. But Crassus had a legion assigned to him for the protection of Samarobriva; and it does not appear what legion this was, unless it was his own. The legion of Plancus was among the Carnutes (c. 25), and that of Roscius was among the Essui. There remains only the legion of Trebonius, and we must again conclude that Samarobriva was the quarters of this legion. As Caesar sent no message to Trebonius, it follows that he was where Trebonius was, or very near him. But if Caesar left Samarobriva with the legion of Trebonius before Crassus arrived, did he leave all his stores and army accounts at the mercy of the Galli even for an hour? This is not probable. There is a half legion not accounted for (c. 24), which may have been stationed at Samarobriva; for Caesar informs us of the disposition of all his forces except this half legion, and though none of his legions may have been complete, we must suppose that he still had ten legions in name.

equitibus Gallis] Dion (xl. 9) says that Caesar did not employ the slave of Vertico, because he was afraid that he might betray him. But there is no trace of this in the Latin text. Dion says that the letter was written in Greek. Caesar only says that it was written in the Greek characters, but it may have been written in the Greek language too. If the Nervii knew any characters at all, they were quite as likely to know the Greek as the Roman. But it is probable that they knew neither. They might, however, have captives or others among them who knew Latin (c. 42); and it is here supposed by Caesar that there would be less chance of a letter being read which was written in Greek than in Roman characters.

amentum] A string or cord attached to a spear. As 'mentum' is a termination, the root seems to be 'ap,' the same as in 'ap-tus.' It was used in some way for throwing the missile. Ovid, Met. xii. 321. Virg. Aen. ix. 665.

dempta ad Ciceronem defertur. Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat, maximaque omnes laetitia adficit. Tum fumi incendiorum procul videbantur, quae res omnem dubitationem adventus legionum expulit.

49. Galli re cognita per exploratores obsidionem relinquunt, ad Caesarem omnibus copiis contendunt: hae erant armatorum circiter milia LX. Cicero data facultate Gallum ab eodem Verticone, quem supra demonstravimus, repetit qui litteras ad Caesarem referat: hunc admonet iter caute diligenterque faciat: perscribit in litteris, hostes ab se discessisse omnemque ad eum multitudinem convertisse. Quibus litteris circiter media nocte Caesar allatis suos facit certiores, eosque ad dimicandum animo confirmat: postero die luce prima movet castra, et circiter milia passuum quatuor progressus trans vallem magnam et rivum multitudinem hostium conspicatur. Erat magni periculi res cum tantis copiis iniquo loco dimicare: tum quoniam obsidione liberatum Ciceronem sciebat, aequo animo remittendum de celeritate

perlectam] Of course this is the letter, though the word to which it directly refers is 'tragula.'—'recitat:' this is the word commonly used to express a reading of something publicly.—'fumi incendiorum:' this has been explained to signify the fires of Caesar's camp, but it means the blaze of the buildings and the property of the enemy, by which the vindictive Roman signified his approach. See iv. 38, 'siccitates.'

49. *hae*] 'Haec,' some MSS. and Kraner, who has also 'armata.' Schn. has 'armatae.'

data facultate] 'Having the opportunity,' but it is ambiguous. Schneider supposes that the messenger who went to Caesar had returned, and 'repetit' requires that explanation. But then Caesar should have said 'eundem Gallum,' observes Müller, and the 'opportunity' must be the 'opportunity' of sending another, not the same, messenger after the enemy had quitted the blockade to march against Caesar. It is also urged that Caesar has not mentioned the return of Vertico's messenger, that the return is in itself improbable, and that Caesar sent his own letter by another man. All this is easily answered. The slave would go back to his master to get his reward (c. 45), and he had the opportunity of returning when the blockade was raised; and when the blockade was raised, he could be sent again to Caesar.

omnem . . . multitudinem] These are accusatives after 'convertisse.'

Quibus . . . Caesar allatis] Schn. compares the similar position of 'Caesar' in ii. 11.—'cum tantis:' 'tantulis,' some MSS. and Kraner, which of course means Caesar's 'small force.'

animo] 'He strengthens them in their resolution;' as in Bell. Civ. ii. 4, "rursusque se ad confligendum animo confirmant."

aequo animo] All the MSS. have 'animo,' and most of them 'aequo, or 'equo.' Elb., following Ouden-

existimabat. Consedit, et quam aequissimo potest loco castra communit, atque haec etsi erant exigua per se, vix hominum milium VII, praesertim nullis cum impedimentis, tamen angustiis viarum quam maxime potest contrahit, eo consilio ut in summam contemptionem hostibus veniat. Interim speculatoribus in omnes partes dimissis explorat quo commodissime itinere vallem transire possit.

50. Eo die parvulis equestribus proeliis ad aquam factis utrique sese suo loco continent; Galli, quod ampliores copias, quae nondum convenerant, exspectabant; Caesar, si forte timoris simulatione hostes in suum locum elicere posset, ut citra vallem pro castris proelio contenderet; si id efficere non posset, ut exploratis itineribus minore cum periculo vallem rivumque transiret. Prima luce hostium equitatus ad castra accedit proeliumque cum nostris equitibus committit. Caesar consulto equites cedere seque in castra recipere jubet; simul ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri portasque obstrui atque in his administrandis rebus quam maxime concursari et cum simulatione agi timoris jubet.

51. Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias transducunt aciemque iniquo loco constituunt; nostris vero etiam de vallo deductis propius accedunt et tela intra munitionem ex omnibus partibus conjiciunt; praeconibusque circummissis pronunciari jubent, seu quis Gallus seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire, sine periculo licere; post id tempus non fore potestatem: ac sic nostros contempserunt ut obstructis in speciem

dorp and others, has 'eoque omnino . . . existimabat, consedit,' &c. Cicero's being released from the blockade was no reason why Caesar should slacken his march. Caesar says that it was dangerous to fight the enemy on such ground, and he could not move on without fighting. He was therefore compelled to halt. But besides this ('tum'), as he knew that Cicero was released from the blockade, he thought that he ought to be well satisfied ('aequo animo'), to be content, that he had to remit the rapidity of his march. The only objection to the reading in the text is the apparent abruptness of 'consedit' without 'itaque' or some such word.

contrahit] He contracts his camp by making the 'viae,' or passages in it, as narrow as he could. See vii. 40.

50. *concursari*] He orders his men to hurry about the camp, a sign of alarm. See i. 47, note.

51. *in speciem*] The gates of the camp were closed up with single

portis singulis ordinibus cespitum, quod ea non posse introrumpere videbantur, alii vallum manu scindere, alii fossas complere inciperent. Tum Caesar omnibus portis eruptione facta equitatuque emisso celeriter hostes in fugam dat sic uti omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo; magnumque ex iis numerum occidit atque omnes armis exuit.

52. Longius prosequi veritus, quod silvae paludesque intercedebant, neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum locum relinqui videbat, omnibus suis incolumibus copiis eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit. Institutas turres, testudines munitionesque hostium admiratur: producta legione cognoscit non decimum quemque esse relictum militem sine vulnere. Ex his omnibus judicat rebus quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint administratae: Ciceronem pro ejus merito legionemque collaudat: centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam fuisse virtutem testimonio Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cottae certius ex captivis cognoscit. Postero die contione habita rem gestam proponit, milites consolatur et confirmat: quod

rows of turf, but only for a show or pretext, for the apparent barrier was easily thrown down when the Romans rushed out. This deceived the enemy: 'as they thought that they could not force their way into the camp by the gates ('ea'), some began to tear down the vallum with their hands, and others to fill up the ditch,' various parts of the ditch.

fossas] See iv. 38.—'armis exuit:' see iii. 16.

52. *neque . . . illorum*] 'illorum' is the reading of the best MSS. Some have 'illum.' As to leaving the place, Caesar must do that in order to get to the camp of Cicero. There is no sense therefore in 'illum.' The meaning is that he was afraid to follow the enemy, because he must pass through woods and marshes; 'and he did not see that room was left even for any small amount of damage to be done to the enemy.' He could do them no harm by following them. See vi. 42, "ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui," &c.—'relictum:' 'reliquum,' Schn., who compares i. 12, "quartam vero partem . . . reliquam esse."

Ciceronem . . . collaudat] Cicero deserved the commander's praise, and Caesar has given him his due. But Caesar also wished to please Quintus' brother Marcus Cicero, and to keep Marcus in his interest at Rome. Marcus' letters to his brother (Ad Q. Fr. lib. iii.) show how he stood to Caesar in B.C. 54.

rem—proponit] He had learned all about Sabinus and Cotta. This seems to be what he told the legion of Cicero: 'he tells them all that had happened' to these two men, and probably, as it seems, what he had done himself on his march; for we may collect this from what follows. As to 'proponit,' see i. 17, 20; iii. 18; and vi. 11.

detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc aequiore animo ferendum docet, quod, beneficio deorum immortalium et virtute eorum expiato incommodo, neque hostibus diutina laetatio neque ipsis longior dolor relinquatur.

53. Interim ad Labienum per Remos incredibili celeritate de victoria Caesaris fama perfertur, ut, quum ab hibernis Ciceronis milia passuum abesset circiter LX, eoque post horam nonam diei Caesar pervenisset, ante mediam noctem ad portas castrorum clamor oriretur, quo clamore significatio victoriae gratulatioque ab Remis Labieno fieret. Hac fama ad Treviros perlata Induciomarus, qui postero die castra Labieni oppugnare decreverat, noctu profugit copiasque omnes in Treviros reducit. Caesar Fabium cum sua legione remittit in hiberna, ipse cum III legionibus circum Samarobrivam trinis hibernis hiemare constituit; et quod tanti motus Galliae exstiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit. Nam illo incommodo de Sabini morte perlato, omnes fere

legati] He means Sabinus.

hoc—quod] 'They must for this reason ('hoc') be the more content to bear what had happened, that or because.' 'Hoc' is the ablative, and 'quod' &c. expounds what it is. See i. 2. 32, 'hoc . . . quod;' so 'ea de causa' is followed by 'quod,' iii. 17; iv. 30. So we have 'eo . . . quod,' i. 23; iii. 12, 13.

53. *per Remos*] By the Remi; 'by means of the Remi,' as we say. Compare iv. 21, 'per mercatores. Labienus was in the country of the Remi (c. 24). Or it may mean 'through the country of the Remi.'

oriretur] Schneider has 'oreretur;' but in vi. 9, 'oriretur.' The MSS. are no great authority in these matters. This verb belongs to the forms which are a mixture of the third and fourth conjugations, such as 'cap-ere.' 'Cap-ere' has 'caperetur' in the passive form; and we may have 'or-eretur.' The form of the infinitive 'ori-ri' does not help to determine the question, for that is a form of the fourth conjugation, and the verb 'orior' is a compound of the two, as we see by the forms 'or-tus' and 'ori-untur.'

quo—fieret] This must not be explained by any such ellipsis as 'tanto clamore ut eo clamore,' &c. It is the ordinary use of the subjunctive. If Caesar had said 'fiebat,' he would have said, 'a shout by which the intelligence of the victory was conveyed.' But he says, 'a shout arose, such a shout as to convey to Labienus the news and the rejoicing for a victory.'

Fabium—remittit] See cc. 24 and 47.

cum III *legionibus*] The two legions which Caesar brought with him and the legion of Cicero. Caesar took all his troops out of the country of the Nervii.—'ad exercitum:' see i. 31; vi. 38.

trinis hibernis] These distributive numerals are often used with nouns which are not used in the singular number. See i. 53, note.

incommodo] A usual word. See c. 52, and i. 13; vii. 14.

Galliae civitates de bello consultabant, nuncios legationesque in omnes partes dimittebant, et quid reliqui consilii caperent atque unde initium belli fieret explorabant, nocturnaque in locis desertis consilia habebant. Neque ullum fere totius hiemis tempus sine sollicitudine Caesaris intercessit, quin aliquem de conciliis ac motu Gallorum nuncium acciperet. In his ab L. Roscio legato, quem legioni XIII praefecerat, certior est factus magnas Gallorum copias earum civitatum, quae Armoricae appellantur, oppugnandi sui causa convenisse, neque longius milia passuum VIII ab hibernis suis abfuisse; sed nuncio allato de victoria Caesaris discessisse adeo ut fugae similis discessus videretur.

54. At Caesar principibus cujusque civitatis ad se evocatis, alias territando, quum se scire quae fierent denunciaret, alias cohortando, magnam partem Galliae in officio tenuit. Tamen Senones, quae est civitas in primis firma et magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis, Cavarinum quem Caesar apud eos regem constituerat, cujus frater Moritasgus adventu in Galliam Caesaris cujusque majores regnum obtinuerant, interficere publico consilio conati,

reliqui] Comp. iii. 24, "quid hostes consilii caperent." The states of Gallia, which were deliberating about war, 'endeavoured to ascertain what resolution the rest of the Galli were taking.' 'Reliqui' has been taken to be the genitive singular, which is a mistake.

In his] 'Among the reports that reached him.'—'Armoricae:' see Introd. p. 3, and vii. 75; viii. 31.

legato] Schneider has 'quaestore.' See c. 25, note. Kraner has neither word.

longius milia] There are also the readings 'milium,' 'millibus,' and 'milibus.' See i. 22, 'longius' &c.; i. 38, note on 'amplius.'

adeo] We must not supply any adverb with 'adeo.' A man can move off slowly or hastily. These people made their retreat, not slowly, but so far, to that degree, as to seem like a flight. Whatever difficulty there may be in the translation, the Latin usage is clear, as Schneider shows by various examples: Bell. Civ. i. 80; iii. 15. 58. 'Usque eo,' in B. G. vi. 37, is like it. If we translate 'discessisse adeo,' &c., 'made their retreat *even* to its having the appearance of a flight,' we obtain the meaning of 'adeo' as equivalent to 'even,' a word that augments the expression; and such a use is very common in Cicero. See c. 54, 'idque adeo.'

54. *alias—alias*] In the same sense as in c. 57; which may be worth noting, as some have made 'alias' agree with 'civitates' understood.

Senones, quae est civitas] See ii. 1, note.—'firma:' see i. 3, 'firmissimos.'

publico consilio] By a resolution or determination of the people, or of those, the senate probably, who may be taken as the public. They were going to condemn him formally; not to assassinate him like Tasgetius

quum ille praesensisset ac profugisset, usque ad fines insecuti regno domoque expulerunt; et missis ad Caesarem satisfaciendi causa legatis, quum is omnem ad se senatum venire jussisset, dicto audientes non fuerunt. Tantum apud homines barbaros valuit esse aliquos repertos principes inferendi belli, tantamque omnibus voluntatum commutationem attulit, ut praeter Aeduos et Remos quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide, alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. Idque adeo haud scio

(c. 25).—'dicto audientes:' see Cicero, Verr. ii. 5, c. 32, and B. G. i. 39.

Tantum apud &c.] The nominative to 'valuit' is 'esse aliquos,' &c.; and the 'principes belli,' &c. are those who set the example of a hostile movement, as Livy (xl. 53) says, "principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes." The omission of an 'and' at the beginning of this sentence somewhat obscures the meaning; for it seems at first to mean, 'such was the effect upon barbarians of some being found to set the example of a hostile movement;' as if the Senones were following the example of others, as the Eburones and Nervii. But the words 'tantum,' &c., cannot be separated from 'tantamque,' &c., and the 'ut' in 'ut praeter,' &c., is the correlative of 'tantum' and 'tantam.' The 'principes inferendi' are therefore the Senones, who set an example which the others followed.

Idque adeo] 'Id' refers to the preceding sentence. Cicero often uses 'id adeo' (Verr. ii. 4, c. 63, 64, and 5, c. 4). In none of these examples is it easy to render the force of this word. I believe that in the passages of Cicero it means 'so far;' and how far this is, the context shows. One of these passages in Cicero may help to explain this (ii. 4, c. 63), "Id adeo, judices, ut mihi ab illis demonstratum est, sic vos ex me cognoscite;" which seems to mean, 'This (what he has just mentioned) so far, judices, as it was told to me by them, so shall you learn from me.' He could tell what he was told, so far ('adeo'), neither more nor less. Here Caesar means to say, 'and this so far I am inclined to view as nothing surprising, both for many other reasons, and mainly because,' &c.; where 'so far' means, 'so far as he gives reasons.' 'Haud scio' is generally followed by 'an,' in place of which there is here 'ne' after 'mirandum.' I have rendered this passage so as to express that Caesar was not surprised at the uneasiness of the Galli, and he manifestly means to say this. But it is said that 'haud scio an' expresses an affirmative as to what follows. Caesar, however, does not mean to say this. If, then, the text is right, this phrase 'haud scio mirandumne' is not the same as 'haud scio an,' or 'nescio an.' I think, however, that 'haud scio an' was used somewhat loosely; and Meyer remarks (Or. Rom. Frag. p. 235, 2nd ed.) that as the expression is used both affirmatively and negatively, it is not itself either affirmative or negative, but that the meaning depends on the whole meaning of the sentence. The reading of R. Stephanus in this passage is 'mirandumne non sit.'

'Haud' is not used indifferently with 'non.' It is not a general nega-

mirandumne sit, quum compluribus aliis de causis, tum maxime quod ii qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus praeferebantur tantum se ejus opinionis deperdidisse ut a populo Romano imperia perferrent gravissime dolebant.

55. Treviri vero atque Induciomarus totius hiemis nullum tempus intermiserunt quin trans Rhenum legatos mitterent, civitates sollicitarent, pecunias pollicerentur, magna parte exercitus nostri interfecta multo minorem superesse dicerent partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati Germanorum persuaderi potuit ut Rhenum transiret, quum se bis expertos dicerent Ariovisti bello et Tenchtherorum transitu; non esse amplius fortunam tentandam. Hac spe lapsus Induciomarus nihilo minus copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exsules damnatosque tota Gallia magnis praemiis ad se allicere coepit. Ac tantam sibi jam his rebus in Gallia auctoritatem comparaverat ut undique ad eum legationes concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice privatimque peterent.

56. Ubi intellexit ultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte

tion like 'non.' But it is very difficult to say what it is. Herzog says that it denies subjectively. that is, as expressing the opinion of the subject or person, and hence problematically.

compluribus—causis] He does not say what causes; but we know. He required money and supplies from the Galli. Caesar's legions were eating the Galli up, and they had good reason for getting rid of him. (See ii. 1; v. 41.)

55. *tentandam*] 'tentaturos:' Schn., Kraner. 'Expertos' is used absolutely, as in i. 44, 'they had made the experiment twice.' Some editions place (,) after 'transitu,' and make 'non esse . . . tentandam' depend on 'expertos.' But it is nonsense to say that they had twice made the experiment, that they ought not to try their fortune any further. According to this way of talking, they made the second experiment after having found by the first that they ought not to try again.

jam his rebus] This is a Roman nicety of expression, by which an emphasis is given to 'his rebus.' Elb. has the bad reading 'jam iis rebus.' Here we read of 'exsules damnatosque,' exiles. emigrants, men under sentence. The same history is played over again in modern times.

publice &c.] This means 'both by states and individuals.' (See i. 16.) But 'legationes,' though the grammatical subject of 'peterent,' is not the real subject; for it cannot be said that embassies or deputations came both on the part of communities and individuals. It is a careless mode of writing, for Caesar means that deputations came to him, and both communities and individuals sought his favour and friendship.

56. *ultro—veniri*] He found that

Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris instigari, altera Nervios Aduatucosque bellum Romanis parare, neque sibi voluntariorum copias defore si ex finibus suis progredi coepisset, armatum concilium indicit. Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli, quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire consuerunt: qui ex iis novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus adfectus necatur. In eo concilio Cingetorigem, alterius principem factionis, generum suum, quem supra demonstravimus Caesaris secutum fidem ab eo non discessisse, hostem judicat bonaque ejus publicat. His rebus confectis in concilio pronunciat arcessitum se a Senonibus et Carnutibus aliisque compluribus Galliae civitatibus, huc iter facturum per fines Remorum, eorumque agros populaturum, ac prius quam id faciat Labieni castra oppugnaturum. Quae fieri velit praecipit.

57. Labienus, quum et loci natura et manu munitissimis castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil timebat: ne quam occasionem rei bene gerendae dimitteret cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque ejus propinquis oratione Induciomari cognita quam in concilio habuerat, nuncios mittit ad finitimas civitates equitesque undique evocat: his certum diem conveniendi dicit. Interim prope quotidie cum omni equitatu Induciomarus sub castris ejus vagabatur, alias ut situm castrorum cognosceret, alias colloquendi aut territandi causa: equites plerumque omnes tela intra vallum conjiciebant. Labienus

people were even coming to him; they did not wait to be invited.

Hoc more Gallorum] See Livy xxi. c. 20.—'venit:' the perfect.

publicat] 'He declares him an enemy, and all his property forfeited to the state.' This is a Roman expression, to declare a man an enemy ('hostis'), and his property forfeited; as in a letter of Plancus to Cicero (Ad Div. x. 21), "hostibus denique omnibus judicatis bonisque publicatis." 'Publicare' means to make private property become public property.—'iter facturum:' 'iturum,' Schn., Kraner.

57. *natura et manu*] The same as 'natura et opere,' c. 9.

diem—dicit] This is a Roman forensic term; and it was also used when a time was fixed by some person or persons in authority. Comp. i. 6.—'sub castris:' compare 'sub vallo,' c. 43.

equites—omnes] He says 'the cavalry;' but 'all' is qualified by 'plerumque,' which means '*nearly* all.' Kraner says that 'plerumque' must be connected with 'conjiciebant;' and he compares vii. 84, "omnia enim plerumque" &c.

suos intra munitiones continebat timorisque opinionem quibuscumque poterat rebus augebat.

58. Quum majore in dies contemptione Induciomarus ad castra accederet, nocte una intromissis equitibus omnium finitimarum civitatum quos arcessendos curaverat, tanta diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra castra continuit ut nulla ratione ea res enunciari aut ad Treviros perferri posset. Interim ex consuetudine quotidiana Induciomarus ad castra accedit atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela conjiciunt et magna cum contumelia verborum nostros ad pugnam evocant; nullo ab nostris dato responso, ubi visum est sub vesperum dispersi ac dissipati discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem equitatum emittit; praecipit atque interdicit, perterritis hostibus atque in fugam conjectis, quod fore sicut accidit videbat, unum omnes petant Induciomarum, neu quis quem prius vulneret quam illum interfectum viderit, quod mora reliquorum spatium nactum illum effugere nolebat: magna proponit iis qui occiderint praemia: submittit cohortes equitibus subsidio. Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna, et quum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado deprehensus Induciomarus

58. *nocte una*] In c. 45, Caesar has "unus intus Nervius." This passage may mean, as Kraner says, 'in one night,' 'in a single night.' Some critics take 'una' to be equivalent to 'quadam,' as in ii. 25.

sub vesperum] See ii. 33.

praecipit—interdicit] Here there is a clause which contains a positive order, to which we may refer 'praecipit,' and another clause which contains a negative order, to which we may refer 'interdicit.' In v. 22, the use of 'interdicit atque imperat' is not so clear.

perterritis] 'Proterritis,' Elb., Schneider. — 'petant:' 'peterent,' Schn.

mora reliquorum] This seems to mean 'by the delay which the rest would cause,' if the Romans lost their time in killing them.

hominis] Caesar has used 'hominem' before (v. 7). Cicero sometimes uses it where he might have used the pronoun. In v. 7, some have supposed that there is contempt expressed by 'hominem,' but that explanation will not suit either that passage or this. Schneider remarks that 'homo' directs attention to the character of the person; to the obstinate resolution of Dumnorix in v. 7, and to the prudence of Labienus here. So it is in Cicero. He frequently uses 'homo' in this emphatic way, which may express either praise or blame according to the context. He says of Caesar (Ad Div. vii. 17), "hominis liberalitatem incredibilem." See De Prov. Cons. c. 11, and 20. Pro Rege Deiotaro, c. 11.

ipso] He was caught just as he was fording a river: he was very near making his escape. Caesar does

interficitur, caputque ejus refertur in castra: redeuntes equites quos possunt consectantur atque occidunt. Hac re cognita omnes Eburonum et Nerviorum quae convenerant copiae discedunt; paulloque habuit post id factum Caesar quietiorem Galliam.

not mention the name of the river; and it was immaterial for his purpose. It was either the Maas or one of the branches, as we may infer from the position of the Remi and the Treviri.

NOTE

ON

CAESAR'S BRITISH EXPEDITIONS.

A GREAT deal has been said about the place where Caesar landed in Britain, and attempts have been made to trace his march in the island. All that we know of his march is, that he crossed a small river a few miles from the coast where he landed, and that he crossed the Thames at a place where it was fordable. The name of the small river may be ascertained if we can find out where he landed; and though the place where he crossed the Thames is not known, a fair guess may be made. His course between the two rivers cannot be certainly made out, though even that may be conjectured (v. 18, note). However, he gives us neither direction, time, nor distances, in his march into the island, except one distance of eighty Roman miles, apparently measured from his landing-place on the coast to the passage of the Thames (v. 11). His course north of the Thames cannot be determined (v. 20, note).

Some years ago I endeavoured to explain Dr. Halley's account of Caesar's expedition. Halley endeavoured to show that he landed at Deal or about the Sandwich flats, but he was mistaken about the direction of the tide on that part of the Kentish coast; and I followed him, knowing no better. I have now got all the facts together that are necessary for the determination of this question; and I still maintain that Caesar landed at Deal, and could land no where else. Any man's opinion, however, on such a subject is unimportant. The evidence must decide the question; and I shall put it in such a form as to render it unnecessary to be done again. When all the facts are stated, any person of ordinary understanding may judge whether Caesar landed at Deal or at some other place. A few things are repeated here which have been said in the notes to Lib. IV. V., to make the statement complete.

Strabo, who wrote in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, followed Caesar and Posidonius in his account of Gallia and Britain. He might have collected something new from the traders of his time, and even from the Britons whom he saw in Rome; but the Roman armies had not visited Britain again when he wrote. Strabo (p. 199) observes that there were four lines of transit from Gallia to Britain, which were generally used. The most northern passage was "from the country of the Morini, in which country is Portus Itius (τὸ Ἴτιον), which Caesar used as his ship station when he passed over to the island:" he adds, "he sailed by night, and came to land the next day about the fourth hour," having made a voyage of 320 stadia; or forty Roman miles. Eustathius in his Commentary on the Periegesis of Dionysius (v. 566) follows Strabo in his account of Caesar's invasion; but in his text the length of the passage is 300 stadia. A comparison of Strabo with Caesar shows that Strabo has not distinguished the two expeditions, though he knew that Caesar visited the island twice. But

he evidently supposes only one place of embarkation, at Itius in the country of the Morini; and so far he is right. The Morini were the coast people; their neighbours on the north were the Menapii. On the south along the coast were the Ambiani, and the Caleti (Pays de Caux) on the north side of the outlet of the Seine.

In the latter part of the summer of B.C. 55, Caesar determined to invade Britain (B. G. iv. 20), because the Galli had received aid from the island in their wars with Caesar. Britain was visited by traders ('mercatores'), and Caesar got as many of them together as he could to make inquiries about the island and the ports. But the traders told him nothing, or next to nothing. Accordingly, Caesar sent forward C. Volusenus with a ship of war to examine the coast of Britain; and he brought all his forces from the Rhine, fresh from their German expedition, into the country of the Morini, "because the passage from that country to Britain was the shortest" (iv. 21, 'in Morinos proficiscitur,' &c.). He not only advanced towards the country of the Morini, but he entered it and came to the coast of the Morini; for he had ordered his ships to be collected ('huc,' that is, in Morinos) in the country of the Morini. Volusenus did not land in Britain. He returned to Caesar on the fifth day and reported what he had seen. While Caesar was staying in these parts (iv. 22) getting his ships ready, ambassadors came to him from a large part of the Morini to make excuses for their former behaviour (iii. 28, 29), and to promise obedience for the future. Caesar had ravaged part of their country the year before, and he was now among them with all his force. The Morini gave him hostages, and were acknowledged as friends. Caesar considered this a lucky affair, as he did not wish to leave an enemy at his back. However, before he set sail he sent two of his legati with that part of his army which was not designed for the British expedition, to pay the Menapii a visit, and also those pagi of the Morini which had not sent ambassadors to him. After this he sailed for Britain (iv. 23) near the end of the month of August. He does not say where he sailed from, except that it was from the country of the Morini, from which country was the shortest cut to Britain. On his return he also landed in the country of the Morini (iv. 37).

The position of the Morini is indicated by the fact of their position with reference to Britain. The part of the French coast from which there is the shortest passage to Britain, lies between Boulogne and Calais. Boulogne (Gesoriacum) was in the territory of the Morini, which extended north at least to Gravelines, and probably further. We do not know how far south the Morini extended. The Ambiani, the next people to them on the south, were on the Somme, and as the territory of the Ambiani seems to have extended to the sea, it is a fair conclusion that they had all the lower basin of the river Somme.

In his first expedition Caesar had his ships in two places, which were eight Roman miles apart (iv. 22). He gives no name to the port from which he sailed, nor does he give a name to the other port: he only calls it the 'ulterior portus,' or 'superior portus' (iv. 23. 28), by which he means that it was further to the east than the port from which he sailed. He had a fair wind for the English coast, but the same wind was unfavourable for the eighteen ships in the other port coming to join him in the port from which he sailed (iv. 22). He sailed about midnight, and about half-past eight the next morning, "with the first ships he touched Britain," and saw all the hills covered with armed men. These hills were so steep and so near the sea, that a missile could be thrown from the higher parts upon the shore. Not liking his landing-place, he waited at anchor for the rest of his ships to the ninth hour, which at that season would be about

three, P.M. In the mean time he called together his officers, told them of the information that he had got from Volusenus, and explained what he wished to be done. It seems that he knew where he was going to land. Dion Cassius (39, c. 51), an authority of no value in such matters, says that Caesar not being able to land where he ought to have done, sailed round a promontory and went to the other side: but which was the other side he does not say. There is nothing about the promontory in Caesar, though, if the place where I suppose that he first touched land is rightly determined, this fact about the promontory will appear to have been derived from some genuine authority. At last, "having got wind and tide at the same time favourable," he weighed anchor, and advancing about VII Roman miles (VIII according to a few MSS.), he brought his ships to land 'on an open and flat shore' (iv. 24); and here he got his men out, after a hard fight with the natives.

On the fourth day after his arrival in Britain the eighteen ships which had the cavalry on board set sail from the 'superior portus.' They made the British coast (iv. 28), and were seen from the Roman camp, but a sudden storm drove them from their course: some got back direct to the place from which they had set sail, but "others were carried to the lower part of the island, which is nearer to the setting of the sun." However, these ships also got safe back to the continent. The "lower part of the island" is the south part. In the fifth book (v. 13) Caesar describes the island of Britain in general terms: 'one side is opposite to Gallia; one angle of this side, which (angle) is at Cantium, to which part most of the ships from Gallia come, looks to the rising sun, the lower angle looks to the south.' Caesar's camp was in such a position that he could say that some of the eighteen ships were driven to the south and the west.

On the same night, the night of the fourth day after Caesar's landing (iv. 29), it happened to be full moon, 'and this day,' says Caesar, 'makes the highest tides in the Ocean.' This full moon, according to Dr. Halley, and others who have calculated it independently since his time, was on the night of the 30th of August. Dr. Halley's conclusion is, that Caesar landed in Britain on the 26th of August: but the Roman expression, 'on the fourth day,' is ambiguous. The Romans sometimes reckoned inclusively and sometimes not. There is no certain rule about this usage, and examples are easily found of both ways of reckoning. If the day of landing is one day, and the day of the full moon another, only two full days intervened between the landing and the full moon, and accordingly he landed on the 27th of August. If we do not admit that Caesar knew the exact time of full moon, he could not be mistaken about the spring-tide, which happens on the day after new and full moon. He may then have landed on the 28th of August; but on one of these three days, about three in the afternoon, he moved from under the hills, with wind and tide, as he says, to his landing-place.

In B.C. 54 he came again with a large fleet. In the previous winter he had new ships built and old ones repaired. The new ships were made lower and wider than the ships used in the Mediterranean, in order that they might be easier to load and to haul up ashore (v. 1). All the ships were ordered to muster at Portus Itius (v. 2), "from which port he had ascertained that the passage to Britain was the most commodious, a distance of about XXX Roman miles, from the continent." (See v. 2, and the note on the text.) These words have been interpreted two ways: they have been used to prove that he did not sail from the Itius on his first voyage, and to prove that he did. If he did not sail from the Itius on the first voyage, he

sailed from some place from which he thought that he should have the shortest passage (iv. 21). The words just quoted may mean, that Caesar, after his first voyage, had ascertained in some way, which he does not mention, that the Itius was the best place to sail from, and better than the other place from which he had sailed; or they may mean, and this meaning is most conformable to the plain sense of the Latin, that he had by his first voyage found out that this was the best place to sail from, being about XXX Roman miles from Britain. Thus we learn how he knew that it was the best port for his purpose, without being left to conjecture, according to the other interpretation, by what means, unknown to us, he had found out a better line of transit than that which he had tried. His first voyage was very lucky, and there was no reason to change his place of embarkation, particularly as he intended to land, and did land, at the place where he had landed before. Besides this, when he speaks (v. 8) of his landing-place on the second voyage, he says, 'qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognoverat;' the same form of expression that he uses in speaking of the place of embarkation (v. 2), except that he does not there use the words 'superiore aestate.' On the whole, the fair conclusion is that he sailed from the Portus Itius on the first voyage, and so Strabo understood the matter.

In v. 2 he estimates his passage from the Itius at XXX Roman miles, or about 28 English miles. There is no MSS. authority for reading XXXX, or for any other reading than XXX. (See Lib. V. c. 2, note.) We must therefore take the distance as we find it in the MSS. Whether we must reckon XXX from the Itius to the nearest part of the British coast, or to the landing-place, Caesar does not say.

In his second expedition Caesar had above 20,000 fighting men, 2000 horsemen, and 800 ships and boats of all sizes. He was detained at Portus Itius about twenty-five days by the 'corus ventus,' a wind which blows 'ab occasu solstitiali' (Pliny, ii. 47). This is about W.N.W.; or we may perhaps assume, that as there were two points between west (Zephyrus or Favonius) and north (Septemtrio), these two points divided the quadrant into three equal parts. If this is so, Corus is nearer N.W. by W. than W.N.W. At last he set sail about sunset with a moderate Africus, a wind which is south of west, and a point at the same distance from west that Corus is on the north of west. Africus then is either about W.S.W. or not far from S.W. by W.

Geographers are not agreed about the position of Portus Itius. North of the Seine Ptolemy (ii. 9, § 2) places the promontory Itium ("Ικιον), which it is agreed must be Grisnez, for there is no other striking point on this coast north of the Seine. At Grisnez the coast, which runs nearly due north from the mouth of the Somme, turns to the east; but in Ptolemy Itium is placed in the latitude of Gesoriacum Navale or Boulogne, which may be explained by supposing it to be one of the many blunders in Ptolemy's geography of Gallia. But whether this promontory is rightly identified or not is immaterial. Yet if we can trust the numbers in our text of Ptolemy, his error in placing Itium in the parallel of Boulogne instead of about eight miles further north is not very great, and we have the position of Itium tolerably well fixed. It is generally assumed, and the assumption is probable, that Portus Itius was near the promontory Itium. But the position of Portus Itius is independent of the position of Itium. The most southern position[1] that has been proposed for the Portus

[1] Mr. Airy has proposed another position for Portus Itius, the mouth of the Somme, and he makes Caesar land at Pevensey. His argument leads

Itius is the mouth of the Canche, which De Valois recommends. But the distance from this place to Britain is much too great. Sanson and others maintain that the place is Gesoriacum, but this place also is too far from the British coast. Camden supposed that Itius is Wissant, a small place between Grisnez and Blancnez, and about the nearest part of the French coast to the cliffs about Dover and the South Foreland. East of Wissant is the small recess of Sangatte, the distance of which from Wissant corresponds with the distance between Caesar's two ports (iv. 22). When Caesar set out on his second expedition he left Labienus (v. 8) to protect the ports ('ut portus tueretur'). There was therefore one port at least near Itius besides Itius; and this agrees with the mention of two ports in the first expedition, both of them without a name. The position of Wissant agrees very well with the number XXX, at least as well as any other place. Halley took Itius to be either Ambleteuse or Calais; but it cannot be Calais, for there is no other port north of it at the proper distance. There is the same objection to Ambleteuse. In the middle ages, as Ducange shows, it was usual to sail from Wissant to Britain; and Ducange and Gibson show that one chronicler, who is speaking of the voyage of Alfred, the brother of St. Edward, from England to France, calls the place Wissant, while another chronicler, who is speaking of the same voyage, calls it Iccius. The name Wissant, or Witsand, is near enough to Itius to add to the probability of the identity of the two places. The Flemings still call it Isten, and the French sailors Esseu. Wissant was known to the Romans, for there are the traces of a Roman road from this place to Therouenne. If ever there was a small creek at Wissant, it has been sanded up.

The beach of Wissant is no port at all; and it has been assumed that this is an objection to the identification of Itius and Wissant. But Caesar did not want a port in the modern sense of the word. He wanted his ships at the nearest place to Britain: the shortest passage was the best for him, and in fair weather he could see England from the coast of the Morini and he could know where the shortest passage was. His vessels and boats would be hauled up on the beach till the wind was fair. He had no port on the British coast, and he hauled up all his ships after they were damaged by a storm (v. 11). Boulogne is a small port, and when the Romans were well secured on this coast they made it a naval station. The shortest distance from Boulogne to the coast of Britain the Romans estimated at 50 M. P. (Plin. iv. 16.) But this is too much from Boulogne to Dover, or to Hythe. The Maritime Itinerary makes it 450 stadia from Gesoriacum to Richborough near Sandwich, and Dion Cassius (xxxix. 50), when he is

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him to the conclusion "first, that the Portus Itius had some very close connexion with the Somme; secondly, that it was exterior to the country of the Morini." As to 'first,' there is nothing at all in Caesar which shows any close connexion between Portus Itius and the Somme; and as to 'secondly,' Caesar clearly means that he did sail from the country of the Morini (B. G. iv. 21), though he does not say so in direct terms. But when a man says that he 'marches for' or 'towards the country of the Morini, because the passage from there to Britain was the shortest,' that he ordered all his ships to come there, and that while he was waiting 'in these parts' (iv. 22) to get his ships ready, ambassadors from a large part of the Morini came to him, there is only one conclusion, which is, that he was in the country of the Morini and sailed from it. (On the Place of Julius Caesar's Departure from Gaul for the Invasion of Britain, and the Place of his Landing in Britain, &c. By George Biddell Airy, Esq., Astronomer Royal. Archaeologia, vol. xxxiv. 1852.)

speaking of Caesar's passage from the country of the Morini to Britain, makes the shortest distance 450 stadia. Dion seems to have used the estimated measure from Boulogne to the usual landing-place on the British coast, for, when he wrote, Boulogne had for a long time been a Roman naval station. Now, as D'Anville observes, if we take this stadium at 10 to the mile, as in this instance we probably ought to do, it will make a distance of 45 Roman miles from Boulogne to Richborough, which is tolerably exact. Perhaps also Strabo's 320 stadia must be taken at the same rate, and then the distance from the Itius to Britain is reduced to 32 Roman miles, or even to 30, the number in Caesar's text, if we take the reading 300 stadia, on the authority of the text of Eustathius. The Emperor Claudius (Sueton. Claud. c. 17) sailed from Boulogne A.D. 43, when he came to Britain (Dion Cassius, lx. 21). I am not aware that the Romans ever used any port south of Boulogne for the passage to our island.

The wind, W.S.W., or thereabouts, which Caesar had on his second voyage failed him about midnight. He did not hold his course; and being carried too far by the tide, at daybreak he saw Britain on his left hand, and left behind ('sub sinistra Britanniam relictam,' v. 8). He was drifted outside of the Goodwin sands, and he was off the North Foreland, probably several miles. There is no other possible explanation of this passage. Seeing where he was, he followed the change of the tide, and rowed towards that part of Britain where he had landed the year before, and he got to land about midday. We may infer from Caesar's brief description that when he looked about him on this summer morning he could see whereabouts his old landing-place was. If he was some miles off the North Foreland, he could see the valley of the Stour between the Forelands. "It is probable that the stream would not carry him further to the N.E. than this position (some miles off the North Foreland), from which the indraught towards the Thames and W.S.W. direction of the Gull stream materially assisted him in his progress towards Deal." (Lieutenant Burstal.)

Whatever part of the French coast Caesar sailed from on his second expedition, the position of his ships with respect to the island on the following morning shows that he could be in no other place than off the North Foreland; nor is there any landing-place which he could reach from that position and in that time which will agree with his description except the flat coast south of the Stour.

On his first voyage he appears to have anchored under the chalk cliffs about Dover or South Foreland. There is no other high land on the Kentish or east side of the island which corresponds to his description. When he says that he got wind and tide favourable to carry him to his landing-place, one would suppose that both were favourable, and that both carried him in the same direction, whatever that direction was.

Lieutenant Burstal observes, "that during the interval between 12h. 40m. and 6h. 50m. P.M. of August the 27th, the stream was setting to the westward, and therefore if he weighed anchor at $3\frac{1}{2}$h. P.M.[2], the stream was

[2] We cannot fix the time exactly. Caesar reached the Kentish coast 'circiter hora quarta' (iv. 23), which probably means 'about the beginning of the fourth hour.' It may perhaps mean 'some time in the fourth hour.' If it was at the beginning of the fourth hour, it was about half-past eight, but the time may have been nine. He stayed at anchor till the ninth hour. If he means the beginning of the ninth hour, it was about half-past two, P.M. The ninth hour certainly had begun, and we may add half an hour more to the reckoning, if we like, or a full hour, which will make it half-past three.

setting to the W.S.W.; but it is very possible that there was sufficient wind for him to make good head-way against the stream, as at that period of the moon, four days before the full, the stream would not exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile an hour. This is on the supposition that he wished to land near Deal or Sandwich, where in most cases it would be most practicable. But should the statement be literally correct that at $3\frac{1}{2}$ P.M. the wind and tide were favourable, one would be led to the conclusion that the wind was from the N.E., and that he sailed with wind and tide down channel to the westward, and landed on the first level beach, about 10 miles from the South Foreland, or near the village of Sandgate." If it was the 28th on which he came under the cliffs off South Foreland, the tide was equally against him going north; with wind and tide he must have gone towards Sandgate.

Either then he had a wind sufficient to carry him to Deal, though the tide was against him, and he was mistaken about the tide; or he went towards Sandgate; or he landed on some other part of the English coast and not on the coast of Kent. But his camp was in Kent or Cantium (v. 22). We do not know how far Caesar's Cantium extended along the south and west coast; but it is certain that it extended north to the North Foreland (v. 13). It is also certain that he did not land at Sandgate. In his second expedition, after fixing on a site for a camp, he went inland XII M. P., and came to a river, on the opposite bank of which, on high ground, the natives were posted. This river seems to be the Stour, and the west bank at Grove Ferry corresponds with the description. There is nothing near Sandgate that corresponds; nor does the country about Sandgate agree with Caesar's history. He chose a fit place for a camp. His camp was not on the coast. It was so far off that he did not know what damage a storm had done to his ships in the night until he was told of it the next morning (v. 10). Water was necessary for his men, and he could find it no where abundantly except on the Stour. He therefore probably fixed his camp a little above Sandwich, about Richborough [3], where the river would furnish him with water and protect one side of his camp. (See the note on 'castra,' ii. 5.) After his ships were hauled up, he united the naval camp and the other camp by a line of defence, a very laborious work (v. 11). The country between Deal and Richborough is in every respect adapted to this purpose, for a line from Deal or thereabouts to Richborough would protect him on the south, the Stour below Richborough would protect him on the north, and the sea on the east. The country at the back of Deal is level and dry, and well fitted for the movements of the British war chariots (iv. 24). It is a fertile corn tract. The district about Eastry, Worth, and those parts contains some of the best wheat land in England; and Caesar found an abundant supply of corn about his camp (iv. 31). We do not know where Aulus Plautius, the next Roman general who invaded Britain, made his landing; nor where the Emperor Claudius landed from Boulogne. Richborough, one of the best preserved Roman inclosures in Britain, was made a strong place by the Romans. Its position on the Stour and its proximity to Deal seem to show that this coast was used for debarkation by the Romans. There is none more convenient. The east coast of Kent was the usual landing-place of the Galli, as Caesar observes (v. 13); and the coast of Deal must have been well known to them. The Belgian invaders of Britain, who preceded Caesar (ii. 4; v. 12), may have landed here; but this is merely conjecture.

If the cliffs under which Caesar anchored on his first voyage were not the high cliffs about South Foreland, the 'mirificae moles,' the wondrous

[3] See v. 10, note. This conjecture is not my own; but I accept it.

mountain barriers which Cicero mentions Ad Att. iv. 16, evidently on the report of his brother or of Caesar, both of whom wrote to him from Britain (B.C. 54). I don't know where we are to look for them; nor is there any landing-place, except Deal, which will correspond to the account of the second voyage, or to the description of his fortified camps. The probable place of embarkation, the distance across the Channel, the fact of the eighteen ships being driven out of sight of the encampment to the south and west, the circumstances of the second voyage, the river at XII M. P. distance, the probable position of Caesar's camp and his lines, and the nature of the country about Deal, all concur in pointing out Deal as his landing-place. There remains the difficulty about the tide, or the wind and the tide, on his first voyage; and this difficulty cannot be removed [4].

I am indebted to Captain Bullock, R.N., and Lieutenant Burstal, R.N., for information as to the tides on the Kentish coast; and I have quoted two passages from a communication from Lieutenant Burstal. The opinion of Captain Bullock [5] and Lieutenant Burstal is valuable, because they are well acquainted with the Channel. Both these officers think that Deal is Caesar's landing-place, which I do not state with the view of supporting an opinion by authority, for I set no value on authority; but simply because it is the fact. Their opinion is founded on a written statement of mine, in substance the same as this, but somewhat shorter. The statement contained no assumption, except that Itius is Wissant. But it is immaterial to determine the name of the place where Caesar sailed from, if we give him credit for telling the truth when he says that he looked for the shortest passage, and that he found it to be about XXX M. P.; thirty Roman miles to his landing-place about Deal, as I now assume that he means to say.

To obviate some possible objections, I add that whatever changes have taken place in the tract between the outlet of the Stour and the Isle of Thanet, they do not affect the question of Caesar's landing. The fable that Camden records of an island having existed in the middle ages where the Goodwin sands now are, I reject without difficulty; nor, if an island did exist there in Caesar's time, is that any objection to his narrative, for, according to his practice, he would not mention it, because it did not affect his operations in any way.

Since this note was printed, I have had a communication from H. L.

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[4] Mr. Airy removes this difficulty by supposing that Caesar in his first voyage made the British coast in the neighbourhood of St. Leonard's, near Hastings, where "the tide, which a few miles from shore had turned to the west at 11h., was at 3h. running in full stream to the west.—The run of eight miles would then bring him to the beach of Pevensey, answering perfectly to his description, probably the most favourable place for landing on the whole coast of Britain, and famous in later times as the landing-place of William the Conqueror." If Caesar's ships got under the high lands at Hastings, the tide would have certainly carried him towards Pevensey; but this conclusion made it necessary for Mr. Airy to assume that Caesar sailed from the Somme or at least from some place not in the country of the Morini; an assumption which he supports by a false interpretation of Caesar. I assent to Mr. Airy's general remark "that in every one of the discussions which I have seen, the investigator has been contented with fixing upon some one indication contained in Caesar's account, and showing that that one indication conforms to his theory, without any regard to the others."

[5] See Captain Bullock's Map of the S. E. coast of England, Downs. Surveyed 1846. Hydrographical Office.

Long, Esq., of Farnham, Surrey, who has paid great attention to the geography of Caesar. His remarks on the Portus Itius, which he takes to be Wissant, appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1846. He observes, that Froissart speaks of it as a large town in 1346; and that it is a wide, sheltered, sandy bay, an excellent place for hauling up ships after Roman fashion. I have lost a letter from the same gentleman, received some years ago, which, I believe, suggested to me that the banks of the Stour were the seat of Caesar's camp, not his naval camp. Mr. Long thinks that Caesar crossed the Little Stour at Littlebourne, and the Stour at Sturrey, twelve miles from Sandwich; because all below Littlebourne, at least from Ickham and Wickham, must have been a swamp in those days. He dissents from my guess as to Caesar's course from the Stour, and thinks that he crossed the Thames at Westminster, which is the lowest ford in the river. If Caesar crossed at Kingston, I am now inclined to think that he might have passed to that point direct from the neighbourhood of Reigate, which will better agree with the distance of eighty miles. But I set no value on my own or any other guesses as to his course to the Thames. (1853.)

I have made a few additions to these remarks, and principally in the notes. 1859.

With the view of showing more clearly the state of the question about Caesar's landing in Britain, I make this addition.

Caesar has told us very plainly all about his invasions of Britain, and we have no other direct evidence. He has told us the name of the place from which he sailed; and he has described the place where he landed in Britain, but he has given no name to it. Those who are curious about this matter and wish to exercise their ingenuity without wasting their time, should read Caesar only, and not trouble themselves about what any other writer ancient or modern has said.

There are only two places on the French coast from which Caesar could have sailed according to his own evidence, and they are Boulogne and Wissant, both in the country of the Morini. The question is not whether Boulogne in those days or Wissant was the better place for him. The question is from which he did sail. I think it will be admitted by all who examine the matter impartially that the determination of the place where Caesar landed does not depend on the determination of the place from which he sailed. Whether he sailed from Wissant or from Boulogne, he might have first come to land under the high cliffs of the Kentish coast, as he says that he did. But if we look into the thing closely, we shall see that the question about his landing place would be made somewhat easier if we knew whether he sailed from Wissant or from Boulogne.

The port of the Morini which was known and used a hundred years after Caesar's invasion was Gesoriacum, now Boulogne, and the Romans of that time either knew of no other port in the territory of the Morini, or used no other. If they wanted a permanent station on this coast for a few ships, Gesoriacum would be best suited for this purpose, and this was the port which they did use under the empire. But there is not the slightest evidence that Itius and Gesoriacum were the same place. The evidence is that they are different.

The names It-ius or Icc-ius, and Ouissant or Wissant, bear some resemblance, as some people think. Others think that they do not. In Caesar the initial 'Ou' or 'W' in Itius does not appear, but the omission of it, if this 'Ou' or 'W' was a part of the word, is nothing strange. It is a mistake to suppose that Ouissant is a corruption of Whitesand, or any words

meaning either white or sand. There is another Ouessant on another part of the French coast, a small island, the old Gallic name of which is Uxant-is or Axant-os, evidently the same name as the other Ouissant.

Did Caesar know where he intended to land in Britain? I think that he did. People were continually passing from one side to the other, and though he says that he could not find any body to tell him what he wanted to know, it was hardly possible that he should not have got some information about the usual landing-places in Britain.

As he reached the coast of Kent under the high cliffs, it is possible that he intended to land at Dover or Folkestone, and was only prevented by seeing the enemy on the heights; but I doubt if he chose such a landing-place. However, as he could not land under the cliffs, he had to look for another place, either to the north or the south, and he availed himself of Volusenus' information, whatever it might be. Volusenus had seen at least some part of the Kentish coast in his four days' absence (iv. 21).

Caesar did land the same day, and on an open coast seven or eight miles from the place where he came under the high cliffs. He landed therefore either on the level coast between Walmer and the river Stour, or he went down towards Romney Marsh and landed about the site of Lympne near Hythe, as some suppose.

Caesar was eight or nine hours in crossing. Some of his ships were much longer about it; and so much longer that we cannot suppose that they sailed when he did. They did however join him while he was waiting for them at anchor on the Kentish coast, and we may assume that the wind which had been favourable to Caesar was favourable to the other ships which came so many hours after him; and also that they knew where to find him.

If Caesar knew where he was going to, and if he was going to Romney Marsh, why did he not stop there on his road instead of going on to Folkestone or Dover or the South Foreland? It was broad daylight at least four hours before he came under the cliffs, and he could see his way. If he was going further north than Folkestone or Dover, we can understand why he anchored under the cliffs to wait for his ships.

Caesar says that he was at anchor under the cliffs from about eight and a half or nine in the morning till about half-past two or three in the afternoon. It was high water off Dover on the 27th of August about half-past seven, and as Caesar waited there till half-past two or till three, he saw the water on the coast fall to its lowest, and he saw it rise again. The water had been rising about an hour and a half before he set sail. When he moved from his anchorage, 'having got wind and tide favourable,' as he says, we must understand him to mean that the wind was favourable for going in the direction, whatever the direction was, in which he did go. But though the tide was rising, the stream was not running north up the channel, but to the west, or W.S.W. If then he went with the stream, he must have gone down channel past Sandgate towards Hythe; and if there is nothing more to be said, this settles the question.

But there is great difficulty in reconciling Caesar's text with this conclusion. He advanced ('progressus') seven or eight miles as he says from his anchorage, but to advance ('progredi'), as Caesar uses the word and as it should be used, means to continue in a given direction; and as he came from the south to the north, the continuance of his course would be in the same direction. To go to Hythe was going back.

He says that he sailed from his anchoring-place as soon as 'he got wind and tide favourable' ('et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum,' iv. 23). This may mean either that both had been unfavourable and both

became favourable; or that one had been unfavourable and it changed, and then both were favourable.

But Caesar means by 'aestus' simply the tide, the rising of the tide, not the stream, of which he could know nothing; and 'secundus aestus' is the rising tide. When the tide ebbs, he calls it 'minuens aestus' (iii. 12), or 'aestus decessus' (iii. 13). When the change in the direction of the tide shows itself in the open sea, he calls it 'aestus commutatio' (v. 8). He anchored under the cliffs soon after high water, and he stayed there till low water; and we may assume that his ships were aground or not able to float. He could not move then till the tide began to rise, and when there was water enough he did move, for the wind was favourable, the same wind that brought him there, if he was going north, and he had water too. But the stream was against him, for at 3h. P.M. on this day the stream was full to the west. This cannot be denied. He had not the stream with him, but against him. Could he not go round the South Foreland or move north from it with a good wind and the stream against him? That is the question to be answered. It is a mistake to suppose that 'aestus secundus' means the direction of the stream, for, as I have said, Caesar could know nothing of the times and direction of the stream in the channel. If he found that there was a stream against him, and if he knew that the stream did set north sometimes and sometimes south, he had no experience to tell him how far the stream coincided with the rising or falling of water on the coast. All that he could know of the tide on the 27th of August was that it was rising at three in the afternoon, for he saw it. He has said this plainly, and he means nothing else.

On his second voyage, which was also in the night, he was drifted so far north by the stream that in the morning he saw that he had left Britain behind him on his left hand (v. 8). He had got out into the sea east of the Isle of Thanet, and yet he landed where he landed the year before, by following the 'change of the aestus' and using his oars. No explanation of this passage consistent with his landing at Hythe has ever been given, nor can it be given.

Those who make Caesar land near Hythe affirm that the place agrees with his description. Mr. Airy thinks that Pevensey agrees with Caesar's description. All who do not admit that he landed at or about Deal deny that the country about Deal suits Caesar's description. I would not deny that it is possible to reconcile all three localities with Caesar's description, but as far as I can judge, the country at and about Deal is much more like the place which Caesar describes than Lympne or Pevensey; and I think that those who condemn Deal have either examined it very superficially or with strong prejudice, for all that they say about it is not true.

Every man then must judge for himself about these three places. People might employ some of their holiday time much worse than in visiting and examining them.

To get rid of the difficulty of the stream on the first voyage, it might be suggested that Caesar came to land under the North Foreland, and so when he set sail again in the afternoon he might be carried by the stream towards the mouth of the Stour and Deal. But I should not accept this solution, for it would bring fresh difficulties with it; and Caesar's statement about the favourable wind and tide, when he is rightly understood, is so plain that we cannot misunderstand him. He says that he went on, after the tide began to rise, and that he went seven or eight miles further. This is what he says, and I believe that he tells the truth[6]

[6] I have said that a man should use only Caesar in examining this

WISSANT.

The little village of Wissant is two or three hundred yards from the coast, which is lined with sand hills. This sand would cover the present village in the course of time if it were not held together in some degree by the long coarse grass and sea shrubs which have been planted on it. The story on the spot is that old Wissant is buried under a sand hill. On each side of Wissant extends a fine sandy beach bounded on the east by Blancnez and on the west by Grisnez, both of which as they are viewed from the beach at Wissant run out a little into the sea and are very conspicuous. This long sandy beach was the best place along all this coast for Caesar's purpose. His ships were made for hauling up ('ad subductiones,' v. 1), and the beach, which is five or six miles long, would hold more ships than he had, and they could all be floated out at the same time. There is an opening in the dunes or sand hills just opposite to Wissant, and a small but never-failing stream of excellent water flows through this opening into the sea. It is possible that there may once have been something like a creek here, but that would have been of no use to Caesar. His ships were not made to be put in narrow creeks or in rivers, which would have been entirely useless to him. This little stream rises inland at a very short distance from Wissant and near a small hill which some of the people call Mont Coupé or the Cut Mountain, and others Fort César. The name of Caesar proves nothing, but the hill has certainly been cut and made a place of defence. The highest part of the hill is a small flat of oval form, surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, which is just as it was when it was made. This ditch is cut on the slope or side of the little hill, and surrounds the whole inclosure except on one side, where there is a wide entrance. This entrance seems to be part of the original work. This place has evidently been designed as a strong position. It may be a work of the ancient Morini, and if so, it is a place which Labienus, who had charge of the port, would certainly make use of (v. 8). The lower part of this hill all round the ditch may also have been used as the site of an encampment.

The country at the back of Wissant is irregular and hilly. It contains a great deal of good land, which is now well cultivated. In Caesar's time we may assume that there were also forests there, and Labienus might find materials for the ships or boats which he was ordered to construct in haste (v. 11).

Wissant was probably the chief place of the Morini in those days, a much better position for Caesar than either Calais or Boulogne; a place where fresh water was abundant, the soil rich, and the beach the best that there could be for such ships as Caesar's. In fact, Wissant is very well situated, is very healthy, and has a pleasant country at the back. Such a place in England would soon be a well-frequented watering-place, and may be made so even in France when the French have found out what it is worth. (August, 1859.)

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subject. But it is usual to quote all writers indiscriminately, even such a writer as Florus, who is good for nothing, and Plutarch and Dion Cassius (39, c. 51), who, for such matters as this, are no better. Dion says that Caesar in his first expedition landed in shoals or shallow water (τενάγη), which of course is true; but the critics, resting on this word and on Caesar's 'vada' (iv. 26), make him land in a swamp or marsh, which I should have supposed that he would not do, if he could possibly land elsewhere. But τενάγη means 'shoal water' and nothing else, and so does 'vada.'

LIBER SEXTUS.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. 1. Caesar increases his forces in Gallia. 2. The Galli prepare for war, and the Treviri attempt to get the aid of the Germani. 3. A rising of the Nervii is stopped by Caesar; Caesar holds an assembly of the Galli at Lutetia Parisiorum. 4. The Senones and Carnutes submit to Caesar. 5, 6. The Menapii are subdued. 7, 8. The defeat of the Treviri by Labienus. 9. Caesar's motives for crossing the Rhine; the Ubii send a deputation to him. 10. The mustering of the Suevi, and their retreat. 11—20. Description of the habits of the Galli; the Druids (13, 14), and the religion of the Galli. 21. The Germani. 24. The Hercynia Silva. 25—28. The wild animals in this large forest. 29. Caesar returns to Gallia, and cuts down part of the bridge which he had made over the Rhine; the Arduenna Silva. 30, 31. The forces of Ambiorix are dispersed; Cativolcus, king of one half of the Eburones, poisons himself. 32—34. The territory of the Eburones is ravaged by Caesar. 35. Q. Cicero is attacked at Aduatuca, the winter quarters of Titurius and Aurunculeius in the preceding year, by the Sigambri, a German tribe. 36—42. The foragers of Quintus are fallen upon by the Sigambri; the camp of Quintus is in danger of being forced; the return of Caesar to Aduatuca. 43. Caesar again ravages the country of the Eburones, plunders and burns every thing before him. 44. He returns to Durocortorum, where he holds an assembly of the Galli; Acco, the leader in the rebellion of the Senones and Carnutes, is put to death; the winter quarters of the army; Caesar goes to Italy.

The events in this book belong to A.U.C. 701, or B.C. 53, and the consulship of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala.

MULTIS de causis Caesar majorem Galliae motum exspectans per M. Silanum, C. Antistium Reginum, T. Sextium legatos delectum habere instituit: simul ab Cn. Pompeio proconsule petit, quoniam ipse ad urbem cum

M. Silanum] He was the brother-in-law of M. Lepidus, one of the Triumviri of B.C. 43, and he was consul B.C. 25, but a man of no mark. Reginus is mentioned again (vii. 83); T. Sextius in also mentioned in vii. 49. 90. He played a considerable part in Africa, in the troubles which followed after Caesar's death, B.C. 44.—'delectum:' there is authority both for 'delectum' and 'dilectum.' Perhaps the Romans were careless about writing this and some other words of the same kind. Schneider says that according to the MSS. we must conclude that Caesar always wrote 'dilectus.' The new troops were raised in Italy, three legions in all (c. 32).

Cn. Pompeio] Cn. Pompeius, who

imperio rei publicae causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consulis sacramento rogavisset, ad signa convenire et ad se proficisci juberet; magni interesse etiam in reliquum tempus ad opinionem Galliae existimans tantas videri Italiae facultates ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore resarciri, sed etiam majoribus augeri copiis posset. Quod quum Pompeius et rei publicae et amicitiae tribuisset, celeriter confecto per suos delectu, tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et adductis legionibus, duplicatoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Q. Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et copiis docuit quid populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.

2. Interfecto Induciomaro, ut docuimus, ad ejus propinquos a Treviris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos Germanos sollicitare et pecuniam polliceri non desistunt: quum ab proximis impetrare non possent, ulteriores

had been consul for the second time in B.C. 55, received in that year the government of both the Spains to hold after his consulship, but Pompeius did not go to Spain. He stayed near Rome ('ad urbem'), and sent his legati to Spain. At the time mentioned by Caesar, Pompeius had the superintendence of the supply of corn to Rome (Dion 39, c. 39); and this was an excuse for staying near the city, though he had the command of an army ('cum imperio'). See i. 7, "ab urbe."

sacramento] 'The military oath.' The phrase in Livy (iv. 53) is this, "metu ceteri sacramento dixere." There is also the expression (Liv. ii. 32), "in verba consulis jurare." The word 'rogare' (Liv. ii. 28) expresses the consul summoning the men to take the oath of military service. The senate had empowered Pompeius and Crassus in B.C. 55 to raise troops where they liked, even in the province of another (Cic. Ad Att. iv. 1). These men of Cisalpine Gallia were not at present under arms, for Caesar requested Pompeius to command them to muster ('ad signa convenire') and come to him. Pompeius and Caesar were still friends. Pompeius was the husband of Julia, Caesar's only daughter, who died in the latter part of B.C. 54, and before the events which Caesar mentions in this chapter. Caesar received one legion from Pompeius, and raised two more in North Italy by his legati. His army was strengthened by three new legions (vi. 32. Dion 40, c. 65). As he had eight legions before, he ought to have had eleven now; but he mentions only ten (vi. 32, 33). This is explained by the loss of the legion and a half under Sabinus and Cotta (v. 24. 37). The words 'duplicatoque' therefore merely express the fact that the three new legions doubled the number of the legion and a half which he had lost in the country of the Eburones. In fact, he had not ten complete legions now, for the eight had been reduced to six and a half.

rei publicae—tribuisset] See i. 13.

2. *ad ejus propinquos*] They had been put in Caesar's hands as hostages (v. 4). Schneider suggests that they had been set free by Caesar after his return from Britain.

tentant. Inventis nonnullis civitatibus jurejurando inter se confirmant, obsidibusque de pecunia cavent: Ambiorigem sibi societate et foedere adjungunt. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar, quum undique bellum parari videret, Nervios, Aduatucos, Menapios, adjunctis Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis, esse in armis, Senones ad imperatum non venire et cum Carnutibus finitimisque civitatibus consilia communicare, a Treviris Germanos crebris legationibus sollicitari, maturius sibi de bello cogitandum putavit.

3. Itaque nondum hieme confecta proximis quatuor coactis legionibus de improviso in fines Nerviorum contendit, et prius quam illi aut convenire aut profugere possent, magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto atque ea praeda militibus concessa vastatisque agris, in deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coegit. Eo celeriter confecto negotio rursus in hiberna legiones reduxit. Concilio Galliae primo vere, uti instituerat,

nonnullis civitatibus] This means 'having found some states to listen to them, they strengthen the alliance by mutual oaths, and they give hostages as security for the money.' 'Confirmare' is used in i. 3 with 'pacem et amicitiam.' Here there is no case after it; and we must take 'jurejurando inter se confirmant' to express 'they confirm the bargain by a mutual oath.' As the Treviri promised the money, they must be the persons who gave a security for the payment. It may perhaps be implied that the Germans and Treviri exchanged hostages, the Germani receiving them as a security for the money, and the Treviri as a security for the services. But the text only speaks of security for the money, which the Treviri promised. 'Cavere' is a technical word, and one of its meanings is to give a man security. Scaevola, Dig. 46. 3. 89.

Cisrhenanis — Germanis] These Cisrhenan Germani are enumerated in ii. 4.

consilia communicare] This means not 'to communicate' in our sense, but 'to make common,' 'to join in one league with the Carnutes,' &c. One of the best examples of its use is the contract of partnership, in which the stock of each partner which is intended to be common stock is made common by the mere act of agreement (Dig. 17. 2. 1), "in societate omnium bonorum omnes res quae coeuntium sunt continuo communicantur." See v. 36.

3. *Itaque—dare coegit*] A short winter campaign told in one sentence. The four legions are those mentioned in v. 53.

Concilio] This was Caesar's practice ('ut instituerat') to summon a meeting of the Gallic states. He means the states of Gallia Proper (see i. 1). Lutetia was on an island in the Seine, where part of Paris now stands (vii. 57). We must suppose that the 'concilium' was transferred from Samarobriva; for Caesar wintered there (v. 24. 53). The Parisii had made a confederation of some kind with their neighbours the Senones within the memory of man; but the union was not very close,

indicto, quum reliqui praeter Senones, Carnutes, Trevirosque venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc esse arbitratus, ut omnia postponere videretur concilium Lutetiam Parisiorum transfert. Confines erant hi Senonibus civitatemque patrum memoria conjunxerant; sed ab hoc consilio abfuisse existimabantur. Hac re pro suggestu pronunciata eodem die cum legionibus in Senones proficiscitur magnisque itineribus eo pervenit.

4. Cognito ejus adventu Acco, qui princeps ejus consilii fuerat, jubet in oppida multitudinem convenire; conantibus prius quam id effici posset adesse Romanos nunciatur; necessario sententia desistunt legatosque deprecandi causa ad Caesarem mittunt; adeunt per Aeduos quorum antiquitus erat in fide civitas. Libenter Caesar petentibus Aeduis dat veniam excusationemque accipit, quod aestivum tempus instantis belli, non quaestionis esse arbitrabatur. Obsidibus imperatis centum, hos Aeduis custodiendos tradit. Eodem Carnutes legatos

for the Parisii took no part in this rebellion of the Senones ('ab hoc consilio abfuisse existimabantur'), and Caesar's king, Cavarinus (v. 54), is called only king of the Senones; nor do Caesar's words necessarily mean that this union of the Parisii and Senones still existed.

pro suggestu] Caesar addressed the assembly, and informed them that he considered that the Senones had declared war. 'Hac re' is the 'initium belli,' &c. Kraner says that it is the removal of the 'concilium' to Lutetia. A 'suggestus' or 'suggestum' is a raised place of earth, stones, or any thing else, a word compounded of 'sub' and 'ger,' to throw up or raise up. It is generally used with 'de' or 'ex.' 'Pro' means 'in front of.' See Tacit. Hist. i. 36.

magnisque itineribus] All easy marching through a level country.

4. *in fide*] The Aedui had once the supremacy in Gallia, and not only in the country of the Celtae, but in parts of the division which Caesar calls the Belgae. The Senones were 'in fide Aeduorum' of old; they acknowledged their supremacy. Cicero (Pro S. Rosc. Am. c. 33) says, "quaere in cujus fide sint et clientela." The phrase 'fidem sequi' expresses the same thing (v. 20).

petentibus Aeduis] 'At the request of the Aedui:' it is the ablative. In i. 28 some take 'petentibus Aeduis' to be the dative.

quaestionis] 'Caesar considered the summer as the season for the war that was on hand, not for an inquiry.' 'Quaestio' is a term which means any inquiry of a judicial character, whether conducted by regular forms, or by a special commission, of which latter there are many examples in Livy.

Eodem Carnutes] To the same place to which the Senones send, whatever the place was. Kraner remarks that this contradicts viii. 31. Perhaps it does not.

Carnutes] Here the Carnutes, who are Celtae, are represented as in a kind of dependence ('clientela') on the Remi, who were Belgae.

obsidesque mittunt usi deprecatoribus Remis quorum erant in clientela: eadem ferunt responsa. Peragit concilium Caesar equitesque imperat civitatibus.

5. Hac parte Galliae pacata totus et mente et animo in bellum Trevirorum et Ambiorigis insistit. Cavarinum cum equitatu Senonum secum proficisci jubet, ne quis aut ex hujus iracundia aut ex eo quod meruerat odio civitatis motus exsistat. His rebus constitutis, quod pro explorato habebat Ambiorigem proelio non esse concertaturum, reliqua ejus consilia animo circumspiciebat. Erant Menapii propinqui Eburonum finibus, perpetuis paludibus silvisque muniti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad Caesarem legatos numquam miserant. Cum his esse hospitium Ambiorigi sciebat: item per Treviros venisse Germanis in amicitiam cognoverat. Haec prius illi detrahenda auxilia existimabat quam ipsum bello lacesseret; ne desperata salute aut se in Menapios abderet, aut cum Transrhenanis congredi cogeretur. Hoc inito consilio totius exercitus impedimenta ad Labienum in Treviros mittit, duasque legiones ad eum proficisci jubet: ipse cum legionibus expeditis quinque in Menapios proficis-

Peragit concilium] Comp. v. 24, and v. 2, "conventibus peractis;" and Cicero, Pro Sestio, c. 35. As 'conventus agere' is to hold the 'conventus' (i. 54), we see that 'peragere' is to close them after finishing all the business.

5. *mente et animo*] See iii. 19, note, and i. 39.

Cavarinum] See v. 54.—'meruerat:' there is a faulty reading 'metuerat.' The text means, 'that no disturbance might be caused by the indignation (vengeance) of Cavarinus, or through the hatred which he had brought on himself.' 'Civitatis' probably goes with 'motus.'

concertaturum] If this is the right reading, and not 'certaturum,' it means that he would not try his strength in a battle, he would not match himself with Caesar. See Tacit. Ann. xiv. 29.

Menapii] As to their position, see ii. 16, iv. 4. Their flat country was partly on the left bank of the Rhine, below the territory of the Eburones, which reached to the Rhine and lay between the Treviri and the Menapii. The country of the Menapii was defended by continuous ('perpetuae') swamps and forests, and extended northwards to the mouth of the Mosa.

congredi] The word means 'to join' the Transrhenane Germans, which is not the common meaning. See i. 36 and 39.

in Treviros] Labienus' quarters were in the territory of the Remi, but on the borders of the Treviri (v. 24. 56).

expeditis] This passage explains 'legiones expeditae,' if it wants explanation. The heavy material ('impedimenta') was sent to Labienus, and the legions were unincumbered ('expeditae'). Caesar did not want it in the swamps.

citur. Illi nulla coacta manu, loci praesidio freti, in silvas paludesque confugiunt suaque eodem conferunt.

6. Caesar partitis copiis cum C. Fabio legato et M. Crasso quaestore, celeriterque effectis pontibus, adit tripertito, aedificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque hominum numero potitur. Quibus rebus coacti Menapii legatos ad eum pacis petendae causa mittunt. Ille obsidibus acceptis hostium se habiturum numero confirmat, si aut Ambiorigem aut ejus legatos finibus suis recepissent. His confirmatis rebus Commium Atrebatem cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis relinquit; ipse in Treviros proficiscitur.

7. Dum haec a Caesare geruntur, Treviri magnis coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis Labienum cum una legione quae in eorum finibus hiemaverat adoriri parabant, jamque ab eo non longius bidui via aberant, quum duas venisse legiones missu Caesaris cognoscunt. Positis castris a milibus passuum XV auxilia Germanorum exspectare constituunt. Labienus, hostium cognito consilio, sperans temeritate eorum fore aliquam dimicandi facultatem, praesidio V cohortium impedimentis relicto, cum XXV cohortibus magnoque equitatu contra hostem proficiscitur, et mille passuum intermisso spatio castra communit. Erat inter Labienum atque hostem difficili

6. *M. Crasso quaestore*] See i. 49. —'pontibus :' Caesar advanced from the country of the Senones (c. 3). His route is not mentioned, nor the rivers which were bridged; but there are many streams in the watery country which he entered.

hostium—numero] See i. 28. After receiving the hostages he assures the Menapii that he will put the hostages to death, if &c.

Treviros] Caesar now turned south, entered the country of the Treviri, and then again crossed the Rhine near the place where he effected his former passage. This alone shows whereabouts he drove the Germans into the river, "ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni" (iv. 15). Yet many of the Germans will persist in making this place at the angle between the Rhine and the Maas, (Drumann, Geschichte Roms, iii. p. 288,) whatever is meant by this expression, though the Rhine and Maas do not flow together or unite, nor does Caesar say that they did. Caesar's first bridge was in the country of the Treviri, and his second bridge was near the first. Drumann (iii. p. 329) allows that the second bridge was made not far from the site of the first, and about Andernach. He even places the first bridge south of Bonn, but forgets to explain how Caesar got there from the imaginary junction of the Maas and the Rhine. (See iv. 15, 16, 17, notes.) This second bridge "ripas Ubiorum contingebat" (vi. 29).

7. *in eorum finibus*] See v. 24, "in Remis . . . in confinio Trevirorum."

transitu flumen ripisque praeruptis; hoc neque ipse transire in animo habebat, neque hostes transituros existimabat. Augebatur auxiliorum quotidie spes. Loquitur in consilio palam, Quoniam Germani appropinquare dicantur, sese suas exercitusque fortunas in dubium non devocaturum et postero die prima luce castra moturum. Celeriter haec ad hostes deferuntur, ut ex magno Gallorum equitum numero nonnullos Gallos Gallicis rebus favere natura cogebat. Labienus noctu, tribunis militum primisque ordinibus convocatis, quid sui sit consilii proponit, et quo facilius hostibus timoris det suspicionem, majore strepitu et tumultu quam populi Romani fert consuetudo castra moveri jubet. His rebus fugae similem profectionem effecit. Haec quoque per exploratores ante lucem in tanta propinquitate castrorum ad hostes deferuntur.

8. Vix agmen novissimum extra munitiones processerat, quum Galli cohortati inter se Ne speratam praedam ex manibus dimitterent, longum esse perterritis Romanis Germanorum auxilium exspectare, neque suam pati dignitatem ut tantis copiis tam exiguam manum, praesertim fugientem atque impeditam, adoriri non audeant, flumen transire et iniquo loco proelium committere non dubitant.

flumen] The name is not mentioned. It was difficult to cross, and had steep banks. Caesar does not mention his subsequent junction with Labienus; but the fact is certain, for Labienus had the care of all the heavy material. The river was therefore not far from the Rhine, which Caesar again crossed. The inference is certain that Labienus was north of the Mosel, and perhaps not very far above its junction with the Rhine. The banks of the Mosel are in many places very high and abrupt. (See note at the end of Lib. VII. on Aduatuca.)

in dubium non devocaturum] 'to bring into danger,' 'et them risk a battle' (Müller).

Gallos Gallicis] Schneider. For 'Gallos' there is a reading 'Gallorum, and some MSS. omit it. If we accept 'Gallos,' we must explain with Schn. the text thus: 'as out of a great number of Gallic horsemen nature forced some, being Gauls, to favour the Gallic side.' Comp. v. 27.

natura] The love of country, the natural disposition which men have to prefer their own country and its interests to others. As to 'ut,' see iv. 3, "ut est captus Germanorum," and v. 43.

primisque ordinibus] See v. 30.

quid sui, &c.] See i. 21.

in tanta] "in tanta multitudine," i. 27, and see i. 33.

8. *longum*] This means that it was tedious, or too long to wait for the Germans. Herzog compares similar uses of 'multus,' 'maturus,' and other words.

proelium committere] Schn. omits 'proelium' on the authority of one

Quae fore suspicatus Labienus, ut omnes citra flumen eliceret eadem usus simulatione itineris, placide progrediebatur. Tum praemissis paullum impedimentis atque in tumulo quodam collocatis, Habetis, inquit, milites, quam petistis facultatem: hostem impedito atque iniquo loco tenetis: praestate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem quam saepenumero imperatori praestitistis: adesse eum et haec coram cernere existimate. Simul signa ad hostem converti aciemque dirigi jubet, et paucis turmis praesidio ad impedimenta dimissis reliquos equites ad latera disponit. Celeriter nostri clamore sublato pila in hostes immittunt. Illi ubi praeter spem quos fugere credebant infestis signis ad se ire viderunt, impetum modo ferre non potuerunt, ac primo concursu in fugam conjecti proximas silvas petierunt: quos Labienus equitatu consectatus, magno numero interfecto, compluribus captis, paucis post diebus civitatem recepit: nam Germani qui auxilio veniebant, percepta Trevirorum fuga, sese domum contulerunt. Cum his propinqui Induciomari, qui defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos ex civitate excessere. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio permansisse in officio demonstravimus, principatus atque imperium est traditum.

MS.; and for insufficient reasons. He supposes that it means 'se committere,' or that 'committere' is to be understood absolutely, like 'convertere' and other verbs.

nobis ducibus] Caesar was Imperator; he had the Imperium (vi. 1, "cum imperio"). He had all the authority which the Roman people conferred on a provincial governor, and his officers were his agents. The short and pithy address of this able officer, who did Caesar such service, is aptly contrasted by Herzog with what he said some years after, when he had left his old general and was in arms against him: "Desinite ergo de compositione loqui, nam nobis nisi Caesaris capite relato pax esse nulla potest," B. C. iii. 19.

adesse eum] 'atque illum adesse,' Schneider.

converti] See ii. 26.—'aciem dirigi:' he orders the line to be formed. Compare 'directa materia' (iv. 17). Schneider supposes that Caesar does not use the expression 'dirigere aciem' elsewhere.

impetum modo] 'Modo' is to be read as an enclitic to 'impetum,' like 'tantummodo.' The enemy could not sustain so much as the onset. See vii. 66.

civitatem] Labienus brought back ('recepit') the Treviri to acknowledge the Roman supremacy (see vii. 90); and Cingetorix received the chief authority, whatever it was, which the Romans called 'imperium,' a word that means a delegated authority, conferred by the sovereign people. Caesar (vii. 4) distinguishes between a 'principatus' and 'regnum.' See also vi. 12, "Galliae totius principatum."

in officio] See v. 3.

9. Caesar postquam ex Menapiis in Treviros venit, duabus de causis Rhenum transire constituit: quarum erat altera, quod auxilia contra se Treviris miserant; altera, ne Ambiorix ad eos receptum haberet. His constitutis rebus paullum supra eum locum quo ante exercitum transduxerat facere pontem instituit. Nota atque instituta ratione magno militum studio paucis diebus opus efficitur. Firmo in Treviris ad pontem praesidio relicto, ne quis ab iis subito motus oriretur, reliquas copias equitatumque transducit. Ubii, qui ante obsides dederant atque in deditionem venerant, purgandi sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt qui doceant neque ex sua civitate auxilia in Treviros missa neque ab se fidem laesam: petunt atque orant ut sibi parcat, ne communi odio Germanorum innocentes pro nocentibus poenas pendant: si amplius obsidum velit, dare pollicentur. Cognita Caesar causa repperit ab Suevis auxilia missa esse, Ubiorum satisfactionem accepit, aditus viasque in Suevos perquirit.

10. Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiis certior Suevos omnes unum in locum copias cogere, atque iis

9. *quarum—altera*] In place of the first 'altera' there is a reading 'una erat,' which Schneider has.

miserant] 'The Germans' had sent, the Transrhenani, indicated by 'Rhenum transire' (Schn.).

pontem instituit] This bridge was in the country of the Treviri, and a little higher up the stream than the other, which was also in the country of the Treviri (iv. 17). 'Instituere' (v. 40) seems to mean to lay the foundation of a thing, to begin the execution, not merely to make a resolve, as 'constituere' does. Compare "tu actionem instituis" (Cicero, Pro Murena, c. 9). Thus in Horace (Od. iii. 27. 5), 'iter institutum' is a journey begun. 'Instituere' was used in Rome to instruct a person in the elements or foundation of a thing,—law, for instance; and hence the elementary treatises of law were called 'institutiones.' The plan of the bridge was known ('nota') and already fixed, as a bridge had been built before.

in deditionem] See i. 27, note, and iv. 16.

communi odio Germanorum] 'on account of the hatred of all the Germans' towards the Romans.

amplius] This usage of 'amplius' with a genitive in this sense is not common. Herzog says that 'amplius' implies that a certain number or quantity is already known or fixed, and that something is to be added to it. This may be something like the fact, but I don't think that the remark is universally true. Schneider has 'vellet.'

Ubiorum] Most of the MSS. have 'ubi horum.' See i. 54, note.

10. *omnes*] Schneider says that the order of the words shows that 'omnes' belongs to 'Suevos.' Müller observes that the order may show that we ought to connect 'omnes . . . copias cogere.' Schn. remarks

nationibus quae sub eorum sint imperio denunciare, uti auxilia peditatus equitatusque mittant. His cognitis rebus rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum locum deligit, Ubiis imperat ut pecora deducant suaque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans barbaros atque imperitos homines inopia cibariorum adductos ad iniquam pugnandi conditionem posse deduci: mandat ut crebros exploratores in Suevos mittant, quaeque apud eos gerantur cognoscant. Illi imperata faciunt, et paucis diebus intermissis referunt, Suevos omnes, posteaquam certiores nuncii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis quas coegissent penitus ad extremos fines sese recepisse: silvam esse ibi infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bacenis; hanc longe introrsus pertinere, et pro nativo muro objectam Cheruscos ab Suevis, Suevosque ab Cheruscis injuriis incursionibusque prohibere: ad ejus initium silvae Suevos adventum Romanorum exspectare constituisse.

11. Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus

that 'copias cogere' may be said alone; which will not be disputed.

quae—sint] As usual in such passages, there is a reading 'sunt.' The subjunctive is the true form here: it is the less definite expression, and is a part of the intelligence that Caesar got.—'rem frumentariam,' see v. 8, note.

penitus] 'Peni-tus' may be composed as to form with 'fundi-tus,' 'antiqui-tus,' 'caeli-tus.' As 'funditus' means 'from the bottom,' 'penitus' may mean 'from the top,' or the other extremity. It cannot mean 'towards,' but it may mean 'from,' so that 'penitus' is from some, the remotest point in the contemplation of him who speaks or writes.

quae appellatur Bacenis] This position of the indicative is exactly like that of 'quae . . . sint' above, and the subjunctive would be the regular form. But an indicative in such a position is used when a fact is stated, for Caesar announces the name of the forest as certain. Herzog quotes B. C. i. 18, "Caesari nunciatur Sulmonenses, quod oppidum a Corfinio VII milium intervallo abest, cupere ea facere quae vellet." Nothing is known of the Bacenis.

injuriis—prohibere] Compare v. 21, "ab injuria . . . . prohibitis." Perhaps he means 'protects the Suevi from wrongs and incursions from the Cherusci.' Compare v. 54, 'a populo Romano imperia.' (Schn.)

11.] Here Caesar tells us more about the Galli. He may have got some information from Posidonius, who travelled in Gallia before Caesar was born, and wrote down what he saw. See Athenaeus. iv. p. 152, ed. Cas., who quotes from the twenty-third book of Posidonius his description of a Gallic feast, and other things (p. 154). This part of Caesar (11—28) may have been written after the rest of this book.

ad hunc locum] He means, to this place in his narrative.

et quo differant hae nationes inter sese proponere. In Gallia non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque, sed paene etiam in singulis domibus factiones sunt, earumque factionum principes sunt qui summam auctoritatem eorum judicio habere existimantur, quorum ad arbitrium judiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. Idque ejus rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilii egeret: suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciat, ullam inter suos habet auctoritatem. Haec eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliae; namque omnes civitates in partes divisae sunt duas.

12. Quum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani. Hi quum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Aeduis magnaeque eorum erant clientelae, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adjunxerant eosque ad se magnis

pagis partibusque] 'In all the pagi and parts of the civitates:' this seems the probable meaning of 'partibusque.'

factiones] See i. 31. Caesar means political parties. In the first edition I mistook the meaning of 'earumque factionum . . . redeat.' Schneider has set it right. The word 'quorum' does not refer to 'eorum.' The 'quorum' are the same persons as the 'qui.' The meaning is, 'and the chiefs of the factions are those who in their judgment (the judgment of the Galli) are supposed to have the chief authority, and the consequence is that to their pleasure and judgment affairs in general and measures are referred.' Thus 'quorum . . . redeat' has its proper meaning; it expresses the consequence of public opinion, which is to give power in fact to those to whom it is first given in opinion.

The use of 'red' in such compounds as 'redeat' is not limited to the converse of a given act, as 'ire,' 'redire;' 'dare,' 'reddere;' but it is used generally when the act, state, or condition is the result of something that has preceded. 'Dare jura' is to act as a legislator; 'reddere jura,' or 'jus' (vi. 13), is to act as a judge, to render justice to those who apply, for the office of a judge is only to act when he is applied to. Terence (Phorm. iii. 1. 3) has precisely the same expression, "Ad te summa solum, Phormio, rerum redit." See 'recidere' (vii. 1).

in summa] Schneider says tha 'in summa' is taken absolutely, and of course 'totius Galliae' depends on 'ratio.' Kraner follows him, and translates 'in summa,' 'in the whole, in the mass.' I now think this is the true explanation, though I am not sure. Schneider says that 'in summa totius Galliae' does not agree either with the usage of the Latin or the facts of the case. Caesar here means that all the several states follow the one or other of the two leading states in Gallia, as the beginning of the next chapter states.

12. *Aedui, &c.*] Comp. i. 31.

jacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Proeliis vero compluribus factis secundis atque omni nobilitate Aeduorum interfecta, tantum potentia antecesserant ut magnam partem clientium ab Aeduis ad se transducerent obsidesque ab iis principum filios acciperent et publice jurare cogerent nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros, et partem finitimi agri per vim occupatam possiderent Galliaeque totius principatum obtinerent. Qua necessitate adductus Divitiacus, auxilii petendi causa Romam ad senatum profectus, imperfecta re redierat. Adventu Caesaris facta commutatione rerum obsidibus Aeduis redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Caesarem comparatis, quod hi qui se ad eorum amicitiam aggregaverant meliore conditione atque aequiore imperio se uti videbant, reliquis rebus eorum gratia dignitateque amplificata Sequani principatum dimiserant. In eorum locum Remi successerant; quos quod adaequare apud Caesarem gratia intelligebatur, ii qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Aeduis conjungi poterant se Remis in clientelam dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur. Ita et novam et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. Eo tum statu res erat ut longe principes haberentur Aedui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent.

13. In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo; nam plebes paene

jacturis] 'Jacturam facere' is to throw a thing away to save the rest. It is the term applied to the loss of things thrown overboard to lighten a ship (Cic. De Off. iii. 23; and Dig. 14, tit. 2. De Lege Rhodia de jactu), where it is said, "jacturae summam pro rerum pretio distribui oportere," every one who was a gainer by the casting overboard of a portion to save the rest, must bear his proportion of the loss. We may translate 'jacturis' by 'sacrifices.'

publice] See i. 16.

Divitiacus] Introd. p. 34, and i. 31.

reliquis rebus] 'In every other way, or by every other means, the influence and estimation of the Aedui ('eorum') being increased, the Sequani had lost the supremacy.' 'Dimittere' is to set things apart, to sever, of which there is an example in vi. 43. See also vi. 37.

adaequare] In ii. 32 it is used with the accusative, and we may supply 'Aeduos' after 'adaequare.'

in clientelam dicabant] Comp. c. 13. "sese in servitutem dicant." 'Dica-re' is a different word from 'dic-ere,' as it seems, for it means 'to attach,' 'to fix.' Cicero (Pro Balbo, c. 12) has "in aliam civitatem se dicavit." He also says (c. 11), "qui se alii civitati dicavit."

13. *omni Gallia*] If 'omni Gallia' has the same meaning here as i. 1, Caesar is speaking of 'Gallia' in the wider sense; but I am not sure that he means this.

numero] This means, to be reck-

servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, [et] nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, quum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus: in hos eadem omnia sunt jura quae dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos

oned or counted as somebody (Lucret. v. 180). Cicero says (Divin. c. 19), "quum is tibi numero parentis fuisset."

nullo] If 'nullo' is right, it is a dative. Caesar has (vii. 77, "ad concilium adhibendos."

aut—aut—aut] The first 'aut' is omitted in several good MSS. Examples of three 'auts' are rare. Though 'aut . . . aut' is generally used, as if we were to say, it is either this or that, it does not appear that the several things here are so distinct, that all of them might not happen to be the cause of the servitude. See i. 19, note.

The poor Gaul, either by getting into debt, or being overwhelmed with taxation ('tributa'), or being wronged by some powerful person, had no refuge except in servitude. 'Tributum' is the general Roman term for taxation. The Gallic cultivator has known the burden of taxation for at least nineteen centuries. Arthur Young's picture of the miseries of French taxation before the revolution of 1789, may serve for Caesar's age. The debt was probably money borrowed by poor cultivators. See i. 4, note.

Druidum] The ruling classes were two, Druids or priests, and 'equites,' mounted men, rich, nobles. The Druids were the ministers of religion ('rebus divinis intersunt'); they directed and superintended ('procurant') all sacrifices, they were the expounders ('interpretantur') of all that concerns religion. The name Druid is certainly Celtic, but the learned are not agreed about its etymology. Some suppose that it is derived from a word which signifies an oak tree. These chapters of Caesar are our principal authority for what we know of the Druids. Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois, Deuxième Partie, chap. i.), and before him Simon Pelloutier (Histoire des Celtes), have collected all that can be said of them. Strabo (p. 197, and compare Diodorus, v. 31), whose authority may be Posidonius, makes three classes of these ministers of religion: Druids, properly so called, who studied the occult part of their religion, directed education, and were judges in all matters; the Vates, who performed the sacrifices and studied the nature of material things; and the Bardi, who were the hymn-singers and poets, the bards. Their instrument was the harp. Lucan has some spirited verses on the Bardi and Druids (Pharsal. i. 447, "Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremptas").

Perhaps the Druids lived a solitary life, and a life of celibacy. Their pupils seem to have supplied the order with members. Caesar does not say whether these youths belonged to both classes, nobles and common folks. The inducements to become Druids are mentioned in the next chapter, freedom from taxes and all burdens. It seems to follow that they did not work, but were supported by the labour of others, the greatest inducement of all, and a condition necessary to the existence of a priestly caste.

magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt; et si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, [si] de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt; praemia poenasque constituunt. Si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur: ab his omnes discedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus jus redditur neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus Druidibus praeest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit: at si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum [allegitur]; nonnumquam

hi—eos] 'Hi' are the Druids; 'eos' are the Galli; a careless way of writing, common in Caesar and with all people who write vigorously, and quick, and brief.

Nam fere] The Druids administered the law generally; he does not say what were the excepted cases. They settled disputes between states ('publicis'). They were the judges in criminal matters, in disputes about successions ('de hereditate'), and about boundaries of land ('fines'). Caesar, as usual, uses Roman terms. 'Poenas' are penalties, pecuniary probably. I do not know what 'praemia' means. They enforced their judgments by excommunication ('sacrificiis interdicunt;' see i. 46, note), which among a nation like the Galli (c. 16) would be the most efficient means. The man or the state that disobeyed was out of the pale of the law. Neither the Galli nor Britanni had a class of lawyers. Rome made the Galli a present of the lawyer, and he has thriven well. Juven. v. 111:

"Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos."

ab his—discedunt] 'iis . . . decedunt,' Elb.; 'his . . . decedunt,' Schn. and Kraner. I believe that 'discedunt,' for which there is good authority, is the right reading. All people avoid them. 'Decedere alicui' is to make way for a man, as a mark of honour. This is generally the meaning. In Terence, Hauton. Prolog. 31, if 'decesse' is the right reading, it means what 'decedunt' must mean here.

communicatur] That is 'cum iis.' They are not allowed to participate with others in the enjoyment of any office ('honos'), for that is the Roman meaning of 'honos.' See vi. 23.

[*allegitur*] This word is wanting in most of the MSS., and it cannot be explained consistently with the usage of 'adlegere,' which is to elect persons into an existing body, as in Livy (x. 6). If it is omitted, there is no way of dealing with the passage except that which Held proposes, "si qui ex reliquis excellit, dignitate succedit: at si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum." Schneider reads, 'mortuo aut, si qui . . . dignitate. succedit, aut si . . . suffragio Druidum, nonnunquam.'

etiam armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique qui controversias habent conveniunt, eorumque decretis judiciisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.

14. Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur: itaque annos nonnulli xx in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint, neque eos qui discunt

Carnutum] It is difficult to imagine this annual meeting of all the Druids in the territory of the Carnutes, between the middle Loire and Seine, every year. All persons certainly could not come there to have their disputes settled. This 'disciplina' or system, is here referred to Britain as the parent country, a very improbable fact; but we may believe that Caesar was told so, and he tells it to us; and that is all, for he probably had no opinion about the truth of it. The power of the Druids may have been declining in Gallia, for we see from Caesar that a civil government was pushing aside this hierarchy; and Britain, where the system was imported, was more likely to keep it, being less civilized than Gaul. He says nothing of the so called Druidical temples, of which Carnac near Auray, in the department of Morbihan, a country which Caesar saw (iii. 11, &c.), is an example.

proficiscuntur] See iii. 8, note.

14. *militiae vacationem*] A Roman word which signifies an exemption from a duty. 'Vacare,' in the same sense, is used with an ablative (Cic. De Sen. c. 11). Cicero (Verr. ii. 4, c. 10) has "vacatio . . . militiae."

Graecis litteris] Writing was common among the Galli, the southern and central Galli at least, both for public and private purposes, and the characters were Greek (i. 29). The Celtic language was therefore a written language in Caesar's time, a fact that we cannot establish of any other language of western Europe, except those of Italy. Now if the Celtic Druids had a written language, and used the Greek characters, and if the Galli went to Britain to perfect themselves in the Druidical science, because Britain was the great seat of this learning, it is a certain conclusion that the Britannic Druids had a written language, and that the Greek characters were used in Britain long before Caesar's time.

litteris confisos minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et juventuti tradunt.

15. Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, quum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit, quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi injurias inferrent aut illatas propulsarent, omnes in bello versantur, atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt.

16. Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus, atque ob eam causam qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur; quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse [aliter] deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur, publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum con-

non interire] There is nothing peculiar in this, for the immortality of the soul is the common belief of nations. Whether the belief made the Galli so careless of life, or there were other reasons, we may doubt. The transmigration of the soul is like the Pythagorean doctrine, and Diodorus (v. 28) calls this Gallic belief the doctrine of Pythagoras. They do not seem to have been a bit the better for it, for Diodorus (v. 28, &c.) gives a beastly account of their morals. Their contempt of life seems to have been a kind of desperation, the result of depraved habits and of frequent intoxication; for the Gaul would drink whenever he could. Those who could not get wine, which the Italian merchants supplied, used to content themselves with beer.

15. *est usus*] See iv. 2.—'ambactos' seems to be a Gallic word, of which 'clientes' may be an explanation See iii. 22.—'habet:' there is also the reading 'habent.'

16. *omnis*] 'omnium,' Schneider. —'dedita religionibus,' 'much given to religious ceremonial.'—'homines immolant.' Cicero (Pro Fonteio, c. 10) speaks of the Galli sacrificing human victims, which the Romans too had done sometimes, if their writers tell the truth.

[*aliter*] Some MSS. omit it, and Schneider, who says that it is neither necessary nor used by Caesar after 'nisi.'

Alii] There is nothing to cor-

texta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum qui in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua noxa sint comprehensi gratiora diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur, sed quum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

17. Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra; hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Jovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere quam reliquae gentes habent opinionem; Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere, Jovem imperium coelestium tenere, Martem bella regere. Huic, quum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea quae bello ceperint plerumque devovent. Quae superaverint, animalia

respond to 'alii,' or 'others.' Probably it may mean 'some of the Galli.' These 'simulacra,' as we may infer from the meaning of the word, were colossal figures of deities, constructed in the rudest way.

noxa] After mentioning theft and robbery, Caesar uses 'noxa,' a Roman word, which comprehends every 'delictum' (Gaius, Dig. 50. 16. 238), and consequently theft and robbery, which are 'delicta' in the Roman system (Gaius, iv. 75, &c.; and iii. 182). Other instances of 'noxa' are, damage wilfully done to a man's property and to his person.

supplicia] He simply means 'executions.'—'descendunt,' 'come down to,' 'have recourse to.' See v. 29.

17. *Mercurium*] Caesar has not taken the trouble to tell us the Gallic names of these deities, whom he designates by Roman names. Tacitus (Germ. 9) gives the Germans also a Mercury, "Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt," &c. The Gallic Mercury and the German Mercury had of course different names in the languages of the Galli and the Germans. The Gallic name for the terrible God of war was Esus or Aesus (Schol. ad Lucan. Pharsal. i. 445. Lactantius, i. 21, 'de falsa religione'). The god whom Caesar calls Mercurius was Teutates, a word formed from Teut, Deut, or Dit. Caesar in the next chapter confounds this god with the Roman Dis. The Gallic Teut was the supreme god, Deus.

artificiorum] Minerva taught them or gave to them the elements of the useful labours and of the arts. Cicero (Verr. ii. 4, c. 21) uses 'artificia' for the arts of sculpture and painting.

regere] There is a reading 'gerere,' the reading of most of the MSS. it is said, but an evident blunder arising from a transposition of letters. The sense requires 'regere,' as Lucretius (i. 32) has it:

"—— quoniam belli fera moenera Mavors
Armipotens regit."

Quae superaverint] This is correctly explained by Forcellini. The preceding sentence means that they devote to Mars what they take in war, the most part. 'Quae supera-

capta immolant; reliquas res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet, neque saepe accidit ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta [apud se] occultare aut posita tollere auderet; gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

18. Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant ut noctem dies subsequatur. In reliquis vitae institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi quum adoleverunt ut munus militiae sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur; filiumque puerili aetate in publico in conspectu patris adsistere turpe ducunt.

19. Viri quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine

verint' means what remains after this 'devotio;' and he divides the remainder into two parts, animals and the other things.

These 'tumulos' have been taken to be such earthen 'tumuli' as are found in great numbers in England, in Wiltshire, for instance, and many of them contain arms and other supposed Celtic remains. But Caesar says, 'harum rerum . . . tumulos,' and 'exstructos' does not alter the meaning; it signifies 'piled up.' The 'tumulus' was made of the things, as 'posita tollere' shows, if there were any doubt about it.

18. *Dite*] The Roman Father Dis is Pluto, who carried off Proserpina from Henna (Cic. Verr. ii. 4, c. 48). Cicero has another passage about him (De Nat. Deor. ii. 26): "terrena vis omnis atque natura Diti patri dedicata est, qui dives, ut apud Graecos Πλούτων, quia et recidant omnia in terras et oriantur e terris." The Galli sprung from the earth. So the German Tuisco came out of the earth, and his son Mannus was the progenitor of the Germans (Tacitus, Germ. 2). It seems they forgot the mother.

The connexion ('ob eam causam') between the origin of the Galli and their practice of reckoning time by nights instead of days, is not clearly expressed. The realms of Dis are dark, and out of darkness the Galli came. Their origin was night, and so they begin their reckoning of time with the night, and call a space of time so many nights, just as we say a fortnight, a sevennight. So Tacitus reports of the Germans (Germ. c. 11); and it was nothing strange even to a Roman. His civil day began at midnight (Censorinus, De Die Natali, c. 23), and sometimes he reckoned by nights, as in the case of the 'trinoctium' (Gaius, i. 112), where indeed the night was the essence of the matter.

19. *dotis nomine*] The portion of the Gallic wife is compared by Caesar to the Roman 'dos,' but it was not the same. The words 'quantas pecunias' do not necessarily mean money; it might be money or money's worth. The husband contributed as much as he received with the wife, and the whole was made a common stock

acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestimatione facta cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniae conjunctim ratio habetur fructusque servantur: uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores sicuti in liberos vitae necisque habent potestatem; et quum pater familiae illustriore loco natus decessit, ejus propinqui conveniunt, et de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quaestionem habent, et si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumtuosa; omniaque quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia: ac paullo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confectis una cremabantur.

20. Quae civitates commodius suam rem publicam

which is expressed by 'cum dotibus communicant.' The whole was administered as one piece of property; the accounts were distinct from those of other property, and the produce ('fructus') was added to the capital. The whole, the original stock and the savings, went by survivorship. It follows from what Caesar says, that neither husband nor wife could alienate any portion of the common stock, or dispose of the fruits. This was not an estate in joint tenancy, as the English call it, but nearly like what the English lawyers call a tenancy by entireties when the subject is land (Preston on Estates, i. 131). It was a well-devised scheme for accumulation, but of course it only applied to the rich Galli. The poor Gaul who was ground by taxation and poverty, would have as little to do with such arrangements as the mass of the people of England with the artificial system of marriage settlements.

For 'fructibus' there is a reading 'fructu;' but the Romans generally used the plural 'fructus' for the produce of any thing; though they use 'ususfructus' in the singular.

de uxoribus] Caesar does not say that the Galli were polygamists; but 'pater familiae' and 'de uxoribus' can only mean that a man might have more wives than one. The wives were examined and tortured as slaves were at Rome.

pro cultu] 'According to the means which the Galli have,' or, as we say, 'for the means of the Galli,' 'for their mode of living' (i. 1). Cicero (Ad Div. iv. 2) says, "pro ea copia quae Athenis erat funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi."

inferunt] 'Tamquam inferias.' Schn. "Rettulit inferias Jugurthae" (Hor. Carm. ii. 1).

supra hanc memoriam] This means at a time extending farther back than that of living people, when Caesar wrote. The Galli seem, even before Caesar's time, to have been feeling the influence of Greek and Roman civilization.

justis funeribus] There is 'funebribus,' a conjecture of Ursini. 'Justa funera' is the funeral ceremony performed in due ('justa') form. When 'justa' is used for a funeral, the context shows what kind of 'justa' are meant.

administrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore aut fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat neve cum quo alio communicet: quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus quae visa sunt occultant; quaeque esse ex usu judicaverint, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur.

21. Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt: nam neque Druides habent qui rebus divinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit: ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam

20. *legibus sanctum*] They have a rule made by law with a penalty, for the 'sanctio' is the penalty which is added to make a law effective. Just. Inst. ii. 1, § 10, "legum eas partes quibus poenas constituimus adversus eos qui contra leges fecerint, sanctiones vocamus."

judicaverint] There is a reading 'judicaverunt.' Both are Latin.

per concilium] In the 'concilia' or assemblies only was it allowed to speak of matters that concerned the state. Freedom of speech was suppressed, and if printing had been in use then, there would have been no freedom of the press. There was always fear of desperate fellows making some disturbance. Caesar says nothing of the physical type of the Galli. Diodorus (v. 28), on the authority of Posidonius, we may suppose, says they were tall, fleshy, white-skinned, yellow-haired. 'Some shave their beards, and others let them grow a moderate length: but the gentlemen shave their cheeks, and let their beards grow long, so that the hair covers their mouths. Accordingly, when they eat, their beards dip in the food, and when they drink, the liquor passes as through a funnel.'

21. *Germani*] Tacitus (Germania) may be compared with Caesar; and some passages in Posidonius (Athenaeus, p. 153, ed. Cas.). Here it is stated that the Germani had no priests corresponding to the Druids; but we know that they had priests and priestesses. They paid no great attention ('neque . . . student') to sacrifices. 'Studiis' is what we call 'pursuits.' Cicero (De Invent. i. 25) defines 'studium' to be that which a person follows with constant, steady purpose and good will. The Germans were not 'admodum dediti religionibus.' The difference between the character of the two peoples was and is great.

Deorum numero] Tacitus (Germ. c. 9) says that the Germans have other deities (see c. 17, note).

impuberes] This word is hardly used in its proper sense. 'Impubes' is a male or female who has not attained puberty. At some time, and it may have been after Caesar's time, the word obtained a fixed technical signification among the Romans; and it meant a male under fourteen

inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali hoc vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus: cujus rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur, et pellibus aut parvis renonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.

22. Agriculturae non student; majorque pars victus eorum in lacte, caseo, carne consistit: neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios, sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt. Ejus rei multas adferunt causas: ne assidua consuetudine capti studium belli gerundi agricultura commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua

and a female under twelve. The context shows what it means here.

renonum] There are readings 'rhenorum,' 'renorum,' 'renonum,' 'rerum,' 'renum.' According to Isidorus (Orig. xix. 23), 'rhenones' are coverings for the shoulders and breasts, extending as far as the navel, and so rough, through the hair being twisted together, as to throw off the rain. The simplest explanation seems to be, that the Germans use either skins (Tacit. Germ. 17) or small garments of 'renones,' whatever 'renones' may be. Caesar appears to mean that the small garments are made of 'renones.' 'Pellibus,' it has been observed, is seldom used absolutely, except in such an expression as 'sub pellibus hiemare,' but is followed by 'ferarum' or some other genitive. In Sallust's Hist. Frag. iii. 57, 58, ed. Kritz, we find "Germani intectum renonibus corpus tegunt," and "Vestes de pellibus renones vocantur."

22. *gentibus*] This is a Roman term, which was familiar to Caesar who belonged to the Julia gens. He uses a word which would partly convey his meaning, but 'cognationibus' completes and explains what he would say. He means, therefore, a number of persons who were connected by 'cognatio,' which the Romans define thus, "cognati ab eo dici putantur, quod quasi una communiterve nati, vel ab eodem orti progenitive sint" (Modestinus, Dig. 38. 10. 4, § 1). Caesar here repeats what he said about the land of the Suevi (iv. 1). They had plenty of it, and they did not allow it to be appropriated. Though to some extent an agricultural people, they had not the institution of property in land. Caesar represents this as a piece of policy; at least he states various reasons that he had heard. Tacitus (Germ. c. 15) says that all the brave fighters of the Germans did nothing. The care of the house and of the fields was put on the women, the old men, and the weakest persons in the family. Modern Europe is nearly in the same state still, where large numbers of men are required to keep up standing armies. Thus barbarism as it was, and civilization as it is, bring us to the same condition.—'coierint,' Elb.

accuratius] One of Cicero's words.

oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur; ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, quum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat.

23. Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere neque quemquam prope audere consistere: simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur repentinae incursionis timore sublato. Quum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magistratus qui ei bello praesint ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt controversiasque minuunt. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt, atque ea juventutis exercendae ac desidiae

The Germans had huts, but they were not constructed to be permanent; not made with any great care.

animi aequitate—contineant] There is no nominative for 'contineant,' but the context supplies one, and it is 'magistratus,' &c. This German way of using the land is represented as founded on certain notions of the chiefs, as we must suppose, whose design was to maintain the martial character of the people, and to prevent the consequences of land being appropriated to individuals. 'Animi aequitate' is one of Cicero's expressions (De Sen. 1). The meaning here is, 'that the chiefs may be able to keep the inferior sort together,' that is prevent civil broils, by reason of their being contented ('animi aequitate'), when every man sees that his own means are as great as those of the men who have authority. As there was no difference in wealth, the distinctions were perhaps partly founded on birth, and partly on military prowess. I am merely viewing the matter as it is presented by Caesar.

23. *latissime*] Or 'latissimas,' as some MSS. have it. See iv. 3.

ut vitae, &c.] Magistrates (to use a Roman term) are chosen (by vote, perhaps he means) to conduct the war, and with power of life and death. The omission of 'ita,' when followed by 'ut,' is not uncommon. Caesar means that they have the direction of the war with such power as to decide on matters that affect a man's life. The word 'communis' can only be explained by reference to this sentence. In time of war, all who are under the 'magistratus' are subject to their jurisdiction: such is a 'communis magistratus.' In time of peace the people are under the jurisdiction of the chiefs of the several districts, who administer justice ('jus dicunt'). Tacitus (Germ. 12) says, "Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt (reddant?)." The German system was not one of centralization, but one of local administration. 'Jus dicere' is said of a Roman magistrate who has 'juris dictio,' jurisdiction, authority to declare the law.

minuunt] Comp. v. 26, 'quibus controversias,' &c. Cicero (Acad. Pr. ii. 26) has the same expression. It means to settle matters in dispute.

minuendae causa fieri praedicant. Atque ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit Se ducem fore, qui sequi velint profiteantur; consurgunt ii qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis secuti non sunt in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque iis rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospitem violare fas non putant; qui quacunque de causa ad eos venerunt, ab injuria prohibent sanctosque habent, hisque omnium domus patent victusque communicatur.

24. Ac fuit antea tempus quum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea quae fertilissima Germaniae sunt loca circum Hercyniam silvam, quam Eratostheni et qui-

profiteantur] 'Let them give in their names.' 'Profiteri' is a usual expression in this sense, and also when a man makes a return or statement of his means for the purpose of being taxed (Cic. Verr. ii. 4, c. 22), as we do for the income tax. Kraner says that 'qui ex his secuti non sunt,' as he has it, means of course after they had promised to join the expedition; but I think that it means those 'qui non polliciti sunt.'

derogatur] This is a word used in legislation, and means to repeal part of a 'lex.' Ulpian (Frag. Tit. at the beginning). Cicero (De Re Publica iii. 22, ed. Mai) has it also, but with an ablative, "neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet;" or it may be used with 'de.' But when the subject is a person, the dative is used as here. As to 'rerum fides,' see i. 19.

qui quacunque] 'Qui quaque,' Elb., Schn.—'venerint,' Elb., for which there is less authority, and the indicative is required.

24. *ultro*] 'They even invaded Germany.' See v. 56. The Volcae Tectosages in Caesar's time occupied part of the Provincia; their chief place was Toulouse. But this was not their original place. The name is Volgae Tectosages in some MSS., and one has Belgae. Their primitive name, according to some readings (Ausonius, De Clar. Urb. Narb.), was Bolgae, "Usque in Tectosagos primaevo nomine Volcas." The reading in Cicero (Pro Font. c. 8) in many editions is 'Belgarum.' These invaders of Germany seem to have gone along the valley of the Danube about three centuries before the Christian aera. Caesar affirms that some of them maintained themselves in Germany to his time. The course and the history of these adventurous marauders are traced by Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois, ch. iv.). A body of Tectosages, with other Galli, finally settled in Asia Minor, in the country to which they gave the name of Galatia. Their chief town was Ancyra. They preserved their name, their habits, and their language for a long time.

Hercynia] Strabo (p. 292) describes the Hercynia, but the passage is obscure, and probably in parts corrupt. (See Groskurd's Translation, i. 514.) Strabo says, that a man who is going from Celtice (Gallia) to the Hercynian forest, must first cross the lake (of Constanz), then the Danube, then make his way through a country which is more

busdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant, Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt. Quae gens ad hoc tempus his sedibus sese continet summamque habet justitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem: nunc quoque in eadem inopia, egestate, patientia qua Germani permanent, eodem victu et cultu corporis utuntur. Gallis autem Provinciae propinquitas et transmarinarum rerum notitia multa ad copiam atque usus largitur. Paullatim adsuefacti superari, multisque victi proeliis, ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant.

25. Hujus Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum

easily traversed, and through mountain plains (high plateaus) to the forest. The rest that he says is very obscure. Caesar, who seldom makes any display of learning, of which, however, he had as much as any of his countrymen, cites the Greek Eratosthenes, whom Strabo used largely for his work. This distinguished astronomer and geographer lived at Alexandria in the third century B.C. He was not a traveller, but one of those laborious men of antiquity who endeavoured to reduce to a system all the materials that were found in travellers and voyagers. The 'certain Greeks' may be Posidonius who travelled in Gallia, and perhaps Pytheas of Marseille.

sedibus] Schneider has 'aedibus.' These words are often confounded. See Cicero (Pro Sulla, c. 6), "in aedibus meis."—'Provinciae:' 'provinciarum,' Schn.—'usus:' there is a reading 'usum.'

cum illis] 'Not even the Galli themselves compare themselves with the Germans ('cum illis').'

25. *demonstrata*] The word means no more than 'mentioned' here.

novem—iter] See iv. 7.

noverunt] There is no nominative. Caesar's style has a certain carelessness about it sometimes, or it seems so to us. His information about the Hercynia could only come from Germans, directly or indirectly, and we must therefore suppose that the *they* are Germans. They were not acquainted with the practice of measuring road distances, as the Romans were who set up mile stones ('lapides') on their roads.

Oritur] Caesar makes the forest commence from the banks of the Rhine, for the Rhine was the eastern boundary of the Helvetii (i. 2). The Rauraci were on the west bank of the Rhine (i. 5), but the Nemetes in Caesar's time were probably on the east bank, for he does not mention them among the peoples on the west bank, where they were fixed in Tacitus' time (iv. 10). The position of these three nations gives a kind of measure of the extent of the forest from north to south. On the east it extended in the direction of the Danube straight to the boundaries of the Daci and Anartes. We cannot tell where Caesar, or those from whom he got his information, supposed the boundaries of the Daci and Anartes to commence. The boundaries of the later Roman province of Dacia are pretty well fixed. The

finibus, rectaque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium; hinc se flectit sinistrorsus diversis ab flumine regionibus, multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem attingit: neque quisquam est hujus Germaniae qui se aut adisse ad initium ejus silvae dicat, quum dierum iter LX processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur acceperit: multaque in ea genera ferarum nasci constat quae reliquis in locis visa non sint: ex quibus quae maxime differant ab ceteris et memoriae prodenda videantur haec sunt.

26. Est bos cervi figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu exsistit, excelsius magisque directum his quae nobis nota sunt cornibus. Ab ejus summo

Anartes were a Dacian people, who perhaps were on the Theiss (Tibiscus), that branch of the Danube which drains a large part of Hungary. At these 'fines,' wherever they were, Caesar seems to fix the eastern limit of the forest, which limit we cannot conceive to be formed by the commencement of cleared and cultivated grounds, but to be determined in some other way, perhaps by the country ceasing to be a wooded country, and becoming a region of steppes. For he says, from this point ('hinc') the forest turns to the left, that is to the north, and in different directions from the river, and extends he knows not where.

rectaque fluminis—regione] 'And following the straight course of the river,' for, as Schneider observes, Caesar not only means that the forest follows the course of the Danube, but he also means that the course of the Danube is straight. See v. 46, 'recta regione,' and Virgil, Aen. ii. 737; ix. 385; xi. 530.

hujus Germaniae] 'This Germany,' of which Caesar knew something; that is, western Germany, or the parts which he saw.—'ad initium:' 'the origin,' in the east.

multaque, &c.] Schneider remarks that this must be connected with 'multarumque . . . attingit.'

memoriae] There is authority for 'memoria,' which all the MSS. have in v. 12. Both the dative and ablative are used with 'prodere;' and some critics suppose that there is a difference in the meaning.

26. *bos*] Caesar names this animal 'bos,' though it had the form of a 'cervus,' or deer, an animal with which he was acquainted. But the word 'bos' was used generally for horned animals, and even elephants were called 'Lucae boves.' It is now generally agreed that Caesar's description refers to the reindeer, but the reindeer has a pair of horns. He is right as to the horns of the female, which are like those of the male, 'but less, more slender, and not so much branched.' 'A single branch, sometimes, but seldom two, springs from each horn in front, very near the base, frequently equalling the length of the head, compressed at the top and branched' (Penny Cyclopaedia, art. Deer). This may explain Caesar's 'unum cornu.' The horns of this animal are cylindrical, but at the top compressed and palmated, or flattened, with many segments. They spread out like the flat of the hand and the branches of trees. This is Caesar's 'palmae.'

sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

27. Sunt item quae appellantur alces. Harum est consimilis capreis figura et varietas pellium; sed magnitudine paullo antecedunt mutilaeque sunt cornibus, et crura sine nodis articulisque habent; neque quietis causa procumbunt, neque, si quo afflictae casu conciderunt, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant, atque ita paullum modo reclinatae quietem capiunt; quarum ex vestigiis quum est animadversum a venatoribus quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt aut accidunt arbores tantum ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc quum se consuetudine reclinaverunt, infirmas arbores pondere affligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.

28. Tertium est genus eorum qui uri appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paullo infra elephantos; specie et

ramique late] Most MSS. are said to have 'ramique late;' there is also a reading 'diffundunt.'

27. *alces*] Caesar means the elk, which Pliny also (viii. 15) describes. The words 'mutilae cornibus,' mutilated or broken in the horns, may be explained, if we suppose that those who gave Caesar the information had seen the horns when they had exfoliated. The no 'joints' is a marvellous blunder, in Caesar inexcusable. The elk has very long legs, and feeds by browsing on leaves and twigs. Caesar's 'knots and joints' mean the articulations of the limbs. Pliny uses the expression 'nodorum articuli.' Caesar may have got his information even at third or fourth hand, and through interpreters. If the beast had no joints in his legs, what is said of his habits is consistent. He was obliged to do without joints as well as he could.

capreis] 'capris,' Schneider and others; which we must translate, 'These elks have a form and variety in their skins like goats.'

erigere—sublevare] 'They cannot set themselves straight up, or raise themselves.' If they could set themselves straight up on their legs ('erigere sese'), they could of course raise themselves; but they could not do even that.

subruunt] 'They either undermine all the trees in that place at the roots ('a radicibus'), or cut them so far as to leave the external ('summa') appearance of a standing tree;' but the tree only seems to stand secure. Müller gives the same explanation of 'summa species.' It is not necessary to give the other interpretations. Compare ii. 6, 'murum subruunt.'

28. *uri*] This is often said to be the aurochs, or European bison, or 'bison jubatus' of Pliny (viii. 15), which is said still to exist between the Caspian and the Black seas. But it is Cuvier's opinion that this animal, the 'urus,' is an extinct species. Pliny, in the passage just quoted, speaks both of 'bisontes jubati' and 'uri.' See the article Bison, Penny Cyclopaedia.

colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas, neque homini neque ferae quam conspexerunt parcunt. Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt. Hoc se labore durant [homines] adolescentes atque hoc genere venationis exercent: et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus quae sint testimonio magnam ferunt laudem. Sed adsuescere ad homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt. Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Haec studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

29. Caesar postquam per Ubios exploratores comperit Suevos sese in silvas recepisse, inopiam frumenti veritus, quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime omnes Germani agriculturae student, constituit non progredi longius; sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui barbaris tolleret, atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum CC rescindit; atque in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorum quatuor constituit praesidiumque cohortium XII pontis tuendi causa ponit, magnisque eum locum munitionibus firmat. Ei loco praesidioque C. Volcatium Tullum adolescentem praefecit. Ipse, quum maturescere frumenta inciperent, ad bellum Ambiorigis profectus per Arduennam silvam, quae est totius Galliae maxima atque

studiose foveis] They catch them in pitfalls made with great care ('studiose') and then kill them.

ne—excepti] 'Not even if they are taken when very small.'

ab labris] 'At the rim.' A 'labrum' is the margin of a thing, as the lips of the mouth. See vii. 72; and compare 'ab radicibus,' c. 27, and i. 1, note.

29. *veritus*] Dion (40, c. 32) says, 'being afraid of the Suevi,' which is false if we take Caesar's testimony.

minime omnes] Here some critics make a difficulty out of nothing. Some would have 'homines' in place of 'omnes.' Caesar says 'minime . . . saepe' (i. 1). The Germani 'minime student,' and this is the case with all of them, the whole Germanic nation.

cohortium] He does not say how long these twelve cohorts watched the bridge. See c. 33, note.

per Arduennam—patet] See v. 3; vi. 33. These words are placed in [ ] by many editors, without any reason at all. They are not in the Greek version, which however is of very little authority. But they are in Orosius (vi. 10), and some suppose that they have been transferred from his text to Caesar's, which is very unlikely, for they are, as it appears, in all the MSS. of Caesar. Strabo (p. 194) blames the historians

ab ripis Rheni finibusque Trevirorum ad Nervios pertinet, milibusque amplius quingentis in longitudinem patet, L. Minucium Basilum cum omni equitatu praemittit, si quid celeritate itineris atque opportunitate temporis proficere possit; monet ut ignes in castris fieri prohibeat, ne qua ejus adventus procul significatio fiat: sese confestim subsequi dicit.

30. Basilus ut imperatum est facit. Celeriter contraque omnium opinionem confecto itinere, multos in agris inopinantes deprehendit; eorum indicio ad ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo in loco cum paucis equitibus esse dicebatur. Multum quum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest fortuna. Nam sicut magno accidit casu ut in ipsum incautum etiam atque imparatum incideret, priusque ejus adventus ab hominibus videretur quam fama aut nuncius adferretur, sic magnae fuit fortunae, omni militari instrumento quod circum se habebat erepto, rhedis equisque comprehensis, ipsum effugere mortem. Sed hoc eo factum est quod aedificio circumdato silva, ut sunt fere domicilia Gallorum qui vitandi aestus causa plerumque silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates, comites familiaresque ejus angusto in loco paullisper

for making the Arduenna 4000 stadia, that is, D.M.P. in length, and there is little doubt that he means Caesar, and that he found D.M.P. in Caesar's text. It is true that 500 Roman miles is a monstrous exaggeration. The Arduenna may have extended from the Rhine below Coblenz westward to the forests of the Morini and Menapii; but if we suppose it to have reached even to the coast between Calais and Ostend, the number in Caesar is greatly exaggerated. It is hardly possible to conceive that he made this mistake; and an error in the text, as old as Strabo's time, may have existed. D'Anville proposes to reduce the length to CL.M.P., which would correspond better to the limits as determined by Caesar.

The name Ardennes still exists, and is the name of one of the French departments which contains a part of the forest. The rest is in Luxembourg and Belgium. The name is Celtic, and is also found in England. Arden in Warwickshire is part of the tract of the English Arduenna, once an extensive forest.

Basilum] See vii. 90, and the note.—'proficere posset,' Schn.

30. *Nam sicut*] 'Sicut' is the correlative of 'sic' in 'sic magnae fuit:' 'so it was a piece of great good fortune for Ambiorix to escape from death.'—'instrumento.' See v. 31.

ut sunt] See iii. 8.

domicilia] The reading of some of the best MSS.; the rest have 'aedificia.' Caesar has used 'domicilium' (i. 30; ii. 29) in its common sense of a place for residence, the place in which a man has his house and family (Dig. 50, tit. 1). I believe it is the true word here, and it means the usual places of abode.

equitum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt. His pugnantibus illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit: fugientem silvae texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit.

31. Ambiorix copias suas judicione non conduxerit, quod proelio dimicandum non existimarit, an tempore exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, quum reliquum exercitum subsequi crederet, dubium est; sed certe dimissis per agros nunciis, sibi quemque consulere jussit: quorum pars in Arduennam silvam, pars in continentes paludes profugit; qui proximi Oceano fuerunt, hi insulis sese occultaverunt quas aestus efficere consuerunt: multi ex suis finibus egressi se suaque omnia alienissimis crediderunt. Cativolcus, rex dimidiae partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, aetate jam confectus, quum laborem [aut] belli aut fugae ferre non posset, omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem qui ejus consilii auctor fuisset, taxo, cujus magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit.

Sic et] This means, 'such was the power of fortune, both as to (Ambiorix) getting into danger and getting out of it.' 'Fortuna' is not good fortune, but 'fortune' generally, that which happens as it may. 'Fortuna' was a goddess (Hor. Carm. i. 35). These remarks on 'fortuna' are not at all in Caesar's style, for his work is seldom disfigured by such reflections. He is on the subject again c. 35. 42. Caesar speaks in i. 12 of his success in such a way as to leave the reader to refer it either to 'casus,' or the 'consilium deorum immortalium.' The 'dei immortales' to whom Cicero so often refers, do not seem to have occupied Caesar's thoughts much.

31. *certe*] There is very little authority for 'clam,' which some editions place after 'certe.'—'his insulis,' Elb. It is not easy to understand whether Caesar means islands or places insulated at high water (iii. 12). Caesar knew nothing accurately of the coast between the Schelde and the Maas; and it is useless to attempt to get more out of him than there is in him.

qui—fuisset] 'Cursing Ambiorix for being the adviser of the war,' for that is what he means. See v. 26. Perhaps he cursed Caesar. The sentence contains 'qui . . . inierat,' and 'qui . . . fuisset,' two examples the clearest that we can have of the difference of the two moods. 'Qui . . . inierat' is only a further description of Cativolcus. 'Qui . . . fuisset' might be 'qui . . . fuerat,' and it would have a like meaning; it would define or describe Ambiorix more exactly. But Caesar means to say something else, which the English translation expresses. 'Preces' is a request addressed to a superior, or to the gods, which may be against another.

The unfortunate old man poisoned himself with yew ('taxus'), as Caesar heard. The berries, it is said, are not poisonous, but the leaves will poison some animals. The be-

32. Segni Condrusique ex gente et numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter Eburones Trevirosque, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt oratum Ne se in hostium numero duceret, neve omnium Germanorum qui essent citra Rhenum unam esse causam judicaret; nihil se de bello cogitasse, nulla Ambiorigi auxilia misisse. Caesar, explorata re quaestione captivorum, si qui ad eos Eburones ex fuga convenissent ad se ut reducerentur imperavit; si ita fecissent, fines eorum se violaturum negavit. Tum copiis in tres partes distributis impedimenta omnium legionum Aduatucam contulit. Id castelli nomen est. Hoc fere est in mediis Eburonum finibus, ubi Titurius atque Aurunculeius hiemandi causa consederant. Hunc quum reliquis rebus locum probabat, tum quod superioris anni munitiones integrae manebant, ut militum laborem sublevaret. Praesidio impedimentis legionem XIV reliquit, unam ex his tribus quas proxime conscriptas ex Italia transduxerat. Ei legioni castrisque Q. Tullium Ciceronem praefecit ducentosque equites attribuit.

33. Partito exercitu T. Labienum cum legionibus tribus

lief of antiquity was, that the yew had poisonous qualities, and it is a matter on which antiquity is as likely to be right as we are.

32. *Segni*] They are not named in ii. 4. The Segni and Condrusi were two of the German tribes which lay between the Eburones and the Treviri (iv. 4, the note).

Aduatucam] Caesar does not mention the name of the place in his fifth book (v. 24. 26, &c.). He here tells us that Aduatuca was the winter quarters of Titurius and Aurunculeius. D'Anville (Notice de la Gaule) gives some reasons for supposing that it may be the site of Tongern, in the Belgian province of Limburg. Tongern is on the Jaar, a branch of the Maas, and an old place. No river is mentioned in Caesar.

reliquis rebus] 'He selected this spot for other reasons, and because the works of the preceding year remained entire, to relieve the labour of the soldiers.' Caesar's use of an ablative, like 'reliquis rebus,' is common. The nominative to 'sublevaret' is probably Caesar, though it is possible that 'locus' understood may be the nominative, as Schneider remarks, and so the Greek translator understood it.

ex his tribus] See vi. 1.

33. *cum legionibus*] He had left a legion with Cicero, and he speaks of nine more in this chapter. He had ten in all (c. 44; vii. 34). Schneider concludes that the twelve cohorts which guarded the bridge over the Rhine (c. 29) had already joined Caesar. If that is so, they could hardly have had time to serve the purpose for which they were left at the Rhine. But they must have joined Caesar, or we must assume that these ten were not complete legions, and that the twelve cohorts left the Rhine before the winter came. The expression in c. 35, 'praesidium . . . relictum,' will not

ad Oceanum versus in eas partes quae Menapios attingunt proficisci jubet: C. Trebonium cum pari legionum numero ad eam regionem quae Aduatucis adjacet depopulandam mittit: ipse cum reliquis tribus ad flumen Scaldem quod influit in Mosam, extremasque Arduennae partes ire constituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat. Discedens post diem septimum sese reversurum confirmat, quam ad diem ei legioni quae in praesidio relinquebatur frumentum deberi sciebat. Labienum Treboniumque hortatur, si rei publicae commodo facere possint, ad eum diem revertantur; ut rursus communicato consilio exploratisque hostium rationibus aliud belli initium capere possent.

34. Erat, ut supra demonstravimus, manus certa nulla, non oppidum, non praesidium, quod se armis defenderet, sed in omnes partes dispersa multitudo. Ubi cuique aut vallis abdita aut locus silvestris aut palus impedita spem praesidii aut salutis aliquam offerebat, consederat. Haec loca vicinitatibus erant nota, magnamque res diligentiam

decide the question, for it may simply mean that a force had been left there; but one cannot see why the force had been left there except to prevent any Germans from crossing at that part of the Rhine while Caesar was ravaging the country of the Eburones.

ad—versus] 'In' is also used with 'versus,' as "in forum versus agere" (Cic. De Am. c. 25).

Scaldem] The Greek version has 'Sabim,' the Sambre, and also the edition of R. Stephens. But we must retain 'Scaldem' on the authority of the MSS., notwithstanding the fact that the river Schelde does not flow into the Maas (Introd. p. 17). The probable explanation of the passage is, that the tract between the outlet of the Schelde, called West Schelde, and the Maas, was unknown to Caesar, and that the aestuary of the Schelde communicated with the lower part of the Mosa.

post diem septimum] This would mean literally, 'after the seventh day;' but the Romans used these ordinal numbers very loosely. In many cases both extremes are included, as in 'ante diem tertium Kal. Jan.,' which is the 30th of December. So here the day on which Caesar sets out is one, and the day on which he promises to return is another, and there are five clear days between. For it appears from c. 35, 36, that Caesar was to return on the seventh day. As to 'diem . . . quam ad diem,' compare i. 6.—'commodo rei publicae:' see i. 35; v. 46.

34. *manus certa*] 'Sure,' 'one that could be relied on.' Schneider compares 'certa subsidia,' ii. 22.

Ubi] "Plerique codd. et edd. prim. *multitudo, ubicumque*," Elb.

vicinitatibus] For examples of 'vicinitas' in the sense of 'vicinities,' 'people in the vicinity,' see Forcellini.—'summa exercitus:' the mass of the army, as we may say. See vi. 11.

requirebat, non in summa exercitus tuenda, nullum enim poterat universis ab perterritis ac dispersis periculum accidere, sed in singulis militibus conservandis; quae tamen ex parte res ad salutem exercitus pertinebat. Nam et praedae cupiditas multos longius evocabat, et silvae incertis occultisque itineribus confertos adire prohibebant. Si negotium confici stirpemque hominum sceleratorum interfici vellet, dimittendae plures manus diducendique erant milites: si continere ad signa manipulos vellet, ut instituta ratio et consuetudo exercitus Romani postulabat, locus ipse erat praesidio barbaris, neque ex occulto insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi singulis deerat audacia. At in ejusmodi difficultatibus quantum diligentia provideri poterat providebatur, ut potius in nocendo aliquid omitteretur, etsi omnium animi ad ulciscendum ardebant, quam cum aliquo detrimento militum noceretur. Dimittit ad finitimas civitates nuncios Caesar, omnes ad se vocat spe praedae ad diripiendos Eburones, ut potius in silvis Gallorum vita quam legionarius miles periclitetur; simul ut magna multitudine circumfusa pro tali facinore stirps ac nomen civitatis tollatur. Magnus undique numerus celeriter convenit.

35. Haec in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, diesque appetebat septimus, quem ad diem Caesar ad impedimenta legionemque reverti constituerat. Hic quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus cognosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus, ut demonstravimus, manus erat nulla quae parvam modo

quae—res] 'which however partly,' 'in some degree,' 'was a matter which concerned the safety of the army.' The safety of the parts concerned the safety of the whole.

stirpem] 'Stirps' seems to mean sometimes the root, sometimes the lower part of the stem of a plant or tree; and hence it has the sense of race or stock from which a man or a nation springs. Caesar would destroy the whole stock or breed of these villains. This looks as if it were written at the time. His language, which is a rare thing in these books, is that of passion.

ad signa manipulos] See ii. 25, and the note.

At] Many MSS. have 'ut.'

nomen] See ii. 28.

35. *appetebat*] See vii. 4, where there is a different use of the word. Livy (xxi. 1) has, "jam ver appetebat quum Hannibal ex hibernis movit," speaking of the approach of spring.—'quem ad diem:' 'quam ad diem' in c. 33. See i. 6, note.

nulla—parvam modo] This means, 'not so much as a little.'

causam timoris afferret. Trans Rhenum ad Germanos pervenit fama diripi Eburones atque ultro omnes ad praedam evocari. Cogunt equitum duo milia Sigambri qui sunt proximi Rheno, a quibus receptos ex fuga Tenchtheros atque Usipetes supra docuimus: transeunt Rhenum navibus ratibusque xxx milibus passuum infra eum locum ubi pons erat perfectus praesidiumque ab Caesare relictum: primos Eburonum fines adeunt, multos ex fuga dispersos excipiunt, magno pecoris numero, cujus sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invitati praeda longius procedunt. Non hos palus in bello latrociniisque natos, non silvae morantur: quibus in locis sit Caesar ex captivis quaerunt; profectum longius reperiunt omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt. Atque unus ex captivis, Quid vos, inquit, hanc miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam, quibus licet jam esse fortunatissimis? Tribus horis Aduatucam venire potestis: huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus Romanorum contulit; praesidii tan-

Rhenum] Here we have another indication of the site of Caesar's bridge (iv. 17). The Sigambri were north of the Ubii, and they were going to the country of the Eburones, which is between the Treviri and Menapii. They crossed the river about xxx M.P. below the bridge where Caesar had left a detachment. As the Germans crossed thirty miles below the bridge, the Usipetes could cross from the west to the east side of the Rhine, as I have explained in the note on iv. 16, while Caesar was building his bridge, or beginning to build it. The nearest point to the probable site of Caesar's bridge, which corresponds to this distance, is opposite to Bonn, north of the Seven Mountains. There the Germans might easily get their horses across: the country is quite flat on both sides of the river. The number 'thirty,' like all other such numbers, must be taken as an approximation. Davis and Clarke had the bad taste to prefer a reading 'imperfectus,' for which there is some authority.

ultro] 'And more than this, that all were invited to the plunder.' V. 40.

receptos ex fuga] 'By whom they were received after their flight.' Compare ii. 12, 'omnis ex fuga,' &c. As to the Tenchtheri and Usipetes, see iv. 16.

primos—fines] See i. 22, note, and ii. 4, note. 'They reach the border of the territories of the Eburones,' as Schneider correctly explains it, and compares 'extremos fines,' c. 10, and 'in mediis finibus,' c. 32. See also vii. 66, and viii. 31.

multos &c.] This means, 'many in their flight who were dispersed over the country fall into the hands of the Germans.' They were dispersed, flying, and flying towards the Rhine. See ii. 6, 'ex itinere,' note.

fortunatissimis] 'fortunatissimos,' Schn. Both are Latin.

venire potestis] There is a reading 'veniri potest.'

fortunas] All that they had, baggage ('impedimenta,' c. 32) and plunder. See v. 43.

tum est ut ne murus quidem cingi possit neque quisquam egredi extra munitiones audeat. Oblata spe Germani quam nacti erant praedam in occulto relinquunt; ipsi Aduatucam contendunt usi eodem duce cujus haec indicio cognoverant.

36. Cicero, qui [per] omnes superiores dies praeceptis Caesaris [cum] summa diligentia milites in castris continuisset ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra munitionem egredi passus esset, septimo die diffidens de numero dierum Caesarem fidem servaturum, quod longius [eum] progressum audiebat neque ulla de reditu ejus fama afferebatur, simul eorum permotus vocibus, qui illius patientiam paene obsessionem appellabant, si quidem ex castris egredi non liceret, nullum ejusmodi casum exspectans, quo novem oppositis legionibus maximoque equitatu dispersis ac paene deletis hostibus in milibus passuum III offendi posset, quinque cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes misit quas inter et castra unus omnino collis intererat. Complures erant in castris ex legionibus aegri relicti, ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant, circiter CCC sub vexillo una mittuntur:

tantum est] 'They have not force enough to man the wall, or for any one to venture to go out of the fortifications.' Herzog cites a similar passage (B. C. iii. 2), "tantum navium repperit ut anguste XV milia legionariorum militum . . . transportare possent." See Cicero (De Imp. Cn. Pomp. c. 6), "nam ceterarum provinciarum," &c.

36. *vocibus*] Compare ii. 30; iii. 17. 24; v. 39. 'Vocibus' in these passages means 'clamour,' 'abuse,' and the like.

ejusmodi casum—quo] 'Quo' is the ablative, 'by which;' and 'offendi' is used impersonally, as it is called. Caesar means that 'Cicero, expecting nothing to happen that should cause any danger to the men within a range of three miles from the camp, sent five cohorts to the nearest standing crops.' The word 'oppositis' seems a careless expression, as there is nothing added to explain it: but the sense is clear; 'because nine legions and a very large body of the cavalry had gone to meet the enemy who were dispersed and almost destroyed.' 'In milibus passuum III' may be compared with 'quem Caesar in milibus passuum IIII consecutus' (Bell. Afr. c. 63).

sub vexillo] Caesar has used 'vexillum' (ii. 20) for the signal of battle. These soldiers belonged to the several legions which were absent on service, and they had no 'signa et manipuli' (c. 40). But to maintain order they all marched under a 'vexillum,' or colours. The 'vexillarii' of a later period were the soldiers who had served a long time, and were expecting their retiring allowance, money or land, who were still with the troops, but did not form a part of the regular army. Tacitus (Ann. i. 17) explains this.

magna praeterea multitudo calonum, magna vis jumentorum, quae in castris subsederat, facta potestate sequitur.

37. Hoc ipso tempore et casu Germani equites interveniunt, protinusque eodem illo quo venerant cursu ab decumana porta in castra irrumpere conantur, nec prius sunt visi objectis ab ea parte silvis quam castris appropinquarent, usque eo ut qui sub vallo tenderent mercatores recipiendi sui facultatem non haberent. Inopinantes nostri re nova perturbantur, ac vix primum impetum cohors in statione sustinet. Circumfunduntur ex reliquis hostes partibus si quem aditum reperire possent. Aegre portas nostri tuentur, reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit. Totis trepidatur castris, atque alius ex alio causam tumultus quaerit; neque quo signa ferantur neque quam in partem quisque conveniat provident. Alius capta jam castra pronunciat; alius deleto exercitu atque imperatore victores barbaros venisse contendit: plerique novas sibi ex loco religiones fingunt,

magna vis] This word is used generally to express a mass, a great quantity, or great number. The Romans said, 'magna vis hominum,' 'hederae vis,' 'magna vis frumenti.'

37. *et casu*] Some MSS. omit 'et;' but the sense requires 'et,' for it was at this very time, and at the time when things happened to be in this state, that the Germans suddenly arrived.

appropinquarent] See i. 53, note.

usque eo] Schneider says these words do not refer simply to 'castris appropinquarent,' but to all that precedes. 'Qui . . . tenderent' is like 'qui superessent' (ii. 27), and similarly placed with respect to 'ut' and its tense 'haberent.'—'mercatores:' see i. 1. They had their tents near the 'vallum' on the outside. 'Tendere' is used absolutely in this sense both by the poets and the historians.

"Illic Aeacides, illic tendebat Ulixes."—Ovid. Her. i. 35.

recipiendi sui] 'Se recipere' is used in Caesar so as to show the place to which a person makes his way (iii. 6). It is also used absolutely to express recovery from surprise or alarm or fatigue (iii. 4). The 'mercatores' had not gone with the foraging party: they were in the tents with their wares, and there the Germans surprised them. We may infer that they were massacred, not having time to escape into the camp, where we may suppose that they would have been allowed a shelter. The cohort or guard ('in statione,' iv. 32) had trouble enough to defend itself.

novas—religiones] 'Most of them imagine new superstitious alarms suggested by the place, and' &c.; having hitherto, as Schneider remarks, been without fears and thoughts of evil forebodings.—There is also 'qui . . . occiderunt.' If 'qui occiderint' is the true reading, it must not be translated like an indicative: 'and have before their eyes the ill luck of Cotta and Titurius in perishing in the same place.'

Cottaeque et Titurii calamitatem qui in eodem occiderint castello ante oculos ponunt. Tali timore omnibus perterritis, confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut ex captivo audierant, nullum esse intus praesidium. Perrumpere nituntur, seque ipsi adhortantur ne tantam fortunam ex manibus dimittant.

38. Erat aeger in praesidio relictus P. Sextius Baculus, qui primum pilum ad Caesarem duxerat, cujus mentionem superioribus proeliis fecimus, ac diem jam quintum cibo caruerat. Hic diffisus suae atque omnium saluti inermis ex tabernaculo prodit: videt imminere hostes atque in summo rem esse discrimine: capit arma a proximis atque in porta consistit. Consequuntur hunc centuriones ejus cohortis quae in statione erat: paullisper una proelium sustinent. Relinquit animus Sextium gravibus acceptis vulneribus: aegre per manus tractus servatur. Hoc spatio interposito reliqui sese confirmant tantum ut in munitionibus consistere audeant speciemque defensorum praebeant.

39. Interim confecta frumentatione milites nostri clamorem exaudiunt. Praecurrunt equites; quanto res sit in periculo cognoscunt. Hic vero nulla munitio est quae perterritos recipiat: modo conscripti atque usus militaris imperiti ad tribunum militum centurionesque ora con-

ex manibus dimittant] 'let go,' 'let slip.' See c. 12.

38. *ad Caesarem*] This is the same as 'apud Caesarem,' if the reading is right. See iii. 9, 'ad omnes nationes.' There is a reading 'apud.' Baculus is mentioned ii. 25; iii. 5.

per manus] Baculus fainted, and was hardly rescued, being carried off by his comrades. Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 11) has "ut . . . inter manus e convivio tanquam e proelio auferretur" in the same sense; and 'per manus . . . tradat' (De Prov. Cons. c. 16). See B. G. vii. 25.

speciem] Compare vi. 27, 'summa species.'

39. *exaudiunt*] Compare v. 30, and vii. 47. 'Audire' is simply 'to hear.' 'Exaudire' seems to express a hearing of something, which reaches the ears of those for whom it is not intended, or those who are at a distance, or to whose hearing some obstacle is opposed. Herzog quotes Livy ii. 27, "neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu ac clamore poterat." See Cicero, In Cat. i. 8; and iv. 7. The 'milites nostri' are the foragers. The cavalry, who were with them, though not mentioned c. 36, hurry forwards to see what is the cause of the noise.

Hic vero] 'Now under these circumstances, there was no fortified place to receive the affrighted soldiers.' 'Hic' is often used thus, by Cicero, for instance, to express a state or condition of things.

vertunt: quid ab his praecipiatur exspectant: nemo est tam fortis quin rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari signa procul conspicati oppugnatione desistunt: redisse primo legiones credunt, quas longius discessisse ex captivis cognoverant: postea despecta paucitate ex omnibus partibus impetum faciunt.

40. Calones in proximum tumulum procurrunt: hinc celeriter dejecti se in signa manipulosque conjiciunt: eo magis timidos perterrent milites. Alii cuneo facto ut celeriter perrumpant censent, quoniam tam propinqua sint castra; et si pars aliqua circumventa ceciderit, at reliquos servari posse confidunt: alii ut in jugo consistant atque eundem omnes ferant casum. Hoc veteres non probant milites, quos sub vexillo una profectos docuimus. Itaque inter se cohortati duce C. Trebonio, equite Romano, qui eis erat praepositus, per medios hostes perrumpunt incolumesque ad unum omnes in castra perveniunt. Hos subsecuti calones equitesque eodem impetu militum virtute servantur. At ii qui in jugo constiterant, nullo etiam nunc usu rei militaris percepto, neque in eo quod probaverant consilio permanere, ut se loco superiore defenderent, neque eam quam prod-

nemo est] Schneider correctly observes that this is not a general remark. Caesar means that all the Romans were frightened.

despecta] See vii. 20, "paucitatem eorum ex loco superiore cognoscere et virtutem despicere."

40. *Calones*] See ii. 24, note.

signa manipulosque] They throw themselves among the ranks for protection. As to 'signa manipulosque,' see ii. 25.—'Alii' means the 'milites:' some advise ('censent') that they form in mass and break through the Germans. 'Censere' in this sense is so used: Cicero has (Ad Div. vii. 13) "Treviros vites censeo." Caesar also uses it in another way (vii. 77). See i. 35, note. The 'cuneus' is described by Vegetius (iii. 19) as a number of infantry in close rank with the head of the column narrow and widening towards the rear, and formed to break an enemy's line. In shape the 'cuneus' was like a Δ. It was also called 'caput porcinum.' The word often occurs in Livy; as ii. 50; vii. 24.

si—at] See v. 29; i. 43, note.

etiam nunc] 'Even now' means 'even then.' These were the men who were 'inexperienced in military practice' ('militaris usus imperiti,' c. 39). They had not had much time to improve their practice. Caesar seems to mean that 'even then not seeing at all what military practice required;' which was either to keep their advantageous position and fight it out, or to form in mass and break through the enemy. Instead of doing this they endeavoured to reach the camp in disorder, and descended upon unfavourable ground ('se . . . iniquum in locum demiserunt').

esse aliis vim celeritatemque viderant imitari potuerunt, sed se in castra recipere conati iniquum in locum demiserunt. Centuriones, quorum nonnulli ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum legionum virtutis causa in superiores erant ordines hujus legionis transducti, ne ante partam rei militaris laudem amitterent fortissime pugnantes conciderunt. Militum pars horum virtute summotis hostibus praeter spem incolumis in castra pervenit; pars a barbaris circumventa periit.

41. Germani desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod nostros jam constitisse in munitionibus videbant, cum ea praeda quam in silvis deposuerant trans Rhenum sese receperunt. Ac tantus fuit etiam post discessum hostium terror ut ea nocte, quum C. Volusenus missus cum equitatu ad castra venisset, fidem non faceret adesse cum incolumi Caesarem exercitu. Sic omnium animos timor praeoccupaverat ut paene alienata mente deletis omnibus copiis equitatum tantum se ex fuga recepisse dicerent, neque incolumi exercitu Germanos castra oppugnaturos fuisse contenderent. Quem timorem Caesaris adventus sustulit.

42. Reversus ille, eventus belli non ignorans, unum quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio essent emissae questus, ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisse,

ex inferioribus ordinibus] See i. 40, note.—'summotis:' the enemy being driven from their ground, pushed out of the way. Compare i. 25, "ut victis et summotis resisteret."

41. *fidem non faceret*] See iv. 11, 'fidem facere.' There is a reading 'haberet,' which is a mistake; but another reading 'haberent' may be right, for it means 'to believe;' as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 57), "fides huic defensioni non haberetur;" and In Pison. c. 34. Volusenus is mentioned iii. 5; iv. 21.

42. *ignorans*] The reading 'ignarus,' which would make 'eventus' the genitive singular, spoils the passage; for the meaning is, 'Caesar not being ignorant of the chances of war.'

questus] Cicero had not followed Caesar's orders, and he had been surprised. The general deals very gently with Quintus for his brother Marcus' sake. Not a word is said about Cicero bestirring himself after the surprise. The general's silence expresses both his disapprobation and his forbearance. He praised Cicero before when he had deserved it (v. 40, and 52).

casu] Some MSS. have 'casui.' This final 'i' seems to have been often dropped in this declension. The words 'ne minimo . . . debuisse' have no direct dependence on any word, but they may depend on 'questus' just as 'unum' does, which is explained by 'quod . . . essent emissae.' As to 'locum relinqui,' compare v. 52.

multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisse judicavit; multo etiam amplius, quod paene ab ipso vallo portisque castrorum barbaros avertisset. Quarum omnium rerum maxime admirandum videbatur, quod Germani, qui eo consilio Rhenum transierant ut Ambiorigis fines depopularentur, ad castra Romanorum delati optatissimum Ambiorigi beneficium obtulerant.

43. Caesar rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus magno coacto numero ex finitimis civitatibus in omnes partes dimittit. Omnes vici atque omnia aedificia quae quisque conspexerat incendebantur: praeda ex omnibus locis agebatur: frumenta non solum a tanta multitudine jumentorum atque hominum consumebantur, sed etiam anni tempore atque imbribus procubuerant; ut, si qui etiam in praesentia se occultassent, tamen his deducto exercitu rerum omnium inopia pereundum videretur. Ac saepe in eum locum ventum est, tanto in omnes partes diviso equitatu, ut modo visum ab se Ambiorigem in fuga

avertisset] This seems to be the true reading, and not 'avertissent,' for fortune, which had shown her power in the matter of the sudden attack, had shown it much more in turning the enemy back after reaching the 'vallum' and the gates.

quod—obtulerant] There are also the readings 'obtulerunt' and 'obtulerint.' The subjunctive perhaps is not right here, but though 'quod' does not differ from other forms of 'qui' as to its construction, it is doubtful when there is such a word as 'videbatur,' if we should have the subjunctive or the indicative. 'Videbatur' is not a word used to express a doubtful opinion; it expresses a fact, though in the form of an opinion.

43. *magno—numero*] See iii. 14, note.—Caesar again set out 'ad vexandos hostes.' His warfare with these people is the same as that of modern nations in the country of people whom they call savages. The Eburones were an agricultural people; they had corn fields, houses, villages, and cattle. Their houses and villages were burnt, their cattle were driven off ('praeda . . . agebatur'), their corn was consumed by the men and the beasts, and it was laid by the rains; so that if any of the enemy had concealed themselves, they must die of hunger when the Roman army was withdrawn. The horror of Caesar's devastations was increased by his letting loose on the miserable Eburones their own savage neighbours. At each end of Africa we have seen two European nations doing what Caesar did. The Roman was provoked by the slaughter of his men and the treachery of the natives; and there is the same excuse now for the same retaliation. "The crops of the Gaikas (the Eburones of South Africa) have been utterly destroyed" (1852). In 1857 the English burned villages in the revolted provinces of India.

inopia] He appears to have destroyed the people. We hear no more of them, and the Tungri occupied their place.

eum locum] This hunt after the king of the Eburones is described in

[circumspicerent] captivi nec plane etiam abisse ex conspectu contenderent, ut spe consequendi illata atque infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam ab Caesare gratiam inituros putarent, paene naturam studio vincerent, semperque paullum ad summam felicitatem defuisse videretur, atque ille latebris ac silvis aut saltibus se eriperet, et noctu occultatus alias regiones partesque peteret, non majore equitum praesidio quam quatuor, quibus solis vitam suam committere audebat.

44. Tali modo vastatis regionibus exercitum Caesar duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum Remorum reducit, concilioque in eum locum Galliae indicto de conjuratione Senonum et Carnutum quaestionem habere instituit; et de Accone, qui princeps ejus consilii fuerat, graviore sententia pronunciata, more majorum supplicium sumsit. Nonnulli judicium veriti profugerunt; quibus quum aqua atque igni interdixisset, duas legiones ad fines

one long clumsy sentence. Ambiorix was too active and too cunning to be caught even by Caesar (viii. 24).

By 'eum locum' is meant generally that 'matters were brought to such a pass,' 'such was the activity of the pursuit.' The hunters took prisoners every now and then who affirmed that the king had just been seen, indeed was hardly out of sight; and thus no doubt they put the Romans on the wrong scent. We must translate 'ut . . . vincerent,' &c., and 'so that the pursuers, having the hope of catching Ambiorix presented to them, and undergoing incessant toil, in the expectation ('qui putarent') of getting Caesar's best thanks, made almost supernatural efforts ('naturam . . . vincerent') in their zeal, but still fell short of perfect good luck, as Ambiorix saved himself by lurking and in the woods or defiles, and after hiding himself by night, made his way towards other regions and parts with no more than an escort of four horsemen, to whom alone he ventured to entrust his life.'

captivi] 'circumspicerent captivi,' Schn., which we must read if we follow the MSS. authority, but though it has been explained in a way, I think no sense can be made out of it. There is also 'conspexisse dicerent,' which is sense.

ut spe] This 'ut' does not depend on 'in eum locum' like the first 'ut,' but on all that precedes (Kraner).

44. *Durocortorum*] The capital of the Remi, now Reims, on a river (the Vêle, a branch of the Aisne), as the word 'Dur,' 'water,' implies.

more majorum] After Roman fashion. When Nero (Sueton. 49) was informed that he was going to be arrested "ut puniatur more majorum," he asked what it was, and was informed that he must be stripped naked, have his head stuck in a kind of pillory ('furca'), and be flogged to death. See Cic. Ver. ii. 5, c. 6; and B. G. viii. 38.

aqua atque igni] See i. 46. This expression occurs in a letter of D. Brutus in the collection of Cicero's letters (Ad Div. xi. 1), "paullo post futurum ut hostes judicemur aut aqua et igni interdicamur."

Trevirorum, duas in Lingonibus, sex reliquas in Senonum finibus Agendici in hibernis collocavit; frumentoque exercitu proviso, ut instituerat in Italiam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

Such an interdict was passed at Rome against Cicero, and by the terms of it he was not allowed to be within 400 miles of Rome (Cic. Ad Att. iii. 4). To exclude a man from fire and water is equivalent to putting him out of the pale of society.

Agendicum] ii. 2, note.—Caesar here mentions the ten legions again. See vi. 1, note.—'instituerat:' in the first chapter of the next book, there is 'constituerat.'

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. 1. The causes which moved the Galli to rise against Caesar. 2, 3. The Carnutes begin the war, and the Arverni (4, 5), under Vercingetorix, follow their example. 6—8. Caesar passes from Italy into Transalpine Gallia, cuts a road through the snow on the Cévennes, and comes unexpectedly on the Arverni. 9—13. Caesar collects his forces, and Vercingetorix prepares to assault the town of the Boii. Caesar takes Vellaunodunum, Genabum, Noviodunum of the Bituriges, and advances against Avaricum, the chief town of the Bituriges. 14, 15. The Gallic confederates burn twenty towns of the Bituriges, and other towns are burnt to prevent them falling into the hands of the Romans; Avaricum is not burnt, and preparation is made for defending it against Caesar. 16, 17. Vercingetorix follows Caesar to the neighbourhood of Avaricum; the sufferings of the Roman soldiers before Avaricum. 18—21. Caesar leaves Avaricum to attack the camp of Vercingetorix in his absence, but the Galli decline a battle; Vercingetorix on his return is accused of treachery by his countrymen, but he clears himself. 22—25. The obstinate defence of Avaricum; description of the walls of Gallic towns; the Galli in Avaricum fire the Roman agger, and make an unsuccessful sally; a story of Gallic courage. 26—28. The Galli prepare to quit Avaricum, but are prevented by the women; the Romans take the town and massacre all the people. 29, 30. Vercingetorix encourages the Galli to hope for better things, and he raises fresh forces. 32, 33. The Aedui send to ask Caesar to settle their disputes: he puts down one of the two claimants to the chief magistracy and sets up the other. 34, 35. Labienus is sent with four legions to the territory of the Senones and Parisii; Caesar crosses the Elaver with the rest of his force by a stratagem. 36. Caesar reaches Gergovia and begins the siege. 37—40. Convictolitanis and Litavicus attempt to detach the Aedui from the Romans; the trick of Litavicus discovered by Caesar, who goes to meet Litavicus and frustrates his plan. 41. The camp at Gergovia attacked in Caesar's absence. 42, 43. The violence committed by the Aedui against the Romans who were among them: the Aedui pretend to be sorry for what they have done, and Caesar affects to overlook it. 44—51. The siege of Gergovia continued: capture of the Gallic camps, which were outside of the walls of Gergovia: a fight under the walls of Gergovia, in which the Romans sustained great loss. 52, 53. Caesar reproves the rashness of his soldiers, and encourages them: he gives up the siege of Gergovia. 54—56. Eporedorix and Virdumarus, two Aedui, make false professions of friendship to Caesar; they seize Noviodunum on the Liger, where Caesar had his stores: Caesar crosses the Liger, and advances to join Labienus. 57—72. The operations of Labienus among the Parisii; he hears of Caesar giving up the siege of Gergovia, and of the revolt of the Aedui: he skilfully conducts his troops back to Agendicum, and then joins Caesar. 63—65.

Vercingetorix is chosen the commander of all the Galli, against the will of the Aedui: he prepares for the contest: Caesar's vigilance: he recruits his cavalry with Germans from beyond the Rhine. 66, 67. Vercingetorix attacks Caesar with his cavalry, and is defeated. 68, 69. Vercingetorix retires into Alesia, a town of the Mandubii; description of Alesia. 70, 71. Caesar's Germans defeat the cavalry of Vercingetorix, who after the battle sends away his cavalry, and summons all Gallia to his aid. 72—74. Caesar's works round Alesia. 75, 76. The Galli assemble and fix the contingents which the several states must send to Vercingetorix: the new troops march to the relief of Alesia. 77, 78. Famine in Alesia; Critognatus exhorts his countrymen in Alesia to hold out: the Mandubii are expelled from their own town by the Galli. 79, 80. The Roman lines around Alesia are attacked by the Gallic contingents under Commius and others, but the Galli are repulsed. 81, 82. Another unsuccessful attack is made by the Galli on Caesar's lines. 83—88. A great battle is fought round the town; and the Romans are victorious. 89. The surrender of Alesia, and of Vercingetorix. 90. The submission of the Aedui, and the Arverni: the winter quarters of the legions.

The events in this book belong to B.C. 52, and the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. and Q. Metellus Scipio.

QUIETA Gallia Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos proficiscitur. Ibi cognoscit de Clodii caede; de senatusque consulto certior factus ut omnes juniores Italiae conjurarent, delectum tota provincia habere instituit. Eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur. Addunt ipsi et affingunt rumori-

Clodii] P. Clodius Pulcher was killed near Rome in January, B.C. 52, in an encounter with his enemy Milo (Cicero, Pro Milone, c. 9, 10). Great disturbances followed at Rome; and the senate ordered a general muster of the 'juniores,' or the males within a certain age, who were liable to military service out of the city (Asconius; Introd. to Cicero, Pro Mil.; Liv. i. 43; vi. 2). The word 'conjurare,' which means to swear together, is ambiguous, for it may mean taking an oath all at once; or it may have reference to the mutual understanding of the swearers, as in the case where 'conjuratio' means what we call a combination or conspiracy. Caesar says of Pompeius, after his defeat in Thessaly (B. C. iii. 102), "erat edictum Pompeii nomine Amphipoli propositum, uti omnes ejus provinciae juniores, Graeci civesque Romani, jurandi causa convenirent;" where the simple word 'jurare' is used: Pompeius summoned all persons under a certain age to come to take the military oath. There appears to be no difference in the meaning of 'conjurare' in this passage of the Gallic War, and 'jurare' in the Civil War. Perhaps the 'conjurare' expresses the tumultuary character of the act, something done in a hurry, and to meet a difficulty. So when Turnus gives the signal of war from the citadel of Laurentum (Aen. viii. 4),

"Extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
Conjurat trepido Latium."

Addunt &c.] The Galli received news of the facts which Caesar has mentioned, and of their own invention they added to the reports what

bus Galli quod res poscere videbatur, retineri urbano motu Caesarem, neque in tantis dissensionibus ad exercitum venire posse. Hac impulsi occasione, qui jam ante se populi Romani imperio subjectos dolerent, liberius atque audacius de bello consilia inire incipiunt. Indictis inter se principes Galliae conciliis silvestribus ac remotis locis queruntur de Acconis morte; hunc casum ad ipsos recidere posse demonstrant; miserantur communem Galliae fortunam; omnibus pollicitationibus ac praemiis deposcunt qui belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent. Ejus inprimis rationem habendam dicunt, priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur. Id esse facile, quod neque legiones absente imperatore audeant ex hibernis egredi, neque imperator sine praesidio ad legiones pervenire possit: postremo in acie praestare interfici quam non veterem belli gloriam libertatemque quam a majoribus acceperint reciperare.

2. His rebus agitatis profitentur Carnutes se nullum periculum communis salutis causa recusare, principesque ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur, et, quoniam in praesentia obsidibus inter se cavere non possint ne res efferatur, ut jurejurando ac fide sanciatur petunt collatis militaribus signis, quo more eorum gravissimae caerimoniae continentur, ne facto initio belli ab reliquis deserantur. Tum collaudatis Carnutibus, dato jurejurando ab omnibus qui aderant, tempore ejus rei constituto, ab concilio disceditur.

3. Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes Cotuato et Conetoduno

in the circumstances seemed to be a necessary consequence ('quod res poscere videbatur'), that Caesar was detained in Italy by the disturbances in Rome ('urbano motu').

qui—dolerent] See v. 4, note.

Indictis—principes Galliae conciliis] See ii. 11, and v. 49. The order of the words is like 'Quibus litteris . . . Caesar allatis' (v. 49).

recidere] See vi. 11, note.—'faciat . . . vindicet:' the reading of some MSS.

veterem—gloriam] Comp. Sallust, Cat. 53, "gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse."

2. *cavere*] This word expresses both getting security and giving security (vi. 2, note). With 'inter se' it means to give and take security.

collatis — signis] "Armati, ita mos gentis erat, in concilium venere (Galli)," Liv. 21, c. 20.—'dato jurejurando:' 'the oath being taken,' as in Cicero, De Off. iii. 31.

Dion Cassius (40, c. 33, &c.) has

ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Genabum dato signo concurrunt, civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant, in his C. Fusium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae jussu Caesaris praeerat, interficiunt bonaque eorum diripiunt. Celeriter ad omnes Galliae civitates fama perfertur; nam ubi major atque illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut tum accidit. Nam quae Genabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt; quod spatium est milium circiter CLX.

4. Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius, Ar-

written the campaign of B.C. 52 in nine chapters, from which no exact knowledge can be got.

3. *desperatis*] Our word 'desperate' means nearly the same; men of whom and for whom there is no hope, either in others or in themselves. Caesar, like other men who have power, applies words of disparagement to those who rise up against him.

Genabum] Introd. p. 14; and ii. 35, note. The modern name Orléans is a corruption of the later name, 'civitas Aurelianorum.'

negotiandi] See i. 1. These men were said 'negotiari,' 'negotia habere.' They were generally 'equites,' and moneyed men, who carried on the business of bankers, and managed loans of money, both on their own account and on account of others. They also seem to have dealt in corn, buying it in large quantities. In this instance, Cita, who had the command of money, had been appointed by Caesar to look after the supply of corn for the army; and he may have been in the position of a contractor, who agreed to deliver the corn at a certain price.

rei frumentariae] Genabum being on the Loire would be a convenient place for receiving the produce which was sent down the river. Between Orléans and Paris there is also the Pays de Beauce, a rich corn country.

clamore] What Caesar describes is simple enough. The country was populous, and great news was quickly carried from one spot to another. The 'shouts' through the country would not do much unless the shouters ran some way with their news; for a bare shout, such as could be heard some distance, would not convey any exact intelligence. During the first French revolution the same thing was done in Bretagne. The word of command passing from parish to parish brought the peasants together at the place which was mentioned. Emissaries ran through the country; children and women carried the orders of the chief, and nobody failed at the place of meeting. Herzog calls this the first rude attempt at a kind of telegraph, forgetting that to make it like a telegraph, there must have been stationed persons in readiness, always waiting for the news, and at distances within which the human voice could clearly convey intelligence; not a trace of which is there in Caesar.

significant] 'significabatur,' ii. 7; 'significare,' vii. 26.

quod spatium] From Genabum to Gergovia is about 160 English miles in a straight line.

vernus, summae potentiae adolescens (cujus pater principatum Galliae totius obtinuerat, et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat, ab civitate erat interfectus), convocatis suis clientibus facile incendit. Cognito ejus consilio ad arma concurritur: ab Gobanitione patruo suo, reliquisque principibus, qui hanc tentandam fortunam non existimabant, expellitur ex oppido Gergovia; non destitit tamen, atque in agris habet delectum egentium ac perditorum. Hac coacta manu, quoscumque adit ex civitate ad suam sententiam perducit: hortatur ut communis libertatis causa arma capiant: magnisque coactis copiis, adversarios suos, a quibus paullo ante erat ejectus, expellit ex civitate. Rex ab suis appellatur; dimittit quoquoversus legationes; obtestatur ut in fide maneant. Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos, Turonos, Aulercos, Lemovices, Andes reliquosque omnes, qui Oceanum attingunt, adjungit: omnium consensu ad eum defertur imperium. Qua oblata potestate omnibus his civitatibus obsides imperat, certum numerum militum ad se celeriter adduci jubet, armorum quantum quaeque civitas domi quodque ante tempus efficiat constituit: in primis equitatui studet. Summae diligentiae summam imperii severitatem addit: magnitudine supplicii dubitantes cogit: nam majore commisso delicto igni atque omnibus tormentis necat; leviore de causa auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit ut sint

4. *Arvernus*] The name Arverni is the origin of Auvergne (Introd. p. 13). Gergovia, which is afterwards described by Caesar (c. 36), was on the flat summit of a hill near Clermont, the chief town of the Auvergne. See note at the end of Lib. vii.

incendit] There is a reading 'eos incendit.' See iii. 14, note.

quoquoversus] 'quoque versus,' Kraner. See iii. 23.—'defertur:' see ii. 4.

Andes] Most of the MSS. have 'Andos' here. See ii. 35, note. The Cadurci extended from the borders of the Arverni to the Garonne. Their chief town, Divona (Cahors), retains a trace of the name Cadurci, which also appears in the name of the old division of Querci. The Lemovices were north of the Cadurci in the Limousin. The town of Limoges still retains the original name slightly altered. When Caesar says 'reliquosque omnes' &c. he is speaking vaguely or carelessly, as if he did not choose to trouble himself with further particulars. These words would comprehend the Santones, but they are not mentioned before as having given Caesar any trouble, and they supplied him with ships (iii. 11) for his Venetian war. In vii. 75, they join the confederates.

reliquis documento et magnitudine poenae perterreant alios.

5. His suppliciis celeriter coacto exercitu Lucterium Cadurcum, summae hominem audaciae, cum parte copiarum in Rutenos mittit: ipse in Bituriges proficiscitur. Ejus adventu Bituriges ad Aeduos, quorum erant in fide, legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Aedui de consilio legatorum, quos Caesar ad exercitum reliquerat, copias equitatus peditatusque subsidio Biturigibus mittunt. Qui quum ad flumen Ligerim venissent, quod Bituriges ab Aeduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati neque flumen transire ausi domum revertuntur legatisque nostris renunciant, se Biturigum perfidiam veritos revertisse, quibus id consilii fuisse cognoverint, ut, si flumen transissent, una ex parte ipsi, altera Arverni se circumsisterent. Id eane de causa quam legatis pronunciarunt, an perfidia adducti

5. *Rutenos*] They had the Cadurci on the west, and the Cévennes on the east. They have been mentioned before (i. 45). In c. 7, Caesar speaks of some of the Ruteni, as Provinciales, from which it appears, that part of their country was now within the limits of the Provincia. The Cévennes formed a natural boundary in this part between the Provincia and the rest of Gallia; and there is no place for the Ruteni Provinciales except the tract west of the Cévennes, which borders on the Volcae Tectosages, and has for the chief town Albi on the Tarn. Tolosa was within the Provincia, and we may easily conceive the limits of the Provincia to have extended to the banks of the Tarn, one of the chief branches of the Garonne. The Ruteni, not the Provinciales, had a chief town Segodunum, afterwards 'civitas Rutenorum,' now Rhodez. The old diocese of Rhodez seems to have corresponded to the Ruteni of Celtica.

Bituriges] The Loire below the junction of the Loire and Allier was the boundary between the Bituriges and the Aedui. The territory of the Bituriges was chiefly within the basin of the Cher, and corresponds to the ante-revolutionary province of Berri, with part of Bourbonnois, and a small part of Touraine, or to the old diocese of Bourges. These Bituriges are called Cubi by some writers, and thus distinguished from the Bituriges Vivisci, whose head town was Burdigala (Bordeaux) on the Garonne.

in fide] They were some of the 'veteres clientes' (vi. 12), in which chapter Caesar has the phrase 'se in clientelam dicabant.' 'In fide' (vi. 4) seems to be not quite the same as 'fidem sequi' (v. 20), which means to put trust in a person, "cujus fidem secuti sumus" (Paulus, Dig. 50. 17. 84).

de consilio] 'According to the advice;' so there is 'de consilii sententia' (Cic. Verr. ii. 5, c. 21), and other like expressions. Caesar means the legati at Agendicum and among the Lingones (vi. 44).

pronunciarunt] "MSS. fere omnes et Ed. Inc. *pronunciarint;* Leid. prim. et Havn. A. *pronunciaverint,*" Elb. 'Pronunciarunt' is not in the

fecerint, quod nihil nobis constat, non videtur pro certo esse ponendum. Bituriges eorum discessu statim se cum Arvernis conjungunt.

6. His rebus in Italiam Caesari nunciatis, quum jam ille urbanas res virtute Cn. Pompeii commodiorem in statum pervenisse intelligeret, in Transalpinam Galliam profectus est. Eo quum venisset, magna difficultate afficiebatur qua ratione ad exercitum pervenire posset. Nam si legiones in provinciam arcesseret, se absente in itinere proelio dimicaturas intelligebat: si ipse ad exercitum contenderet, ne iis quidem qui eo tempore pacati viderentur suam salutem recte committi videbat.

7. Interim Lucterius Cadurcus in Rutenos missus eam civitatem Arvernis conciliat. Progressus in Nitiobriges et Gabalos ab utrisque obsides accipit, et magna coacta manu in Provinciam Narbonem versus eruptionem facere contendit. Qua re nunciata Caesar omnibus consiliis antevertendum existimavit ut Narbonem proficisceretur. Eo quum venisset, timentes confirmat, praesidia in Rute-

same position as 'fecerint,' which belongs to the clause 'eane' as well as to the clause 'an.' There is no reason why 'pronunciarunt' should not be the true form; but we cannot be certain. Roman usage seems a little unsteady as to such explanatory clauses as these, when they are involved in a dependent phrase like 'eane . . . fecerint.'

6. *Italiam Caesari*] Caesar was in Italy when the rebellion broke out in the beginning of B.C. 52. Cicero (Ad Att. vii. 1. 4) speaks of him being at Ravenna, and Florus (iii. 10, Duker), so often false, has recorded this truth, "Aberat tunc Caesar Ravennae delectum agens."

Cn. Pompeii] During the disturbances which followed Clodius' death, Cn. Pompeius was elected sole consul in February for the purpose of keeping order. Q. Metellus Scipio was made his colleague in August, B.C. 52. (Appian, B. C. ii. 25; Plut. Pomp. c. 55.)

magna difficultate — qua] We could say 'he was in great straits, how he should.' Kraner compares iv. 14, "perturbantur copiasne ducere . . . praestaret."

7. *Gabalos*] The Gabali (vii. 75) were in the basin of the Lot, in the Gévaudan, the chief town of which is Mende. Pliny (xi. 42) tells us that the Gabalici pagi are in the neighbourhood of Mons Lesura, La Lozère (Introd. p. 6). But they extended considerably west of La Lozère, for Anderitum, their chief town, is Javols, according to D'Anville, and Antérieux, according to others.

It is probable that Lucterius visited the Gabali before the Nitiobriges, who are on the Garonne, west of the Cadurci, in the department of Lot, and on the river Lot, a branch of the Garonne. The Gabali are next to the Ruteni.—'Narbonem:' see Introd. p. 28. As to the use of 'versus,' see vi. 33 and vii. 8.

omnibus — antevertendum] The meaning is, 'Caesar thought that he ought to reach Narbo in preference to every other design.'

nis provincialibus, Volcis Arecomicis, Tolosatibus, circumque Narbonem, quae loca hostibus erant finitima, constituit: partem copiarum ex provincia supplementumque quod ex Italia adduxerat in Helvios, qui fines Arvernorum contingunt, convenire jubet.

8. His rebus comparatis, represso jam Lucterio et remoto, quod intrare intra praesidia periculosum putabat, in Helvios proficiscitur. Etsi mons Cevenna, qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, durissimo tempore anni altissima nive iter impediebat, tamen discissa nive in altitudinem pedum VI atque ita viis patefactis, summo militum labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit. Quibus oppressis inopinantibus, quod se Cevenna ut muro munitos existimabant, ac ne singulari quidem umquam homini eo tempore anni semitae patuerant, equitibus imperat ut quam latissime possint vagentur, et quam maximum hostibus terrorem inferant. Celeriter haec fama ac nunciis ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur; quem perterriti omnes Arverni circumsistunt atque obsecrant ut suis fortunis consulat, neu se ab hostibus diripi patiatur, praesertim quum videat omne ad se bellum translatum. Quorum ille precibus permotus castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernos versus.

9. At Caesar biduum in his locis moratus, quod haec

supplementum] The new troops mentioned in c. 1.—'Helvios:' they were east of the Cévennes, as the next chapter shows, between the Cévennes and the Rhone, and in the Provincia. They occupied the Vivarais, which is north-east of the Gévaudan and borders on it.

8. *Cevenna*] See Introd. p. 5, &c.—'discissa:' there are the readings 'discussa' and 'discisa.'

Arvernorum] He reached the Arverni from the Helvii, and probably he went by the valley of the Ardêche. When Caesar was at Narbo he could have crossed the Cévennes by the valley of the Gardon and by Anduze. But this road would have brought him into the country of the Gabali, and the Gabali might be troublesome, as they had given hostages to Lucterius. Besides this, Caesar had ordered his new Italian levies to go to the country of the Helvii. He had brought them over the Alps in this winter season, and by the usual road of the Mont Genèvre, as we certainly infer from the country of the Helvii being fixed as the place where they were to wait for him; for he had ordered these troops there, while he hurried to Narbo to check Lucterius. He would reach the Arverni sooner by the valley of the Ardêche than by the valley of the Gardon or by any of the roads west of the valley of the Gardon.

singulari] This word means 'single.' Cicero (Contra Rull. ii. 35) has 'singularis homo, privatus,' &c.

de Vercingetorige usu ventura opinione praeceperat, per causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit; Brutum adolescentem his copiis praeficit; hunc monet ut in omnes partes equites quam latissime pervagentur: daturum se operam ne longius triduo ab castris absit. His constitutis rebus, suis inopinantibus, quam maximis potest itineribus Viennam pervenit. Ibi nactus recentem equitatum, quem multis ante diebus eo praemiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere intermisso, per fines Aeduorum in Lingones contendit ubi duae legiones hiemabant, ut, si quid etiam de sua salute ab Aeduis iniretur consilii, celeritate praecurreret. Eo quum pervenisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit, priusque omnes in unum locum cogit quam de ejus adventu Arvernis nunciari posset. Hac re cognita Vercingetorix rursus in Bituriges exercitum reducit, atque inde profectus [Gergoviam] Boiorum oppidum, quos ibi Helvetico proelio victos Caesar collocaverat Aeduisque attribuerat, oppugnare instituit.

10. Magnam haec res Caesari difficultatem ad consilium capiendum afferebat, si reliquam partem hiemis uno in loco legiones contineret, ne stipendiariis Aeduorum ex-

9. *usu ventura*] 'Haec' refers to the movement of Vercingetorix from the Bituriges towards the country of the Arverni, which allowed Caesar to go with more safety through the territory of the Aedui, the neighbours of the Bituriges. Caesar stayed two days in those parts, 'because he had correctly conjectured that this would so happen with respect to Vercingetorix.' Cicero (Cato Maj. c. 3) has 'usu venirent;' and Pro Q. Roscio. c. 11. Terence (Phormio i. 2, 24) has 'mi usus venit.' See vii. 80, 'si usus veniat.'

per causam] Müller affirms that Caesar always uses 'per causam' to express a false ground or reason.

Brutum] Decimus Brutus (iii. 11). —'Viennam:' Vienna (Vienne), the chief town of the Allobroges, on the east side of the Rhone. If Caesar went only as far as the Lingones (Langres), this rapid winter journey was above 300 miles measured in direct lines. But he probably travelled more; for he seems to have gone as far as Agendicum (Sens). The 'three days' absence' was a pretence.

de sua salute] The context shows the meaning to be, 'that if the Aedui should form any design that concerned his life or chief interests, he might anticipate it by the rapidity of his movements.' 'Salus' is a term of very extensive meaning.

[*Gergoviam*]] There seems to be no MSS. authority for this name. The variations are Gergoniam, Gortonam, Gorgobiam, and others. The name of this town of these Boii is uncertain. See i. 28.

attribuerat] He had made them dependent on the Aedui. See vii. 76; viii. 6.

10. *ne stipendiariis*] The 'ne' depends on 'difficultatem,' &c. If 'stipendiariis' is to be taken in

pugnatis cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum amicis in eo praesidium videret positum esse; sin maturius ex hibernis educeret, ne ab re frumentaria duris subvectionibus laboraret. Praestare visum est tamen omnes difficultates perpeti quam tanta contumelia accepta omnium suorum voluntates alienare. Itaque cohortatus Aeduos de supportando commeatu, praemittit ad Boios qui de suo adventu doceant hortenturque, ut in fide maneant atque hostium impetum magno animo sustineant. Duabus Agendici legionibus atque impedimentis totius exercitus relictis ad Boios proficiscitur.

11. Altero die quum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunodunum venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinqueret, quo expeditiore re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare instituit idque biduo circumvallavit: tertio die missis ex oppido legatis de deditione, arma proferri, jumenta produci, DC obsides dari jubet. Ea qui conficeret C. Trebonium legatum relinquit: ipse, ut quam primum iter conficeret, Genabum Carnutum proficiscitur, qui, tum primum allato nuntio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, quum longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, praesidium Genabi tuendi causa, quod eo mitterent, comparabant. Huc biduo perve-

the strictly Roman sense, we must conclude that these Boii made certain fixed payments to the Aedui for their lands (i. 36, note).

ab re—laboraret] 'Lest he should have trouble about his supplies of corn owing to the difficulty of bringing them up to the quarters.' 'Laborare' is also used with an ablative without a preposition, but the meaning is not exactly the same. With the preposition the form of expression is more general, indicating the object or person 'from which,' as the Romans said, 'with reference to which,' as we say, the predication is made.

subvectionibus] See i. 39, note, and ii. 5, note.—'Agendici:' ii. 2; vi. 44.

11. *Vellaunodunum*] Caesar, leaving Sens and marching to Orléans, comes to Vellaunodunum on the second day ('altero die') after leaving Sens. The day of leaving Sens is the first day. We have no other means of judging what place Vellaunodunum is. D'Anville (Notice, &c.) gives some reasons for supposing that it may be Beaune in Gâtinois. Caesar marched in two days from Vellaunodunum to Genabum. The time alone confutes various guesses about the site of Vellaunodunum, which are mentioned by Walckenaer, Géog., &c. i. 410.

ductum iri] This form of expression is the supine, as it is called, after a verb of motion, as in 'spectatum veniunt.' So we could say 'spectatum itur,' or if the 'going' depended on another verb, 'spectatum iri existimarent.' 'Ductum' means to prolong, to draw out, and it is used in a similar sense in i. 16.

nit: et castris ante oppidum positis, diei tempore exclusus in posterum oppugnationem differt, quaeque ad eam rem usui sint militibus imperat; et, quod oppidum Genabum pons fluminis Ligeris contingebat, veritus ne noctu ex oppido profugerent, duas legiones in armis excubare jubet. Genabenses, paullo ante mediam noctem silentio ex oppido egressi, flumen transire coeperunt. Qua re per exploratores nunciata Caesar legiones, quas expeditas esse jusserat, portis incensis intromittit atque oppido potitur, perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis quin [cuncti] vivi caperentur, quod pontis atque itinerum angustiae multitudini fugam intercluserant. Oppidum diripit atque incendit, praedam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerim transducit atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

12. Vercingetorix, ubi de Caesaris adventu cognovit,

contingebat] The reading of four of the best MSS. (Elb.), which reading, says Herzog, does not deserve any notice. He has 'continebat,' and he explains it by saying that the town consisted of two parts on opposite sides of the river, united by a bridge; which is false, as any one may see who will read with care. The town was on the north side of this wide river, and there was a bridge near it; the bridge came up to or near the town, and this may have been the reason why Caesar could not get at it and so stop the retreat of the townsmen. In vi. 29, there is "partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat." With this fact established, the narrative of Caesar is perfectly clear. If the town had lain on both sides of the river, with a bridge between, the people would have made their escape over the bridge without being interrupted by the Romans. Those at least who were in the part on the south side of the river could have got away easily before the Romans broke into the town. For if there was any difficulty about crossing the bridge from the north side, this would not have prevented those from escaping who were in the supposed town on the south bank of the river, as Caesar did not take his army over the Loire until he had got possession of the town and burnt it.

Oppidum] Reflections either in an author or a commentator are generally not worth much; but it may be useful now and then (B. G. v. 2, note) to make a careless reader observe the rapidity of the man's movements, and his brief contemptuous style. He robs the town and sets it in a blaze; he gives the plunder to his soldiers; he crosses the Loire, and he enters the territory of the Bituriges,—not however without marching some distance. All is done in a short sentence. Not a word about the miserable people of Orléans, whose houses were reduced to ashes, and most of them made prisoners. They were probably included in the 'praeda,' such as did not perish by fire, the sword, cold, or hunger. In vii. 89, Caesar makes each soldier a present of a slave ('praedae nomine'). The soldier would of course turn him into money; he would truck with the 'mercatores' who followed the camp, for such things as he wanted.

oppugnatione desistit atque obviam Caesari proficiscitur. Ille oppidum Biturigum positum in via Noviodunum oppugnare instituerat. Quo ex oppido quum legati ad eum venissent oratum ut sibi ignosceret suaeque vitae consuleret, ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret qua pleraque erat consecutus, arma proferri, equos produci, obsides dari jubet. Parte jam obsidum tradita, quum reliqua administrarentur, centurionibus et paucis militibus intromissis qui arma jumentaque conquirerent, equitatus hostium procul visus est qui agmen Vercingetorigis antecesserat. Quem simul atque oppidani conspexerunt atque in spem auxilii venerunt, clamore sublato arma capere, portas claudere, murum complere coeperunt. Centuriones in oppido quum ex significatione Gallorum novi aliquid ab his iniri consilii intellexissent, gladiis destrictis portas occupaverunt suosque omnes incolumes receperunt.

13. Caesar ex castris equitatum educi jubet proeliumque equestre committit; laborantibus jam suis Germanos equites circiter cccc submittit, quos ab initio secum habere instituerat. Eorum impetum Galli sustinere non potuerunt, atque in fugam conjecti multis amissis se ad agmen receperunt: quibus profligatis, rursus oppidani perterriti comprehensos eos, quorum opera plebem conci-

12. *Biturigum — Noviodunum*] These words are 'ut videtur' (Elb.) in the best MSS., but they are omitted in many MSS. and in the early editions. The words 'Biturigum . . . via' are omitted in one MS. (Elb.) I believe that all the words in the text are genuine. It is a mistake to suppose that Caesar means Noviodunum of the Aedui (vii. 55). He must have crossed the Loire to get there, and must have crossed it again to get to Avaricum. Besides, why should he attack a town of the Aedui, who were still his friends, and a town that lay out of his road? Kraner says (c. 55) that Noviodunum of the Bituriges and Noviodunum on the Loire are the same place, and yet his map of Gallia, which is made by Kiepert, marks them properly as two different places. D'Anville supposes this Noviodunum to be Nouan, but De Valois places it at Neuvy sur Baranjon, where I have been informed that there are traces of an ancient town. It was evidently a place on Caesar's route from Genabum to Avaricum.

ex significatione] 'from the signs of what the Galli were doing.'—'destrictis:' see i. 25.

13. *Germanos*] He has not mentioned these German horsemen before, but he mentions them afterwards (c. 67. 70). It is not clear what he means by 'ab initio,' 'from the beginning.' He had not had them from the beginning of his Gallic campaigns.—'perduxerunt:' there is a reading 'produxerunt.'

tatam existimabant, ad Caesarem perduxerunt seseque ei dediderunt. Quibus rebus confectis Caesar ad oppidum Avaricum, quod erat maximum munitissimumque in finibus Biturigum atque agri fertilissima regione, profectus est; quod eo oppido recepto civitatem Biturigum se in potestatem redacturum confidebat.

14. Vercingetorix tot continuis incommodis Vellaunoduni, Genabi, Novioduni acceptis suos ad concilium convocat. Docet longe alia ratione esse bellum gerendum atque antea sit gestum: omnibus modis huic rei studendum, ut pabulatione et commeatu Romani prohibeantur: id esse facile, quod equitatu ipsi abundent, et quod anni tempore subleventur: pabulum secari non posse; necessario dispersos hostes ex aedificiis petere: hos omnes quotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. Praeterea salutis causa rei familiaris commoda negligenda; vicos atque aedificia incendi oportere hoc spatio [a Boia] quoquo versus quo pabulandi causa adire posse videantur. Harum ipsis rerum copiam suppetere, quod quorum in finibus bellum geratur eorum opibus subleventur: Romanos aut inopiam non laturos, aut magno cum periculo longius ab castris progressuros: neque interesse ipsosne interficiant impedimentisne exuant, quibus amissis bellum geri non possit. Praeterea oppida incendi oportere quae non

Avaricum] Avaricum on the Avara (Evre), was afterwards called Bituriges, of which the modern name Bourges is a corruption. Bourges is at the junction of the Levrette with the Auron; the stream below the junction of these two rivers is called the Evre, and the Evre falls into the Cher, one of the large branches of the Loire. The Levrette receives several small branches just above or at the town, and the Auron also receives a small branch just above the town. It was a town in the midst of water, as Caesar (c. 15) describes it.

agri fertilissima] 'and in the most fertile part of the country of the Bituriges.' Avaricum stood on a small elevation, surrounded by a flat, rich country.

14. *incommodis*] See c. 30.

alia—atque] See i. 28.

[*a Boia*] This place is unknown. Herzog conjectures that Boia may mean a tract of country like Venetia (iii. 9), the country of the Veneti. If this is so, it means the country of the Boii (i. 28); but Vercingetorix was in the country of the Bituriges.

ipsosne—impedimentisne] "Vulg. ante Oud. et Giani *impedimentisve*" (Elb.). The form 'ne . . . ne' is used sometimes. I don't know if 'ne . . . ve' is genuine.

geri non possit] "Sic Havn. A.—Leid. sec. *posse*" (Elb.). I can't tell what the rest have; but 'posse' is good Latin, and may be taken by those who prefer it.

munitione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo tuta, neu suis sint ad detractandam militiam receptacula, neu Romanis proposita ad copiam commeatus praedamque tollendam. Haec si gravia aut acerba videantur, multo illa gravius aestimare debere, liberos, conjuges in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos interfici; quae sit necesse accidere victis.

15. Omnium consensu hac sententia probata uno die amplius XX urbes Biturigum incenduntur. Hoc idem fit in reliquis civitatibus. In omnibus partibus incendia conspiciuntur; quae etsi magno cum dolore omnes ferebant, tamen hoc sibi solatii proponebant, quod se prope explorata victoria celeriter amissa reciperaturos confidebant. Deliberatur de Avarico in communi concilio, incendi placeret an defendi. Procumbunt omnibus Gallis ad pedes Bituriges, Ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae et praesidio et ornamento sit civitati, suis manibus succendere cogerentur; facile se loci natura defensuros dicunt, quod prope ex omnibus partibus flumine et palude circumdata unum habeat et perangustum aditum. Datur petentibus venia, dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente et precibus ipsorum et misericordia vulgi. Defensores oppido idonei deliguntur.

16. Vercingetorix minoribus Caesarem itineribus subsequitur, et locum castris deligit paludibus silvisque munitum ab Avarico longe milia passuum XVI. Ibi per

Haec—illa] 'Haec' refers to what goes before; 'illa' to what comes after. There is a reading 'multo illa graviora existimari debere.'

15. *amplius* XX] 'more than.' See i. 38. The territory of the Bituriges extended east to the Loire (vii. 5). The towns of upper Berri are small; those of lower Berri, a more fertile country, are larger.

explorata victoria] See iii. 18.

placeret] This is a usual Roman term to express a resolve or determination. The complete form would be 'incendine placeret an;' but the 'ne' may be omitted. Herzog cites examples from Livy ii. 8, &c.

concedente] 'Precibus' is the ablative; for Vercingetorix finally 'yielded through the prayers of the Bituriges, and through compassion for the common sort,' who would have been turned out of their houses in the winter. 'Ipsorum' refers to the Bituriges, a term which includes all; but Vercingetorix was also moved by consideration for the poorer sort.

16. *deligit*] The Gaul followed the Roman system of war, as far as he could make his countrymen conform to it (ii. 5, note).—'longe:' see v. 47.—'agerentur,' or 'gererentur.' There is authority for both.

certos exploratores in singula diei tempora quae ad Avaricum agerentur cognoscebat, et quid fieri vellet imperabat: omnes nostras pabulationes frumentationesque observabat, dispersosque, quum longius necessario procederent, adoriebatur magnoque incommodo afficiebat, etsi, quantum ratione provideri poterat, ab nostris occurrebatur ut incertis temporibus diversisque itineribus iretur.

17. Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis Caesar, quae intermissa a flumine et palude aditum, ut supra diximus, angustum habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas agere, turres duas constituere coepit; nam circumvallare loci natura prohibebat. De re frumentaria Boios atque Aeduos adhortari non destitit; quorum alteri, quod nullo studio agebant, non multum adjuvabant; alteri non magnis facultatibus, quod civitas erat exigua et infirma, celeriter quod habuerunt consumpserunt. Summa difficultate rei frumentariae affecto exercitu, tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Aeduorum, incendiis aedificiorum, usque eo ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint, et pecore e longinquiori-

occurrebatur] See i. 33, "quibus rebus . . . occurrendum." This is a common construction of 'occurrere,' when it means to meet a thing or prevent it by precaution. Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 9) has 'sceleri occurrere;' see also a letter of Servius to Cicero (Ad Div. iv. 5). The Roman impersonal forms of expression are difficult to translate; they express a thing in a general way, and yet with a precision which our language cannot equal. The text means: 'though as far as prudence could provide against this danger, our men took the precaution of going at uncertain times and in different directions.'

17. *palude*] 'a palude,' Elb.—'intermissa a flumine:' in i. 38 he has "reliquum spatium . . . qua flumen intermittit;" and in vii. 23, "neque inter se contingant trabes, sed paribus intermissae spatiis," in which last passage one MS. has 'intermissis.' In these cases the word means 'to leave a vacant space.' In i. 27, there is 'nocte intermissa;' and vii. 33, 'intermissis magistratibus.' See also vii. 70, 'intermissam collibus.'

aditum] The magnificent cathedral of Bourges stands on the highest ground in the city, and the cathedral is approached on one side from the country by a tract of land which has about the same level as the base of the cathedral, and is not wide ('unum habeat et perangustum aditum,' c. 15). On each side of the road which is formed along this tract of land the country slopes down to the right and the left into a flat, which continues all round the city. It was by this high and dry road that Caesar approached Avaricum. All the rest of the surrounding country was low and wet, and this will explain a passage in c. 26.

aggerem—vineas] ii. 12, note.

non magnis facultatibus] The ablative: 'having no great means.' Comp. v. 42, 'nulla . . . copia.'—'caruerint:' 'sic Havn. A.' Elb. He mentions 'carerent,' the reading of one MS.

pecore] 'Pecus' sometimes means

bus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarent, nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita populi Romani majestate et superioribus victoriis indigna. Quin etiam Caesar quum in opere singulas legiones appellaret, et, si acerbius inopiam ferrent, se dimissurum oppugnationem diceret, universi ab eo ne id faceret petebant: Sic se complures annos illo imperante meruisse ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, numquam infecta re discederent: hoc se ignominiae laturos loco, si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent: praestare omnes perferre acerbitates quam non civibus Romanis, qui Genabi perfidia Gallorum interissent, parentarent. Haec eadem centurionibus tribunisque militum mandabant, ut per eos ad Caesarem deferrentur.

18. Quum jam muro turres appropinquassent, ex captivis Caesar cognovit Vercingetorigem consumpto pabulo castra movisse propius Avaricum, atque ipsum cum equitatu expeditisque, qui inter equites proeliari consuessent, insidiandi causa [eo] profectum quo nostros postero die pabulatum venturos arbitraretur. Quibus rebus cognitis media nocte silentio profectus ad hostium castra mane pervenit. Illi celeriter per exploratores adventu Caesaris cognito carros impedimentaque sua in artiores silvas abdiderunt, copias omnes in loco edito atque aperto instruxerunt. Qua re nunciata Caesar celeriter sarcinas conferri, arma expediri jussit.

19. Collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis: hunc ex om-

all four-footed animals, used for food.—'meruisse:' the complete expression is 'stipendia merere' or 'mereri.' See the use of this word in Cicero, Verr. ii. 4, c. 60.

ignominia] This is a Roman technical term, which signifies some mark of disgrace, such as the 'censoria nota.' It is also used to signify the disgrace of a soldier, inflicted by a commander for cowardice or other sufficient cause. Here it may mean a disgraceful defeat or failure. See Lipsius, Op. de Militia Romana, v. Dial. 18.

parentarent] 'Parentare' would seem to be the regular construction. But perhaps we must supply 'ut' after 'quam.' See the note in Oudendorp's edition; and ii. 10, note. 'Parentare' means to make offerings to the dead, such as milk, honey, a wreath of flowers, a lock of hair. Hence it came to signify 'to avenge,' as here and in Livy xxiv. 21.

18. *inter equites*] See i. 48. '[eo]' is omitted in some of the best MSS., and it is not necessary.—'sarcinas:' see ii. 17, note. The 'sarcinae' were piled together before a battle (i. 24).—'arma expediri:' the soldiers were ordered to have their arms ready for fighting. (Liv. xxii. 4.)

nibus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita cingebat non latior pedibus L. Hoc se colle interruptis pontibus Galli fiducia loci continebant, generatimque distributi in civitates omnia vada ac saltus ejus paludis certis custodiis obtinebant, sic animo parati ut, si eam paludem Romani perrumpere conarentur, haesitantes premerent ex loco superiore; ut qui propinquitatem loci videret paratos prope aequo Marte ad dimicandum existimaret; qui iniquitatem conditionis perspiceret, inani simulatione sese ostentare cognosceret. Indignantes milites Caesar, quod conspectum suum hostes ferre possent tantulo spatio interjecto, et signum proelii exposcentes, edocet quanto detrimento et quot virorum fortium morte necesse sit constare victoriam; quos quum sic animo paratos videat ut nullum pro sua laude periculum recusent, summae se iniquitatis condemnari debere, nisi eorum vitam sua salute habeat cariorem. Sic milites consolatus eodem die reducit in castra, reliquaque quae ad oppugnationem oppidi pertinebant administrare instituit.

20. Vercingetorix quum ad suos redisset, proditionis insimulatus,—quod castra propius Romanos movisset, quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset, quod ejus discessu Romani tanta opportunitate et celeritate venissent; non haec omnia for-

19. *cingebat*] See ii. 5, 'muniebat,' and vii. 11, 'contingebat.'

generatim] See i. 51.—'saltus.' If we look to the etymology of this word, it seems to have the meaning of a 'pass,' or 'passage;' but it often means a pass through a forest or a woody valley, and hence it sometimes means 'forests.' The place was not entirely surrounded by water ('ex omnibus fere partibus'): it could be approached by fords and by passes through woods or bushes.

aequo Marte] Mars is the god of war, who might be 'aequus,' indifferent to either party. The word is used to express the result of a battle, as in Livy (ii. 6), "varia victoria et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est." But the expression is used to signify also the terms or conditions on which two armies fought, as it does here; for the proximity of the enemy, who had the advantage of a slight eminence only, seemed to offer a battle on almost equal terms; but when the inequality ('iniquitas') of the position was carefully examined, it was plain that the enemy did not intend to fight.

sua salute] 'Salus' here means Caesar's reputation. See vii. 9.

20. *insimulatus*] The reading of most of the MSS. seems to be 'insimulatur;' but 'insimulatus' is perhaps right, and Caesar, after these various 'quods,' repeats the word in another form, 'tali modo accusatus.' Perhaps the complete construction of 'insimulare' is that in Livy (xliv. 16), "proditionis crimine insimulari." See B. G. vii. 20. 38.

tuito aut sine consilio accidere potuisse; regnum illum Galliae malle Caesaris concessu quam ipsorum habere beneficio—tali modo accusatus ad haec respondit: Quod castra movisset factum inopia pabuli, etiam ipsis hortantibus: quod propius Romanos accessisset persuasum loci opportunitate, qui se ipsum munitione defenderet: equitum vero operam neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse, et illic fuisse utilem quo sint profecti: summam imperii se consulto nulli discedentem tradidisse, ne is multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; cui rei propter animi mollitiem studere omnes videret, quod diutius laborem ferre non possent. Romani si casu intervenerint, fortunae; si alicujus indicio vocati, huic habendam gratiam quod et paucitatem eorum ex loco superiore cognoscere et virtutem despicere potuerint, qui dimicare non ausi turpiter se in castra receperint. Imperium se ab Caesare per proditionem nullum desiderare quod habere victoria posset, quae jam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata: quin etiam ipsis remittere, si sibi magis honorem tribuere quam ab se salutem accipere videantur. Haec ut intelligatis, inquit, a me sincere pronunciari, audite Romanos milites. Producit servos quos in pabulatione paucis ante diebus exceperat et fame vinculisque excruciaverat. Hi jam ante edocti quae interrogati pronunciarent, Milites se esse legionarios dicunt: fame et inopia adductos clam ex castris exisse, si quid frumenti aut pecoris in agris reperire possent: simili omnem exercitum inopia premi, nec jam vires sufficere cuiquam, nec

persuasum] He means 'persuasum sibi.'—'se ipsum:' 'se ipse ut,' Kraner.

desiderari debuisse] Vercingetorix took the cavalry from his camp (c. 16), which was in a marshy place. His defence is, that the want of the service of the cavalry in a marshy spot ought not to have been complained of, or in other words, that the cavalry could have been of no use at the camp, and they had been useful in the place to which he had led them (c. 18, 'quo nostros,' &c.). See c. 52.

mollitiem] This word is explained by what follows: it means their incapability of endurance. See vii. 77, 'animi . . . mollities.'

remittere] Clarke takes this to mean 'imperium remittere,' that he offered to resign his command; and in support of this, 'beneficium remitto' (B. C. ii. 32) is cited. This may be the meaning. But it may mean what Morus says: 'he left them to judge, if they could be considered to be conferring a high office on him rather than to be receiving every thing from him.'

ferre operis laborem posse: itaque statuisse imperatorem, si nihil in oppugnatione oppidi profecisset, triduo exercitum deducere. Haec, inquit, a me, Vercingetorix, beneficia habetis, quem proditionis insimulatis, cujus opera sine vestro sanguine tantum exercitum victorem fame paene consumptum videtis; quem turpiter se ex hac fuga recipientem ne qua civitas suis finibus recipiat a me provisum est.

21. Conclamat omnis multitudo et suo more armis concrepat, quod facere in eo consuerunt cujus orationem approbant: Summum esse Vercingetorigem ducem, nec de ejus fide dubitandum, nec majore ratione bellum administrari posse. Statuunt ut decem milia hominum delecta ex omnibus copiis in oppidum submittantur, nec solis Biturigibus communem salutem committendam censent; quod penes eos, si id oppidum retinuissent, summam victoriae constare intelligebant.

22. Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cujusque modi Gallorum occurrebant, ut est summae genus sollertiae atque ad omnia imitanda et efficienda quae ab quoque tradantur aptissimum. Nam et laqueis falces

21. *armis concrepat*] 'They make a clatter with their arms,' by striking with their swords, for instance, against their shields, as in Livy (xxviii. 29), "exercitus . . . gladiis ad scuta concrepuit."—'in eo:' a common Latin expression, 'in the case of,' 'in the matter of a thing or person.'

penes eos] The reading of most MSS. There is a reading 'paene in eo,' which the Greek paraphrast evidently had. The text means, 'because the Gallic confederates saw that if the Bituriges should maintain the town, the merit of the victory was with them.' It was their jealousy of the Bituriges which prompted them. 'Paene in eo' means 'that the successful issue of the war depended almost on the defence of the town.'

22. *cujusque modi*] If we take the other reading 'hujusce modi,' it refers to 'nam et laqueis,' at the beginning of the next sentence.—'ut est,' &c.: Cicero (Divin. c. 9) has a like expression: "Illi quidem, ut est hominum genus nimis acutum et suspiciosum," &c. There is a comparison tacitly involved. 'The valour of our soldiers was met by every kind of contrivance of the Galli, as might be expected from a people of the greatest ingenuity.'

falces] Perhaps the same as 'harpagones' (vii. 81). When the Galli had laid hold of ('destinaverant') these 'falces' with nooses, they pulled the 'falces' towards the wall with some machinery ('tormentis') which worked the rope at the end of which the 'laquei' were. As to 'destinaverant,' see iii. 14. The Galli also worked mines under the 'agger' and carried off the earth, so that the 'agger' would sink. As to 'cuniculi' and 'ferrariae,' see iii. 21, note. Iron is still worked near Bourges

avertebant, quas quum destinaverant tormentis introrsus reducebant; et aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae, atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est. Totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus contabulaverant atque has coriis intexerant. Tum crebris diurnis nocturnisque eruptionibus aut aggeri ignem inferebant, aut milites occupatos in opere adoriebantur; et nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has quotidianus agger expresserat, commissis suarum turrium malis adaequabant; et apertos cuniculos praeusta et praeacuta materia et pice

and in other parts of the department of Cher, of which Bourges is the chief place.

murum—contabulaverant] They made towers on the walls, towers of wood, and apparently several stories high. One might suppose that they raised all the wall by a breastwork of wood, but this explanation is not consistent with 'turribus.' 'Turres' implies intervals. 'Totum murum' is not clear. Caesar did not circumvallate the town (c. 17), and his camp was placed at that part of the town where alone there was an approach. The rest of the town was surrounded by water, and the attack was directed against this part only by means of an 'agger' and two 'turres.' Still he says that they made the 'turres' all round. The hides were raw probably, or if not, they were kept wet.

aggeri ignem] See ii. 30.

altitudinem] There is a reading 'altitudini.' 'Exprimere' means 'to raise up,' and, as Herzog observes, is the opposite of 'deprimere.' Caesar has used 'excitare' (iii. 14) in a like sense. The 'quotidianus agger' is the daily rise in the mound made by the labour of the Roman soldiers. The 'commissis . . . malis' is rightly explained by Herzog. The 'mali' are the strong uprights of the 'turres' at the angles, such as we see used in building a house. These 'mali' were connected by cross pieces, forming the various stories, and the Galli kept building these stories one over the other, so as to make their towers as high as those of the Romans. If this explanation is right, we must suppose that the 'mali' rose above the first stories, and were long enough to bear other stories. Müller supposes that the original 'mali' were lengthened, when the Galli found that they were not high enough to bear more stories, and this is 'commissis . . . malis,' 'the mali being joined and lengthened.'

apertos cuniculos] See iii. 21. These are not 'open,' as opposed to 'covered,' 'cuniculi.' Clarke says, "Caesar simpliciter intelligit cuniculos, *postquam* vel *qua parte* essent tandem *aperti*;" and this may be right, but it does not explain all. The words 'et apertos,' &c. to the end of the chapter are wanting in many MSS., and in the first editions, and in the Greek paraphrast. They are in Havn. A., the edition of Aldus, and those after him. Some commentators think that they were 'cuniculi' made by the Romans, and that they were 'opened' when the Romans got to the end of their work and broke through the ground to make their way out. But this is inconsistent with 'moenibus appropinquare.' If the text is right, 'appropinquare' means the 'cuniculi,' and it must mean the Roman 'cuniculi.' The Galli were skilled in making 'cuniculi,' and they contrived to work

fervefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur moenibusque appropinquare prohibebant.

23. Muris autem omnibus Gallicis haec fere forma est.

into the Roman 'cuniculi,' to open into them; and they stopped them up with sharpened stakes, hot pitch, and large stones. The operations described in Livy xxiii. 18; xxxviii. 7, seem to explain it. "Our miners have already commenced their subterraneous labours. The first mine has been ruined by the Russian miners, who have countermined, and by burning powder and resin smoked our men in their galleries." Siege of Sebastopol.

23. *Muris*] There are different opinions about this description, and it has been misunderstood. Straight ('directae') beams were laid horizontally on the ground, and they were of one continuous length ('perpetuae') through the wall from the inside to the outside. It is not necessary to suppose that they were one piece; they might be formed by joining several pieces. The balks were laid parallel at intervals of two feet ('binos pedes'). They were bound together on the inner side ('introrsus'). We must take this reading, and not 'extrorsus,' the reading of many MSS. The spaces between were filled with earth, except in front or the outside, where the interval was filled with large stones. All these balks and stones being well fastened together, the first layer or tier was complete. The second, which was placed on it, was constructed in the same way: the same interval was kept between each pair of balks. The only difficulty that remains is as to the position of the balks and stones in the second tier, with respect to the balks and stones in the first tier; for each tier in itself was just like every other. Caesar, after saying, "ut idem illud intervallum servetur," adds, "neque inter se contingant trabes," &c.; the first clause expresses the intervals between the balks in the second tier, and the second clause is unnecessary, unless it means something else. The balks of the second were not laid on the balks of the first tier, but on the stones, so that no balks touched one another, 'but separated by equal spaces, every several balk by the several stones placed between, they are closely bound.' This interpretation gives a meaning to "neque inter se contingant trabes," though the balks would still touch at the edges, provided they were two feet wide, which does not seem likely. If the balks were less than two feet wide, it is easy to arrange them so that no piece of timber shall touch any other; for when the second tier is completed by placing the balks on the intervals between the balks of the first tier, the third may be constructed by placing the balks in a position which vertically corresponds with the position of the balks in the first tier. Perhaps 'rectis lineis' may be supposed more consistent with the supposition that the balks of the second tier were placed on the balks of the first tier, and so on; but 'rectae lineae' of balks and stones would be formed in the way that I suppose the wall to be built. The beams would be also better protected against fire in this way, than if they were one on the other. As to 'revinciuntur,' see iv. 17. In place of 'intermissae' one MS. has 'intermissis.' 'Intermissae' means that the balks in all the rows were separated by equal intervals.

The work was continued to a third tier, and so on, until the requisite, full, proper ('justa') height was accomplished. The appearance of the work, it is added, was not unpleasing to the eye, 'balks and stones alternating, which in right lines preserve their rank or order.' As the balks were laid with their ends on the outside of the wall, the thickness of the

Trabes directae, perpetuae in longitudinem, paribus intervallis, distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collocantur: hae revinciuntur introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur. Ea autem quae diximus intervalla grandibus in fronte saxis effarciuntur. His collocatis et coagmentatis alius insuper ordo adjicitur, ut idem illud intervallum servetur neque inter se contingant trabes, sed paribus intermissae spatiis, singulae singulis saxis interjectis, arte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne opus contexitur, dum justa muri altitudo expleatur. Hoc quum in speciem varietatemque opus deforme non est alternis trabibus ac saxis, quae rectis lineis suos ordines servant; tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem; quod et ab incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit, quae perpetuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta neque perrumpi neque distrahi potest.

24. His tot rebus impedita oppugnatione milites, quum toto tempore luto, frigore et assiduis imbribus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia haec superaverunt et diebus XXV aggerem, latum pedes CCCXXX, altum pedes LXXX, exstruxerunt. Quum is murum hostium paene contingeret, et Caesar ad opus consuetudine excubaret militesque cohortaretur, ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur, paullo ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum fumare aggerem quem cuniculo hostes succenderant: eodemque tempore toto muro clamore sublato, duabus portis ab utroque latere turrium eruptio fiebat. Alii faces atque aridam materiem de muro in aggerem eminus jaciebant, picem reliquasque res quibus ignis excitari potest

wall was equal to the length of the balks, which was forty feet each for the most part ('pedes quadragenos plerumque'); some might be less.

materia] Is timber, the balks. See c. 73.

24. *luto*] This word is omitted in many MSS.

diebus XXV] This appears to be nearly the whole time that he had been before the town (c. 17). The assault was made two days after. Consequently the siege lasted about four weeks.—'consuetudine:' 'according to his custom,' like 'instituto' in this chapter.

ab utroque—turrium] On each side of the Roman towers.

Alii faces] It has been supposed that another 'alii' before 'picem' is wanted; but this 'alii' may apply to 'fundebant' as well as to 'jaciebant,' and all who are thus included under 'alii' may be opposed to those who sallied from the two gates. This is Herzog's explanation. The omission of one of two 'alii' is not uncommon. See i. 8, note.

fundebant, ut quo primum occurreretur aut cui rei ferretur auxilium vix ratio iniri posset. Tamen, quod instituto Caesaris duae semper legiones pro castris excubabant, pluresque partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii turres reducerent aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendum concurreret.

25. Quum in omnibus locis consumpta jam reliqua parte noctis pugnaretur, semperque hostibus spes victoriae redintegraretur, eo magis quod deustos pluteos turrium videbant, nec facile adire apertos ad auxiliandum animadvertebant, semperque ipsi recentes defessis succederent, omnemque Galliae salutem in illo vestigio temporis positam arbitrarentur, accidit, inspectantibus nobis, quod dignum memoria visum praetermittendum non existimavimus. Quidam ante portam oppidi Gallus, qui per manus sevi ac picis traditas glebas in ignem e regione turris projiciebat, scorpione ab latere dextro transjectus

duae semper legiones] Not 'duae legiones . . . semper excubabant.' He says, 'there were always two legions lying out in front of the camp.' Compare the use of the Greek ἀεί; and 'reliquis deinceps diebus,' B. G. iii. 29.

pluresque] "Sic Havn. A." Elb. There is a reading 'duaeque.' Caesar had more than four legions before Avaricum (c. 34).—'reducerent:' the Romans drew back the 'turres,' which were moved by wheels (Livy xxxii. c. 17), and they cut through the 'agger' to prevent the fire spreading. This passage shows that an 'agger' contained a good deal of wood. The frame-work indeed would be wood, and the open parts would be filled with earth and stones or rubbish of any kind. Lipsius (Poliorcetic. Lib. ii. Dial. 4) has the learning on this matter.

25. *pluteos*] The 'plutei' were the planks on the 'turres,' the breastworks which protected the soldiers. (See vii. 72.) 'Apertos' means the Roman soldiers 'exposed,' who could hardly venture to approach to assist ('ad auxiliandum'); perhaps he means to quench the fire.

vestigio] See iv. 5, note; and Cicero, In Pis. c. 9, "eodem et loci et temporis vestigio."

per manus] The pitch and combustibles were passed from hand to hand ('per manus,' vi. 38), till they came to the man who threw them on the fire from the place where he stood opposite to the tower.

scorpione] 'Catapultae,' 'ballistae,' and 'scorpiones' are all enumerated in a passage of Livy (xxvi. 47); and the 'scorpiones' are divided into 'majores' and 'minores.' Vegetius says that the 'scorpio' was afterwards called 'manubalista,' and that it caused death by small, sharp 'spicula.' In the African war (c. 29), the missile which was discharged is called 'scorpio;' but in c. 56, "ballistis scorpionibusque crebris ante frontem castrorum . . . collocatis," the 'scorpio' must mean a machine. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 4) describes the 'scorpio' of his time. —'altero successit:' 'alteri suc.' Kraner.

exanimatusque concidit. Hunc ex proximis unus jacentem transgressus eodem illo munere fungebatur: eadem ratione ictu scorpionis exanimato altero successit tertius et tertio quartus; nec prius ille est a propugnatoribus vacuus relictus locus quam restincto aggere atque omni parte submotis hostibus finis est pugnandi factus.

26. Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere, hortante et jubente Vercingetorige. Id silentio noctis conati non magna jactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant, propterea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis aberant, et palus perpetua quae intercedebat Romanos ad insequendum tardabat. Jamque hoc facere noctu apparabant, quum matres familiae repente in publicum procurrerunt, flentesque projectae ad pedes suorum omnibus precibus petierunt ne se et communes liberos hostibus ad supplicium dederent, quos ad capiendam fugam naturae et virium infirmitas impediret. Ubi eos in sententia perstare viderunt, quod plerumque in summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit, conclamare et significare de fuga Romanis coeperunt. Quo timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Romanorum viae praeoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

27. Postero die Caesar promota turri directisque operibus quae facere instituerat, magno coorto imbri, non inutilem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus, quod paullo incautius custodias in muro dispositas videbat, suos quoque languidius in opere versari jussit, et quid fieri vellet ostendit. Legiones intra vineas in occulto expeditas cohortatur ut aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum victoriae perciperent: his qui primi

26. *consilium—profugere*] This is called a Grecism by those who explain some Latin idioms as if they were bastard Greek. It is at least a Romanism; and 'profugere' is the explanation of 'consilium.' See vii. 71.

palus perpetua—intercedebat] See c. 17, note; and ii. 5, note.

Quo timore] Compare 'hoc dolore,' v. 4; and 'hoc metu,' v. 19.

27. *directis*] If this reading is right, it means directed towards an object, which here is some part of the walls; but then 'opera' would seem to mean something moveable, as machines; and I don't know if this interpretation of 'opera' can be maintained. There is a reading 'perfectis' on good MSS. authority, which is easier understood than 'directis.'

murum adscendissent praemia proposuit militibusque signum dedit. Illi subito ex omnibus partibus evolaverunt murumque celeriter compleverunt.

28. Hostes re nova perterriti, muro turribusque dejecti, in foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt, hoc animo ut, si qua ex parte obviam contra veniretur, acie instructa depugnarent. Ubi neminem in aequum locum sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti ne omnino spes fugae tolleretur, abjectis armis ultimas oppidi partes continenti impetu petiverunt, parsque ibi, quum angusto portarum exitu se ipsi premerent, a militibus, pars jam egressa portis ab equitibus est interfecta: nec fuit quisquam qui praedae studeret. Sic et Genabensi caede et labore operis incitati non aetate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt. Denique ex omni [eo] numero, qui fuit circiter XL milium, vix DCCC, qui primo clamore audito se ex oppido ejecerant, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem pervenerunt. Quos ille multa jam nocte silentio ex fuga excepit, veritus ne qua in castris ex eorum concursu et misericordia vulgi seditio oriretur, ut procul in via dispositis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum disparandos deducendosque ad suos

adscendissent] One MS. at least has 'escendissent.' Polyaenus (viii. 23) describes the stratagem of the capture of Avaricum.

28. *cuneatim*] See vi. 40. Here he means 'in masses.'—'obviam venire' is a general expression to signify going to meet a person; but Caesar adds 'contra,' which expresses the sense of opposition.

aequum locum] Literally 'on even ground,' that is, the ground within the wall, on which ground the Galli stood, as Caesar explains it by 'undique muro circumfundi.'

continenti impetu] 'With an uninterrupted effort.' There is a reading 'continuo.'

non—non—non] Caesar tells the story of the slaughter in few and emphatic words. He was resolved on taking the town, and he knew what the consequence would be to the besieged. Of course he could not prevent the massacre. On another occasion (B. C. ii. 12) he gave orders not to storm a town, in order to prevent a massacre; but then he was not fighting against Galli.

multa jam nocte] See i. 22; and 'tres jam,' i. 12.

silentio &c.] There is a reading 'nocte sic ex fuga excepit' (Elb.). I conclude that 'silentio' is the reading of most MSS. The 'sic' is not necessary, for 'silentio . . . excepit ut' is the same kind of expression as 'incredibili celeritate ut,' v. 53.

disparandos] Two more recent MSS. have 'dispertiendos;' but 'disparare,' 'to separate,' is used by Plautus, Rud. Prol. v. 10.

curaret, quae cuique civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

29. Postero die concilio convocato consolatus cohortatusque est Ne se admodum animo demitterent, neve perturbarentur incommodo: non virtute neque in acie vicisse Romanos, sed artificio quodam et scientia oppugnationis cujus rei fuerint ipsi imperiti: errare, si qui in bello omnes secundos rerum proventus exspectent: sibi numquam placuisse Avaricum defendi, cujus rei testes ipsos haberet; sed factum imprudentia Biturigum et nimia obsequentia reliquorum uti hoc incommodum acciperetur: id tamen se celeriter majoribus commodis sanaturum. Nam quae ab reliquis Gallis civitates dissentirent, has sua diligentia adjuncturum atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum, cujus consensui ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere; idque se prope jam effectum habere. Interea aequum esse ab iis communis salutis causa impetrari ut castra munire instituerent, quo facilius repentinos hostium impetus sustinere possent.

30. Fuit haec oratio non ingrata Gallis, maxime quod ipse animo non defecerat tanto accepto incommodo, neque se in occultum abdiderat et conspectum multitudinis fugerat; plusque animo providere et praesentire existimabatur, quod re integra primo incendendum Avaricum, post deserendum censuerat. Itaque ut reliquorum imperatorum res adversae auctoritatem minuunt, sic hujus ex contrario dignitas incommodo accepto in dies augebatur: simul in spem veniebant ejus affirmatione de reli-

quae cuique—pars] 'To their own people ('ad suos'), to that part of the camp which had been assigned to each state at first.' See c. 19, 'generatim;' and c. 21.

29. *proventus*] The reading of most and of the best MSS. The other reading is 'eventus.' 'Proventus' may signify any thing which comes forth, and it is used to express a crop or produce (v. 24, 'provenerat').

30. *incommodo*] 'A loss,' as we say, sometimes 'a defeat' (c. 14; and v. 52). Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 6) uses the word in the same way.—'re integra.' A thing is a 'res integra' which is entire for any purpose. The 'res integra' here is the choice that the Galli had of burning Avaricum or not; and while matters were in this state, and before it was decided not to burn it, Vercingetorix advised its destruction.

ejus affirmatione] The ablative in Caesar has perhaps a more extended use than in the other Roman writers. He means to say that the 'Galli began to hope by reason of his assertion about attaching to their side the rest of the Gallic states.' There

quis adjungendis civitatibus, primumque eo tempore Galli castra munire instituerunt, et sic sunt animo consternati, homines insueti laboris, ut omnia quae imperarentur sibi patienda et perferenda existimarent.

31. Nec minus quam est pollicitus Vercingetorix animo laborabat ut reliquas civitates adjungeret, atque earum principes donis pollicitationibusque alliciebat. Huic rei idoneos homines deligebat, quorum quisque aut oratione subdola aut amicitia facillime capi posset. Qui Avarico expugnato refugerant, armandos vestiendosque curat. Simul ut deminutae copiae redintegrarentur, imperat certum numerum militum civitatibus, quem et quam ante diem in castra adduci velit; sagittariosque omnes, quorum erat permagnus in Gallia numerus, conquiri et ad se mitti jubet. His rebus celeriter id quod Avarici deperierat expletur. Interim Teutomatus, Olloviconis filius, rex Nitiobrigum, cujus pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus, cum magno equitum suorum numero et quos ex Aquitania conduxerat ad eum pervenit.

32. Caesar Avarici complures dies commoratus, summamque ibi copiam frumenti et reliqui commeatus nactus, exercitum ex labore atque inopia refecit. Jam prope hieme confecta, quum ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem proficisci constituisset, sive eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere, sive obsidione premere posset, legati ad eum principes Aeduorum veniunt oratum ut maxime necessario tempore civitati subveniat:

is no occasion to supply such a word as 'adducti' or 'commoti.'

consternati] Herzog explains this, according to Livy, vii. 42, to be 'roused;' but Livy adds, 'ad arma.' Here it means 'alarmed,' as in viii. 19, not of course by what Vercingetorix said, but by the loss of Avaricum. 'Externatus' has this sense in Ovid (Met. i. 641).

31. *capi*] "Sic Hav. A.—Abest a qdd. codd.—2 codd. *capere*," Elb. 'Capere' would make a difference, for 'quisque' would be each of the 'idoneos homines;' but as the reading stands, it is each of the 'principes.' Kraner, who has 'capere,' has also 'eas' in place of 'earum principes.'

conduxerat] He probably means hired or induced by pay ('mercede'). In vi. 31, the word means simply 'brought together.' The king of the Nitiobriges would probably have no other means of bringing the Aquitani together than by promise of pay.

32. *obsidione*] See iv. 19.—'maxime necessario tempore:' 'at a very critical time.' See i. 16, "tam necessario tempore;" and vii. 40.

Summo esse in periculo rem; quod, quum singuli magistratus antiquitus creari atque regiam potestatem annum obtinere consuessent, duo magistratum gerant et se uterque eorum legibus creatum esse dicat. Horum esse alterum Convictolitanem, florentem et illustrem adolescentem; alterum Cotum, antiquissima familia natum, atque ipsum hominem summae potentiae et magnae cognationis, cujus frater Valetiacus proximo anno eundem magistratum gesserit: civitatem omnem esse in armis, divisum senatum, divisum populum, suas cujusque eorum clientelas. Quod si diutius alatur controversia, fore uti pars cum parte civitatis confligat; id ne accidat, positum in ejus diligentia atque auctoritate.

33. Caesar, etsi a bello atque hoste discedere detrimentosum esse existimabat, tamen non ignorans quanta ex dissensionibus incommoda oriri consuessent, ne tanta et tam conjuncta populo Romano civitas, quam ipse semper aluisset omnibusque rebus ornasset, ad vim atque arma descenderet, atque ea pars quae minus sibi confideret auxilia a Vercingetorige arcesseret, huic rei praevertendum existimavit; et quod legibus Aeduorum iis qui summum magistratum obtinerent excedere ex finibus non liceret, ne quid de jure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse videretur, ipse in Aeduos proficisci statuit senatumque omnem et quos inter controversia esset ad se Decetiam evocavit. Quum prope omnis civitas eo convenisset, docereturque, paucis clam convocatis alio loco, alio tem-

singuli magistratus] See i. 16.

annum] There is a reading 'annuam' in several good MSS.

suas—clientelas] The senate was divided; the 'populus' or those who were not the senate, were divided; and each of these parties had their several trains or followers ('clientelas').

33. *de jure &c.*] 'Deminuere de' means to break off a portion, and hence to impair a thing. Servius Sulpicius says in a letter to Cicero (Ad Div. iv. 5), "de imperio Populi Romani tanta deminutio facta est." It is doubtful if the orthography in this case and in 'deminutio capitis' should be *de-* or *di-*. Both forms were used indifferently as Savigny supposes (System, &c., ii. p. 61, note *a*.) Caesar went into the territory of the Aedui to hear the case, that he might not be considered to have infringed the rights or the laws of the Aedui by requiring the claimants to leave their territory. The sense of 'legibus' is plain. A 'lex' is a statute, a law. 'Jus' has the same sense that it has in i. 36.

Decetiam] This is Décise, an island and town in the Loire, south of Nevers, in the department of Nièvre.

pore atque oportuerit, fratrem a fratre renunciatum, quum leges duo ex una familia vivo utroque non solum magistratus creari vetarent sed etiam in senatu esse prohiberent, Cotum imperium deponere coegit: Convictolitanem, qui per sacerdotes more civitatis, intermissis magistratibus, esset creatus, potestatem obtinere jussit.

34. Hoc decreto interposito cohortatus Aeduos ut controversiarum ac dissensionum obliviscerentur atque omnibus omissis [his] rebus huic bello servirent, eaque quae meruissent praemia ab se devicta Gallia exspectarent, equitatumque omnem et peditum milia X sibi celeriter mitterent, quae in praesidiis rei frumentariae causa disponeret, exercitum in duas partes divisit: IV legiones in Senones Parisiosque Labieno ducendas dedit; VI ipse in Arvernos ad oppidum Gergoviam secundum flumen Elaver duxit: equitatus partem illi attribuit, partem sibi

renunciatum] Caesar always applies Roman terms to Gallic institutions. 'Renunciatio' at Rome was the declaration of the election of a person, and the declaration was made by some competent authority through a 'praeco,' or sometimes by the consul himself. Cicero says (Pro Murena, 1), "L. Murenam consulem renuntiavi." See Verr. ii. 5, c. 15.

intermissis] The meaning seems to be 'when the office was vacant.' The words 'more civitatis' show that the election made by the priests was made in due form. See the various uses of 'intermissus' referred to in vii. 17.

34. *interposito*] The decree was 'interposed,' as the Roman expression was. See Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 48), "ob decreta interponenda pecunias acceperit." In i. 42 there is 'interposita causa.'

[*his*] *rebus*] 'His' is said to be in all the MSS. Perhaps it may be genuine, 'all these things' meaning 'all these disputes.'

rei frumentariae] These forces were to be stationed in convenient places to get supplies and to secure their safe arrival to his army (c. 38). He had ten legions to feed and other troops. He could not have fed them, unless Gallia had been populous and well cultivated.

Elaver] Caesar would cross the Elaver (Allier) above its junction with the Loire, on his march from Avaricum to Decetia. In order to reach Gergovia from Decetia (c. 35, note), he had to cross the Allier again, and he found the bridges destroyed. The existence of (wooden) bridges shows that the communication between different towns was easy; for bridges imply roads leading to them. As to the Allier, see Introd. p. 13. 'Secundum flumen' means along the stream, either up or down (ii. 18). Caesar was moving southwards and up the valley of the Allier. Therefore 'secundum flumen' here means up the river. 'Secundo flumine' means down the stream in vii. 58. It is important to fix the meaning of 'secundum flumen.' Varro says (De R. R. i, 12), in speaking of the proper site for a villa, "Sin cogare secundum flumen (on the banks of a river) aedificare, curandum ne adversum eum ponas." Cicero (Ad Att. xvi. 8) has "secun-

reliquit. Qua re cognita Vercingetorix omnibus interruptis ejus fluminis pontibus ab altera Elaveris parte iter facere coepit.

35. Quum uterque utrique esset exercitus in conspectu fereque e regione castris castra poneret, dispositis exploratoribus necubi effecto ponte Romani copias transducerent, erat in magnis Caesari difficultatibus res ne majorem aestatis partem flumine impediretur, quod non fere ante autumnum Elaver vado transiri solet. Itaque, ne id accideret, silvestri loco castris positis e regione unius eorum pontium quos Vercingetorix rescindendos curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in occulto restitit; reliquas copias cum omnibus impedimentis, ut consueverat, misit, captis quartis quibusque cohortibus

dum mare superum." Comp. Appian, Bell. Civ. iii. 43, 45.

35. *Quum uterque &c.*] The text of the first few lines of this chapter is very uncertain. The 'exploratores' were of course placed in different parts by Vercingetorix only, though the sentence does not clearly express this. 'E regione' here and in c. 36 is generally followed by a genitive: it means 'opposite.' 'Quum uterque utrimquè exisset exercitus, in conspectu . . . ponebant. Dispositis,' Kraner.

Elaver vado] The river is low in summer and in autumn, if the season is dry. In July, 1858, it was very low at Moulins and at Varennes. Generally it is said that the Allier is not fordable before the end of June, and in wet seasons not till a later time.

captis &c.] The text is uncertain, though most MSS. have 'captis.' Kraner has 'quibusdam' in place of 'quartis quibusque.' Caesar kept two legions with him, and sent four forwards ('ut consueverat') with all the heavy material. He means by 'ut consueverat' that these four were to march with the 'impedimenta,' as the whole army, the six legions, had marched hitherto. The words 'captis . . . cohortibus' show what he did that the four legions might seem to the enemy to be six. The explanation, which has sometimes been adopted, that one fourth of the six legions was selected by Caesar, that is, fifteen cohorts, to remain with him, is contradicted by the text; for he says that he had two legions (twenty cohorts) with him. Nor would this diminution of the six legions by one fourth help to make the enemy believe that there were six legions on the march. It would have just the opposite effect; but if the four legions marched in six divisions, the enemy might not discover that there were only four. Caesar's object was to make four legions look like six; and we may assume that the four legions marched in such form that this effect was produced. When Caesar says that he kept two legions, he may mean 20 cohorts from the six legions. The six legions contained 60 cohorts, and if Caesar took the first cohort, the fourth, the seventh, and so on, he would have 20 cohorts or two legions. This mode of explaining 'quartis quibusque cohortibus' is quite consistent with Roman usage. This is the explanation of Felbausch (Drumann, Geschichte Roms, iii. 346, note). Thus, instead of taking two entire legions, which the enemy might from some circumstance or

uti numerus legionum constare videretur. His quam longissime possent progredi jussis, quum jam ex diei tempore conjecturam caperet in castra perventum, iisdem sublicis quarum pars inferior integra remanebat pontem reficere coepit. Celeriter effecto opere legionibusque transductis, et loco castris idoneo delecto, reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix re cognita, ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur, magnis itineribus antecessit.

36. Caesar ex eo loco quintis castris Gergoviam pervenit, equestrique proelio eo die levi facto, perspecto urbis situ, quae posita in altissimo monte omnes aditus difficiles habebat, de expugnatione desperavit; de obsessione non

other have missed, he preserved the six legions with diminished numbers; for the object was that there should appear to be six legions. If this is not the explanation we must despair of finding one. Dion Cassius (xl. 35) conceived the thing right in a general way; but he says nothing of the broken bridges, and he also says that Caesar crossed the river on rafts, a direct contradiction to Caesar's text. Polyaenus (viii. 23) describes the stratagem somewhat better, but not quite correctly. Curtius (viii. 13) describes a similar stratagem of Alexander, by which he deceived Porus and got across a large river in India, probably the Hydaspes.

caperet] 'ceperat,' Kraner.—'remanebat:' the lower part of the piles remained, though the upper part had been cut away. (See iv. 17, note.) Kraner in his second edition has followed Müller's explanation of 'pars inferior,' which in his first edition he had very strangely misunderstood.

antecessit] Vercingetorix, discovering that the Romans had crossed the river, marched on before them at a great rate to avoid a battle.

36. *quintis castris*] 'In five days' march,' or, literally, 'at the fifth encampment,' for the Roman practice was not to pass the night without making an intrenched camp. The five days' march was along the left bank of the Allier, southwards from the point where Caesar crossed. If he crossed the Allier in the parallel of Décise, the direct distance to Clermont in Auvergne is above 70 miles. There is a route in the Theodosian Table from Avaricum through Tincollum (a mistake for Tinconcium, now Sanscoins), to Decetia; and Caesar may have passed from Avaricum to Decetia by this line. It seems also that there was a road from Decetia to Aquae Bormonis, Bourbon l'Archambault, which is west of the Allier, and there must have been a ford or a bridge over the river on the road. The narrative of Caesar shows that he wished to cross the Allier sooner than he did, but he found no bridge, and he marched some distance (c. 35) along the right bank before he was able to get across by the stratagem described in c. 35. Fischer conjectures that he may have crossed the Allier above the junction of the Sioule, somewhere between Varennes and Vichy (Aquae Calidae). The direct distance from Vichy to Gergovia is only 30 miles, which is too little for Caesar's march.

expugnatione] 'Oppugnatione' in some MSS., but 'expugnatione'

prius agendum constituit quam rem frumentariam expedisset. At Vercingetorix, castris prope oppidum in monte positis, mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatium copias collocaverat; atque omnibus ejus jugi collibus occupatis qua despici poterat horribilem speciem praebebat, principesque earum civitatium, quos sibi ad consilium capiendum delegerat, prima luce quotidie ad se jubebat convenire, seu quid communicandum seu quid administrandum videretur, neque ullum fere diem intermittebat quin equestri proelio interjectis sagittariis, quid in quoque esset animi ac virtutis suorum periclitaretur. Erat e regione oppidi collis sub ipsis radicibus montis, egregie munitus atque ex omni parte circumcisus, quem si tenerent nostri, et aquae magna parte et pabulatione libera prohibituri hostes videbantur; sed is locus praesidio ab iis non nimis firmo tenebatur; tamen silentio noctis Caesar ex castris egressus, prius

seems to be the proper word with 'desperavit.'

Gergovia was on the top of a very high mountain and all the approaches were difficult. The camps of Vercingetorix were on a mountain ('in monte'), not on the 'altissimus mons,' but near it, for they were near the town. The 'ejus jugi,' which had hills ('colles'), must be the same as the 'mons' on which the camps were placed, for the camps were on the 'mons,' and they occupied all the heights of that 'jugum.' If Caesar had written 'ejus montis' in place of 'ejus jugi,' it would have been plainer to us; but this 'mons' or 'jugum' is the mass of high land which is west of the summit on which Gergovia stands, is connected with it by a narrow ridge, and is part of a large tract of elevated ground, the highest part of which is the flat on which Gergovia stood.

The hill opposite ('e regione oppidi') to the town had abrupt sides; and it was occupied by an inconsiderable force of the enemy, with the view of securing a safe passage for water and forage. Caesar does not describe the position of his camp ('majora castra'). (See note at the end of this book.)

separatim] Like 'generatim,' vii. 19.—'qua despici:' where there was a view down on the plain. In place of 'qua' the more usual form would be 'unde,' as in iii. 14, "unde erat.. despectus," and vii. 20. 79. Fischer explains 'qua despici poterat' differently. See the note on Gergovia.

periclitaretur] 'perspiceretur,' Kraner.

egregie munitus] Caesar does not say 'natura munitus,' as in ii. 29, nor 'egregie et natura et opere,' as in v. 9. His words might mean that this spot had been strengthened or cut into a steep face by men's labour. Cicero (De Re Publica ii. 6, cited by Herzog), in his description of Rome, says "atque ut ita munita arx circumjecto arduo et quasi circumciso saxo niteretur." But in another place (Verr. ii. 4, c. 48), where he is describing the natural features of Henna in Sicily, he says, "tota vero ab omni aditu circumcisa atque directa est."

tamen] Herzog and Kraner make 'tamen' begin a new sentence, which

quam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset dejecto praesidio potitus loco, duas ibi legiones collocavit, fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum a majoribus castris ad minora perduxit, ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commeare possent.

37. Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitanis Aeduus, cui magistratum adjudicatum a Caesare demonstravimus, sollicitatus ab Arvernis pecunia cum quibusdam adolescentibus colloquitur, quorum erat princeps Litavicus atque ejus fratres, amplissima familia nati adolescentes. Cum his praemium communicat hortaturque ut se liberos et imperio natos meminerint: unam esse Aeduorum civitatem quae certissimam Galliae victoriam distineat; ejus auctoritate reliquas contineri; qua transducta locum consistendi Romanis in Gallia non fore: esse nonnullo se Caesaris beneficio affectum, sic tamen ut justissimam apud eum causam obtinuerit; sed plus communi libertati tribuere: cur enim potius Aedui de suo jure et de legibus ad Caesarem disceptatorem quam Romani ad Aeduos veniant? Celeriter adolescentibus et

is a bad mode of pointing. It refers to 'egregie munitus . . . circumcisus;' and what lies between does not affect the construction of the sentence. Compare 'tamen' in iii. 14. 22; iv. 17. 20, where it is preceded by 'etsi;' and vii. 47. 57. Müller refers 'tamen' to 'sed is locus . . . tenebatur,' and he translates it: 'But this point was occupied by them, though not with a very strong force.'

duodenum pedum] Each ditch was twelve feet wide (v. 42); and the Roman road was between them.

37. *adjudicatum*] Elb. has 'adsignatum' on the authority of five of the best MSS. It may be right, though it is not the usual word in such a case. 'Adjudicatum' corresponds better to Caesar's decision (c. 33). Cicero (De Lege Agr. ii. 17) has "quos perspiciamus regnum Alexandriae Ptolemaeo gratis adjudicaturos."

praemium] There is a reading 'primum,' which does not seem to me absurd. 'Praemium communicat' means that he gives them a part of what he had received.

distineat] 'Distinere' is to keep apart, to separate (vii. 59). See iii. 11; iv. 17. Hence it is to check, hinder, and the like. 'Contineri,' 'held together,' means held together in obedience to the Romans. Kraner has 'detineat.'

causam obtinuerit] He admitted 'that he was under some obligations to Caesar, but still his cause that he maintained before Caesar was a most righteous cause.' He says that Caesar only did him justice, and conferred no favour. 'Obtinere causam' means that a man maintains his cause or case. So they said 'obtinere jus suum contra aliquem.'

disceptatorem] 'As a judge, or one who determines,' as Cicero defines it (Or. Part. 3), "disceptator est rei sententiaeque moderator." See Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 72), 'vobis disceptantibus,' addressed to the 'judices.'

oratione magistratus et praemio deductis, quum se vel principes ejus consilii fore profiterentur, ratio perficiendi quaerebatur, quod civitatem temere ad suscipiendum bellum adduci posse non confidebant. Placuit uti Litavicus decem illis milibus, quae Caesari ad bellum mitterentur, praeficeretur atque ea ducenda curaret, fratresque ejus ad Caesarem praecurrerent. Reliqua qua ratione agi placeat constituunt.

38. Litavicus accepto exercitu, quum milia passuum circiter XXX ab Gergovia abesset, convocatis subito militibus, lacrimans, Quo proficiscimur, inquit, milites? Omnis noster equitatus, omnis nobilitas interiit: principes civitatis, Eporedorix et Virdumarus, insimulati proditionis, ab Romanis indicta causa interfecti sunt. Haec ab his cognoscite qui ex ipsa caede fugerunt; nam ego fratribus atque omnibus meis propinquis interfectis dolore prohibeor quae gesta sunt pronunciare. Producuntur ii quos ille edocuerat quae dici vellet, atque eadem quae Litavicus pronunciaverat multitudini exponunt: Omnes equites Aeduorum interfectos, quod collocuti cum Arvernis dicerentur; ipsos se inter multitudinem militum occultasse atque ex media caede profugisse. Conclamant Aedui et Litavicum ut sibi consulat obsecrant. Quasi vero, inquit

vel principes ejus consilii] 'They would even be the first to execute the plan, if nobody else would,' as Müller rightly explains it. He refers to v. 50, 'principes belli inferendi.'

decem illis milibus] See c. 34.

38. *nobilitas*] See i. 2, note.—Epore-dorix is like Cinge-torix. Oberlin writes Eporedirix, on the authority of an inscription found at Bourbon Lancy. It is immaterial.

Quasi vero] A usual sarcastic formula: 'as if,' says Litavicus, 'it were a matter for deliberation.' The expression is no doubt elliptical, and we must look back to what has been said whenever it is used. They intreat Litavicus to consider what is best for them; and his answer is, 'you tell me to consider, just as if it were a matter for consideration.' Caesar has (v. 49) 'magni periculi res,' and other like forms, as in vii. 45, 'occasionis esse rem.'

Havercamp, in his notes on Orosius, has copies of three silver small denarii (vi. 11) with the legends LITA and LITAVI, under a figure of a man on horseback. One of them has on the other side C, which he supposes to signify that they were struck at Cabillonum, in the country of the Aedui. He also gives a coin with the legend VERGA, which he takes to be Vercingetorix; another with VIRODV, supposed to be of Virodumarus; and a third with the legend COMIOS. All these coins have either a horse or a mounted horseman on one side. I do not know whether these coins are genuine. All the legends are in Roman characters. It is certain that the Galli had coined money. Havercamp also gives in

ille, consilii sit res, ac non necesse sit nobis Gergoviam contendere et cum Arvernis nosmet conjungere. An dubitamus quin nefario facinore admisso Romani jam ad nos interficiendos concurrant? Proinde, si quid est in nobis animi, persequamur eorum mortem qui indignissime interierunt, atque hos latrones interficiamus. Ostendit cives Romanos, qui ejus praesidii fiducia una erant. Continuo magnum numerum frumenti commeatusque diripit, ipsos crudeliter excruciatos interficit: nuncios tota civitate Aeduorum dimittit, eodem mendacio de caede equitum et principum permovet: hortatur ut simili ratione atque ipse fecerit suas injurias persequantur.

39. Eporedorix Aeduus, summo loco natus adolescens et summae domi potentiae, et una Virdumarus, pari aetate et gratia, sed genere dispari, quem Caesar [sibi] ab Divitiaco traditum ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem perduxerat, in equitum numero convenerant nominatim ab eo evocati. His erat inter se de principatu contentio, et in illa magistratuum controversia alter pro Convictolitane, alter pro Coto summis opibus pugnaverant. Ex iis Eporedorix, cognito Litavici consilio, media fere nocte rem ad Caesarem defert; orat Ne patiatur civitatem pravis adolescentium consiliis ab amicitia populi Romani deficere, quod futurum provideat, si se tot hominum milia cum hostibus conjunxerint, quorum salutem neque propinqui negligere neque civitas levi momento aestimare posset.

another place a coin or medal of Orgetorix with the legend ORCITIRIX. The Helvetii (i. 29) used Greek characters, but if the Romans made coin for the Galli, they would of course use Roman characters. Even the Britanni had copper coin (v. 12), but not of their own making.

una erant] After saying 'hos latrones,' he pointed to some Romans who were in their company ('una'), relying ('fiducia') on the protection of this escort. They were taking corn and supplies to Caesar at Gergovia (c. 34).

tota civitate] 'All through the state of the Aedui.' See 'toto undique muro' (c. 28).

39. [*sibi*]—*traditum*] 'Sibi' is omitted in some MSS. 'Traditum' is something like 'introduced,' but this English word does not fully express the Roman term. It seems to contain the notion of 'traditio,' or 'delivery' of a thing to a man as his own (Cic. Ad Div. v. 5). Eporedorix and Virdumarus had been summoned to him by Caesar ('evocati'). See iii. 20, note.

levi momento] In c. 85 there is 'magnum momentum.' 'Momentum' is 'movi-mentum,' a movement, or that which causes a movement, a force, a weight; and hence a

40. Magna affectus sollicitudine hoc nuncio Caesar, quod semper Aeduorum civitati praecipue indulserat, nulla interposita dubitatione legiones expeditas quatuor equitatumque omnem ex castris educit, nec fuit spatium tali tempore ad contrahenda castra, quod res posita in celeritate videbatur. C. Fabium legatum cum legionibus II castris praesidio relinquit. Fratres Litavici quum comprehendi jussisset, paullo ante repperit ad hostes profugisse. Adhortatus milites, ne necessario tempore itineris labore permoveantur, cupidissimis omnibus progressus milia passuum XXV, agmen Aeduorum conspicatus immisso equitatu iter eorum moratur atque impedit, interdicitque omnibus ne quemquam interficiant. Eporedorigem et Virdumarum, quos illi interfectos existimabant, inter equites versari suosque appellare jubet. His cognitis et Litavici fraude perspecta, Aedui manus tendere, deditionem significare et projectis armis mortem deprecari incipiunt. Litavicus cum suis clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

41. Caesar nunciis ad civitatem Aeduorum missis, qui suo beneficio conservatos docerent quos jure belli interficere potuisset, tribusque horis noctis exercitui ad quietem datis castra ad Gergoviam movit. Medio fere itinere equites ab Fabio missi quanto res in periculo fuerit exponunt: summis copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant; quum crebro integri defessis succederent nostrosque assi-

value. The argument of Eporedorix is this: if so many thousands of their citizens joined the Arverni, the Aedui would be in a difficulty, for though they did not wish to desert Caesar, their kinsfolks would not be indifferent to the lives of so many men, nor could the state set a light value on them. The Aedui must of necessity join the Arverni, if the ten thousand did.

40. *quod semper*] Some good MSS. have 'qui,' but 'qui' would require the subjunctive. With an indicative 'qui . . indulserat' would be a mere idle remark. I cannot explain the use of 'quod' fully, nor why 'quod' should not have a subjunctive where 'qui' would have; but such is often the fact, if our texts are right.

contrahenda] See v. 49. When Caesar had taken four legions, the two remaining legions were not sufficient to defend his camps before Gergovia, and he had not time to contract them.—'necessario tempore:' vii. 32.

extrema fortuna] Caesar uses Roman terms, 'clientes' and 'patroni.' See iii. 22.

41. *jure belli*] See i. 36, note.

duo labore defatigarent, quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo esset eisdem in vallo permanendum; multitudine sagittarum atque omni genere telorum multos vulneratos: ad haec sustinenda magno usui fuisse tormenta: Fabium discessu eorum duabus relictis portis obstruere ceteras, pluteosque vallo addere et se in posterum diem similem ad casum parare. His rebus cognitis Caesar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.

42. Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Aedui primis nunciis ab Litavico acceptis nullum sibi ad cognoscendum spatium relinquunt. Impellit alios avaritia, alios iracundia et temeritas, quae maxime illi hominum generi est innata, ut levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta. Bona civium Romanorum diripiunt, caedes faciunt, in servitutem abstrahunt. Adjuvat rem proclinatam Convictolitanis, plebemque ad furorem impellit ut facinore admisso ad sanitatem pudeat reverti. M. Aristium tribunum militum, iter ad legionem facientem, data fide ex oppido Cabillono educunt: idem facere cogunt eos qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant. Hos continuo in itinere adorti omnibus impedimentis exuunt; repugnantes diem noctemque obsident; multis utrimque interfectis majorem multitudinem ad arma concitant.

43. Interim nuncio allato omnes eorum milites in potestate Caesaris teneri concurrunt ad Aristium; nihil

discessu eorum] 'When the enemy retired' after the day's attack, which they intended to renew, as Kraner and Müller rightly explain it.

pluteosque vallo] See vii. 25, note; and vii. 72, note.

42. *illi hominum*] The innate character of that race of men, the Galli. A few words mark the character of these people. They take a report to be a truth, when it agrees with their wishes. Men of solid sense wait for some evidence, as a Roman would have done. See iv. 5. 13; vi. 20.—'rem proclinatam:' there is also a reading 'inclinatam.' The meanings do not differ much, if at all. A 'res proclinata' is a thing that has got a movement forward in a certain direction towards its fall. Ovid explains the word (Trist. ii. v. 83):

"Quum coepit quassata domus subsidere, partes
In proclinatas omne recumbit onus."

ad sanitatem] See i. 42.—'ad legionem.' He was probably going to join his legion. 'Cabillonum' is Châlon-sur-Saône. Aristius and these 'negotiatores' must have had some force with them to be able to make such a resistance.

impedimentis exuunt] See iii. 6.

publico factum consilio demonstrant; quaestionem de bonis direptis decernunt; Litavici fratrumque bona publicant; legatos ad Caesarem sui purgandi gratia mittunt. Haec faciunt reciperandorum suorum causa: sed contaminati facinore et capti compendio ex direptis bonis, quod ea res ad multos pertinebat, et timore poenae exterriti, consilia clam de bello inire incipiunt, civitatesque reliquas legationibus sollicitant. Quae tametsi Caesar intelligebat, tamen quam mitissime potest legatos appellat: Nihil se propter inscientiam levitatemque vulgi gravius de civitate judicare, neque de sua in Aeduos benevolentia deminuere. Ipse majorem Galliae motum exspectans, ne ab omnibus [civitatibus] circumsisteretur, consilia inibat quemadmodum ab Gergovia discederet ac rursus omnem exercitum contraheret, ne profectio nata ab timore defectionis similis fugae videretur.

44. Haec cogitanti accidere visa est facultas bene gerendae rei. Nam quum minora in castra operis perspiciendi causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superioribus diebus vix prae multitudine cerni poterat. Admiratus quaerit ex perfugis causam, quorum magnus ad eum quotidie numerus confluebat. Constabat inter omnes, quod jam ipse Caesar per exploratores cognoverat, dorsum esse ejus jugi prope aequum, sed silvestre et angustum qua

43. *quaestionem*] See vi. 18, note. —'publicant:' see v. 56.

sui purgandi] See iii. 6.

compendio] Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 3) says, "quos illa (Sicilia) partem mercibus suppeditandis cum quaestu compendioque dimittit." How the word 'com-pend-ium' came to mean gain or profit I do not know. It is not easy to trace the history of many of our own words.—'ea res:' 'the thing,' 'the affair,' as we say. 'Res' is a universal word among the Romans.—'pertinebat:' compare v. 25, "quod ad plures pertinebat."

deminuere] See vii. 33, and i. 53, where 'quidquam' is added.—'[civitatibus]' is doubtful: "abest ab Andin. Oxon. et Havn. A." Elb.—'rursus . . . contraheret:' by going to join Labienus and his four legions (c. 34).

44. *silvestre*] 'silvestrem,' Kraner and Elb., 'dorsum' being in that case the accusative of 'dorsus.' Several MSS. have 'sed hunc silvestrem.' The Cod. El. has 'sed hoc silvestre,' out of which Davis made 'sed hac silvestre,' which Herzog and others have accepted. Caesar's smaller camp on the height from which he had driven the enemy, was connected by lines with his larger camp. One day (c. 44) when he had gone to the 'minora castra,' he observed that an eminence which the enemy had occupied on former

esset aditus ad alteram oppidi partem: huic loco vehementer illos timere, nec jam aliter sentire, uno colle ab Romanis occupato, si alterum amisissent, quin paene circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur: ad hunc muniendum locum omnes a Vercingetorige evocatos.

45. Hac re cognita Caesar mittit complures equitum turmas eo de media nocte: iis imperat ut paullo tumultuosius omnibus locis pervagarentur. Prima luce magnum numerum impedimentorum ex castris mulorumque produci, eque iis stramenta detrahi, mulionesque cum cassi-

days, was bare. He found there was a 'dorsum' belonging to that 'jugum' (c. 36), and that this 'dorsum' was nearly level. The 'jugum' is the mass of high land which is connected by this 'dorsum' with the higher plateau of Gergovia, and on the west side of the plateau. He says that the 'dorsum' was nearly level, but wooded and narrow, and that by this road the other part of the town might be approached ('qua aditus,' &c.). This 'other' part must be a part further removed from Caesar; foi as he might call the part of the town nearest and right opposite to him 'one part,' so a part further from him he might call the 'other part.' And that this is so, appears from the beginning of c. 48. He says then that near the plateau on which the town stood the 'jugum' was contracted into a 'dorsum,' and this was the part which the Galli were fortifying, and they had left their camps for this purpose. The Romans had got possession of one 'collis,' and if they got a second, 'alterum,' they would be enabled to extend their lines to it, and thus almost to inclose the town. The word 'alterum' might mean 'the other,' but then we must suppose there were only two places, which Caesar calls 'colles,' whereas he speaks of more (c. 36. 45). I conclude that this narrow wooded part of the 'jugum' is the 'collis' of which Caesar is here speaking.

aliter sentire—quin] This is not a usual construction of 'sentire,' which may be followed by 'quam.' It is sometimes supposed that this is an elliptical expression, but I don't see how any thing is to be fairly supplied that will help it. Herzog says that the complete expression would be 'neque aliter sentire .... quam non multum abesse quin,' &c. I doubt if Caesar would have liked to see his work mended in this way.

45. *eo*] He sends them 'thither' or 'towards that place,' towards the 'alterum collem' (c. 44), that is the part which he calls the 'dorsum.' 'Collibus' is the ablative, and means 'along the hills or heights on which they would be seen from Gergovia.'

mulorumque—stramenta] These words are omitted in most MSS. and in the old editions; and in the MSS. which contain them there are considerable variations. In place of 'eque,' Davis conjectured 'deque.' If the words 'mulorumque . . . stramenta' are omitted, 'ex castris . . . detrahi' is hardly intelligible. If 'impedimentorum' is right, it must mean animals, and as mules are mentioned, the 'impedimenta' must be horses. In iii. 29, Caesar has 'pecus atque extrema impedimenta.' The passage seems to be corrupt; but the meaning is clear. Caesar mounted his mule drivers on mules and horses, to make them look at a distance like regular cavalry.

dibus equitum specie ac simulatione collibus circumvehi jubet. His paucos addit equites qui latius ostentationis causa vagarentur. Longo circuitu easdem omnes jubet petere regiones. Haec procul ex oppido videbantur, ut erat a Gergovia despectus in castra, neque tanto spatio certi quid esset explorari poterat. Legionem unam eodem jugo mittit et paullum progressam inferiore constituit loco silvisque occultat. Augetur Gallis suspicio atque omnes illo ad munitionem copiae transducuntur. Vacua castra hostium Caesar conspicatus, tectis insignibus suorum, occultatisque signis militaribus, raros milites, ne ex oppido animadverterentur, ex majoribus castris in minora transducit, legatisque, quos singulis legionibus praefecerat, quid fieri vellet ostendit: in primis monet ut contineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe praedae longius progrediantur: quid iniquitas loci habeat incommodi proponit: hoc una celeritate posse vitari: occasionis esse rem, non proelii. His rebus expositis signum dat, et ab dextra parte alio ascensu eodem tempore Aeduos mittit.

46. Oppidi murus ab planitie atque initio ascensus recta regione, si nullus amfractus intercederet, MCC passus

ut erat] See v. 43, note.

despectus in castra] The larger camp, as appears from another part of the chapter ('ne ex oppido . . . transducit'). The larger camp could be seen from Gergovia: the smaller camp could not, for between Gergovia and the smaller camp there was the hill which Caesar intended to surprise. (See c. 79, 'despectus in campum.')

eodem jugo] 'He sends one legion by the same jugum.' 'Eodem jugo' means that they were to go by and along that 'jugum,' on which the horsemen and mule drivers went. This legion advanced a short distance on this 'jugum,' and then descended to lower ground and hid itself in the trees. The object of Caesar's movements was to make the enemy believe that he was going to attack the town on the north-west side, by the 'aditus' described in c. 44: and accordingly all the forces of the Galli were transferred to that point ('illo') to fortify it, and their camps were left deserted. Caesar's real object was to take the position occupied by the camps.

insignibus] See i. 21; ii. 20, 21. —'raros milites:' the soldiers passed few at a time.

occasionis] It was a case for a surprise, not for a battle. An 'occasio,' says Cicero, is a portion of time that offers an opportunity for doing or not doing something (De Invent. i. 27); but that part of Cicero's definition in which he speaks of 'not doing' seems to be absurd.

46. *amfractus*] The ascent to the town wall from the plain in a straight line ('recta regione') was 'MCC passus;' but the ascent had windings ('amfractus'), for the purpose of

aberat: quidquid huic circuitus ad molliendum clivum accesserat, id spatium itineris augebat. A medio fere colle in longitudinem, ut natura montis ferebat, ex grandibus saxis sex pedum murum, qui nostrorum impetum tardaret, praeduxerant Galli, atque inferiore omni spatio vacuo relicto, superiorem partem collis usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris compleverant. Milites dato signo celeriter ad munitionem perveniunt, eamque transgressi trinis castris potiuntur. Ac tanta fuit in castris capiendis celeritas ut Teutomatus, rex Nitiobrigum, subito in tabernaculo oppressus, ut meridie conquieverat, superiore corporis parte nudata, vulnerato equo, vix se ex manibus praedantium militum eriperet.

47. Consecutus id quod animo proposuerat Caesar receptui cani jussit, legionisque decimae, quacum erat contionatus, signa constitere. At reliquarum milites legionum non exaudito tubae sono, quod satis magna vallis intercedebat, tamen ab tribunis militum legatisque, ut erat a Caesare praeceptum, retinebantur: sed elati spe celeris victoriae et hostium fuga superiorumque temporum secundis proeliis, nihil adeo arduum sibi existimabant quod non virtute consequi possent; neque prius finem

getting a less rapid ascent. The meaning of 'amfractus' is proved by a rule of the Twelve Tables about roads (Caius, Dig. 8. 3. 8), "viae latitudo ex lege duodecim tabularum in porrectum octo pedes habet, in amfractum, id est ubi flexum est, sedecim."—'A medio,' &c.: about half way up the hill the Romans came on the six-foot wall, which was built along the side of the hill ('in longitudinem') about half way between the base and the top. Oudendorp has 'At medio,' which is a blunder. Some of the enemies' encampments were very near one another on the upper part of the hill, and Caesar surprised three of them.

trinis castris] See i. 53 and the note, and vii. 66.

nudata] There is a reading 'nuda.'

47. *receptui cani*] He ordered the signal to be given for a halt, not a retreat. He wanted his men to form again in order. The complete expression would be 'receptui tuba cani.'

vallis] Caesar had ascended the hill the slope of which is opposite to the 'minora castra,' and the town was now before him. But there is a valley between the hill top which Caesar had reached and the higher level on which Gergovia stood. It is difficult to show this valley in a plan; but if a man will ascend the hill, where Caesar ascended it, when he has reached the top of the slope, he will see what Caesar saw.

retinebantur] The superior officers tried to check the soldiers' impetuosity; but they could not.—'appropinquarunt:' it is 'appropinquarent' in "Leid. prim. Oxon. Havn. A. et alii." Elb. The MS. Reg. of Clarke has 'appropinquarunt,' which he has received into his text. See i. 53 note.

sequendi fecerunt quam muro oppidi portisque appropinquarunt. Tum vero ex omnibus urbis partibus orto clamore, qui longius aberant repentino tumultu perterriti, quum hostem intra portas esse existimarent, sese ex oppido ejecerunt. Matres familiae de muro vestem argentumque jactabant, et pectoris fine prominentes, passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos ut sibi parcerent, neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne mulieribus quidem atque infantibus abstinerent. Nonnullae de muro per manus demissae sese militibus tradebant. L. Fabius, centurio legionis VIII, quem inter suos eo die dixisse constabat excitari se Avaricensibus praemiis, neque commissurum ut prius quisquam murum ascenderet, tres suos nactus manipulares atque ab iis sublevatus murum ascendit. Eos ipse rursus singulos exceptans in murum extulit.

48. Interim ii qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra demonstravimus, munitionis causa convenerant, primo exaudito clamore, inde etiam crebris nunciis incitati oppidum ab Romanis teneri, praemissis equitibus magno cursu eo contenderunt. Eorum ut quisque primus venerat, sub muro consistebat suorumque pugnantium numerum augebat. Quorum quum magna multitudo convenisset, matres familiae, quae paullo ante Romanis [de muro] manus tendebant, suos obtestari et more Gallico passum capillum ostentare liberosque in conspectum proferre coeperunt. Erat Romanis nec loco nec numero aequa contentio: simul et cursu et spatio pugnae defatigati non facile recentes atque integros sustinebant.

49. Caesar quum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque

qui longius] Those who were in the part of Gergovia which was furthest from the place where the Romans approached the walls.

pectoris fine] This is the reading of two good MSS. The other reading is 'pectore nudo.' They stood on the wall, and they were visible 'pectoris fine,' as far as the breast. There are several instances of 'fine' so used (Forcell.).—'nonnullae de muris,' Elb.

de muro] 'de muris,' Kraner, which means 'from various parts of the walls.'

tres suos] See iv. 12, and i. 52.

48. *ad alteram*] See c. 44. Caesar ascended the mountain on the side which was out of sight of that part of the 'jugum' which the Galli had gone to fortify, and which Caesar had made a feint of attacking.

nec loco] The ascent to the plateau of Gergovia from the 'vallis' (c. 47) is rather steep. He says (c. 49) 'iniquo loco.'

cursu] 'concursu,' Elb.—'passum:' there is a reading 'sparsum.'

augeri copias videret, praemetuens suis ad T. Sextium legatum, quem minoribus castris praesidio reliquerat, mittit ut cohortes [ex castris] celeriter educeret et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret, ut, si nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo minus libere hostes insequerentur terreret. Ipse paullum ex eo loco cum legione progressus ubi constiterat eventum pugnae exspectabat.

50. Quum acerrime comminus pugnaretur, hostes loco et numero, nostri virtute confiderent, subito sunt Aedui visi ab latere nostris aperto, quos Caesar ab dextra parte alio ascensu manus distinendae causa miserat. Hi similitudine armorum vehementer nostros perterruerunt; ac tametsi dextris humeris exsertis animadvertebantur, quod insigne pacatis esse consuerat, tamen id ipsum sui fallendi causa milites ab hostibus factum existimabant. Eodem tempore L. Fabius centurio quique una murum ascenderant circumventi atque interfecti de muro praecipitantur. M. Petreius, ejusdem legionis centurio, quum portas excidere conatus esset, a multitudine oppressus ac sibi desperans, multis jam vulneribus acceptis, manipularibus suis qui illum secuti erant, Quoniam, inquit, me

49. *mittit*] Some MSS. have 'misit.'—'[ex castris]:' omitted in some good MSS. It appears from c. 51 that it was the 'minora castra.' T. Sextius was ordered to post himself at the foot of the 'collis,' on the right of the enemy, which would be Caesar's left. As the Romans were driven down, T. Sextius protected the retreat, having occupied a high position (c. 51). Vercingetorix, having driven the Romans down, led his troops back when they had reached the foot of the 'collis,' or of the high land.—'cum legione:' the tenth, as it appears from c. 47, the favourite legion (i. 40).

50. *latere—aperto*] here means the right, as the context shows.—'manus distinendae:' 'for the purpose of diverting the enemy's force,' see iii. 11, "qui eam manum distinendam curet." The Aedui had been ordered to ascend to the right of the Romans, and they must have been a considerable distance to the right, for the Romans saw nothing of them till they appeared on the high ground. Their armour was like the Gallic armour, which made the Romans take them for enemies.

exsertis] 'Bared;' literally, 'put out' of their clothing or dress. See Ovid, Met. ii. 271; Virg. Aen. i. 492. The Romans took them for enemies on account of their armour, notwithstanding the pacific sign. There is a reading 'pacatum.' Fischer describes a Gallic silver coin of Epadnactus, the reverse of which has an armed man with the head and one shoulder bare; and this, he thinks, may serve to explain 'insigne pacatum,' as he reads the passage.

sibi desperans] See iii. 12.

una vobiscum servare non possum, vestrae quidem certe vitae prospiciam, quos cupiditate gloriae adductus in periculum deduxi. Vos data facultate vobis consulite. Simul in medios hostes irrupit, duobusque interfectis reliquos a porta paullulum submovit. Conantibus auxiliari suis, Frustra, inquit, meae vitae subvenire conamini, quem jam sanguis viresque deficiunt: proinde abite dum est facultas, vosque ad legionem recipite. Ita pugnans post paullum concidit ac suis saluti fuit.

51. Nostri quum undique premerentur, XLVI centurionibus amissis dejecti sunt loco; sed intolerantius Gallos insequentes legio X tardavit, quae pro subsidio paullo aequiore loco constiterat. Hanc rursus XIII legionis cohortes exceperunt, quae ex castris minoribus eductae cum T. Sextio legato locum ceperant superiorem. Legiones ubi primum planitiem attigerunt, infestis contra hostes signis constiterunt. Vercingetorix ab radicibus collis suos intra munitiones reduxit. Eo die milites sunt paullo minus DCC desiderati.

52. Postero die Caesar contione advocata temeritatem cupiditatemque militum reprehendit, Quod sibi ipsi judicavissent quo procedendum aut quid agendum videretur, neque signo recipiendi dato constitissent, neque ab tribunis militum legatisque retineri potuissent: exposito quid iniquitas loci posset, quid ipse ad Avaricum sensisset, quum sine duce et sine equitatu deprehensis hostibus exploratam victoriam dimisisset, ne parvum modo detri-

quem] 'Quem' refers to the 'ego' contained in the notion of 'my' ('meae'), as in Terence, Andria i. 1. 70:

> "laudare fortunas meas
> Qui natum haberem tali ingenio praeditum."

—'hinc abite,' Elb. There is better authority for omitting 'hinc;' and it is more emphatic without it.

51. *intolerantius*] The same as 'cupidius,' 'without restraining themselves.'

infestis] The legions must have turned their backs: they could hardly get down the hill otherwise. When they reached the level ground, they halted and turned the standards to the enemy. See 'signa inferri,' vii. 67. 'Infestis' is the participle of 'inferre;' as 'confertus' of 'conferre.'

52. *exposito*] The old reading was 'exposuit,' but 'exposito' has apparently the better MSS. authority. 'Exposito' refers to what follows, 'quid iniquitas . . . accideret,' which stands to 'exposito' in the relation of a noun in the ablative. Caesar alludes to what is told in c. 19, 20. —'accideret:' perhaps the reading 'acciperet' is preferable.

mentum in contentione propter iniquitatem loci accideret. Quanto opere eorum animi magnitudinem admiraretur quos non castrorum munitiones, non altitudo montis, non murus oppidi tardare potuisset, tanto opere licentiam arrogantiamque reprehendere, quod plus se quam imperatorem de victoria atque exitu rerum sentire existimarent: nec minus se in milite modestiam et continentiam quam virtutem atque animi magnitudinem desiderare.

53. Hac habita contione et ad extremum oratione confirmatis militibus, Ne ob hanc causam animo permoverentur, neu quod iniquitas loci attulisset id virtuti hostium tribuerent, eadem de profectione cogitans quae ante senserat, legiones ex castris eduxit aciemque idoneo loco constituit. Quum Vercingetorix nihilo minus in aequum

et continentiam] These words are omitted by four of the best MSS. and by Havn. A. (Elb.) 'Modestia' is here opposed to 'licentia,' and means 'obedience.'

Caesar has told his own story of his defeat before Gergovia, and we know no more than he tells us. Drumann (Geschichte Roms, iii. 349) gives a different version of the affair. As a sample of comment it is worth reading: he speaks like an eye-witness: "In fact the chief blame belonged to Caesar. He had designed to take the town: any other reason for his attempt cannot be imagined; and the observation, that his purpose was attained, when his men stood beneath the walls, is only a palliation of his blunder, or an instance of the pride which will not admit that he retreated against his will. The signal for retreat was doubtless not given until the Galli returned from their fortification towards Gergovia, and the soldiers were only so far blamable, that the first, before the arrival of the rest, and without definite orders, attempted to break into the town, and so caused an alarm too soon." Nearly the whole of which is pure figment and clumsy figment. No doubt Caesar's ultimate object was to take the place. He got possession of three camps, and if he could have kept his men there, and been joined by the Aedui, the Galli must either have fought a regular battle with him on the heights and beaten him, or they must have retired from the city, which was then lost. Caesar's story is consistent and clear. He would have had the city, but for the impetuosity of his men; and without the trouble of an assault. He rarely mentions his losses in numbers Here he lost forty-six officers and near 700 men. There is nothing disguised. He did fail, and he tells us so. He quitted the place, glad enough to do it with decency; and he tells that too. He foresaw the storm that was gathering, and, like a prudent man, he wished to get Labienus and his four legions back.

53. *id . . tribuerent*] 'id hosti tribuerent:' 'And. Oxon. et Havn. A.' Elb. See i. 13.

nihilo minus] "Omnes, ut videtur, codd. (sic Havn. A.), edd. prim., Ald. al. (et Celsus) nihilo minus." Elb. Yet most editors have 'nihilo magis.' Herzog has 'nihil minus,' which means, he says, 'nequaquam:' and so it may mean in certain positions. But if Vercingetorix did not come down at all, how did it happen

locum descenderet, levi facto equestri proelio atque eo secundo in castra exercitum reduxit. Quum hoc idem postero die fecisset, satis ad Gallicam ostentationem minuendam militumque animos confirmandos factum existimans in Aeduos castra movit. Ne tum quidem insecutis hostibus tertio die ad flumen Elaver pontem refecit atque exercitum transduxit.

54. Ibi a Virdumaro atque Eporedorige Aeduis appellatus discit cum omni equitatu Litavicum ad sollicitandos Aeduos profectum; opus esse et ipsos antecedere ad confirmandam civitatem. Etsi multis jam rebus perfidiam Aeduorum perspectam habebat, atque horum discessu admaturari defectionem civitatis existimabat, tamen eos retinendos non censuit, ne aut inferre injuriam videretur, aut dare timoris aliquam suspicionem. Discedentibus his breviter sua in Aeduos merita exponit, quos et quam humiles accepisset, compulsos in oppida, multatos agris, omnibus ereptis copiis, imposito stipendio, obsidibus summa cum contumelia extortis, et quam in fortunam quamque in amplitudinem deduxisset ut non solum in pristinum statum redissent, sed omnium temporum digni-

that there was a skirmish between the cavalry? Caesar says that he posted his forces in a favourable position ('idoneo loco'), favourable for himself, we must suppose: he would not put them in a position favourable for the enemy, at least only so far favourable as to give them the opportunity of fighting. Now to say that 'Vercingetorix did not a bit the more on that account come down upon level ground' has no meaning in it. But there is a meaning if Caesar said that he did nevertheless come down. Yet there was no pitched battle, the reason of which may have been that Vercingetorix would not fight. Why then did not Caesar attack him? I cannot answer that question, but it seems that Caesar also had no wish to fight. I have kept 'nihilo minus' because there is no good authority, so far as I know, for any thing else. It was necessary that Caesar should challenge the Gaul after the affair on the hill, in order to restore his men's confidence; and he did challenge him, but the Gallic chief, as we infer, declined the battle, and Caesar was glad enough to save his credit and move off.

pontem] One of the broken bridges perhaps (c. 34), not that which he had before repaired. He reached this on the third day from Gergovia. He marched from the other in five days to Gergovia. Kraner has 'pontes reficit eoque traducit.' Some critics suppose that Caesar means the bridge which he had repaired before (c. 35) crossing the Allier.

54. *admaturari*] There is a reading 'maturari,' as in c. 56, 'maturandum.'—'dare:' there is a reading 'daret.'

tatem et gratiam antecessisse viderentur. His datis mandatis eos ab se dimisit.

55. Noviodunum erat oppidum Aeduorum ad ripas Ligeris opportuno loco positum. Huc Caesar omnes obsides Galliae, frumentum, pecuniam publicam, suorum atque exercitus impedimentorum magnam partem contulerat: huc magnum numerum equorum hujus belli causa in Italia atque Hispania coemptum miserat. Eo quum Eporedorix Virdumarusque venissent et de statu civitatis cognovissent, Litavicum Bibracte ab Aeduis receptum, quod est oppidum apud eos maximae auctoritatis, Convictolitanem magistratum magnamque partem senatus ad eum convenisse, legatos ad Vercingetorigem de pace et amicitia concilianda publice missos, non praetermittendum tantum commodum existimaverunt. Itaque interfectis Novioduni custodibus, quique eo negotiandi aut itineris causa convenerant, pecuniam atque equos inter se partiti sunt; obsides civitatum Bibracte ad magistratum deducendos curaverunt; oppidum, quod ab se teneri non posse judicabant, ne cui esset usui Romanis incenderunt; fru-

mandatis] This means 'instructions:' he told them what message he wished them to carry. Compare B. G. i. 35. 'Mandare alicui' is to entrust something to another to do, which he undertakes to do gratuitously: "nam (mandatum) originem ex officio et amicitia trahit" (Dig. 17. 1. 1). Caesar did not affect to command these men.

55. *Noviodunum*] Nevers on the east side of the Loire, at the junction of the Nièvre. It was afterwards Nivernum or Nevirnum, so called from the Niveris, the Nièvre. There was also Noviodunum of the Bituriges, and Noviodunum of the Suessiones. See c. 12, note.

Caesar mentions his own 'impedimenta' and those of the army. Perhaps he means the booty that they had got; and doubtless he had his share. This purchasing of horses in Italy and Spain is an indication of the cost of the war, but the Galli paid for it in the end. The 'pecunia publica' appears to be what Caesar was allowed by the Roman treasury. That he should have left Noviodunum unprotected, and have let these two treacherous fellows seize it, seems inconsistent with his vigilance; but he was in great straits, and he thought it worth while to run any risk to keep the Aedui faithful.

Bibracte] 'Bibracti' as some editors have it. The termination in *i* is often used as a case of locality, like 'ruri,' 'Carthagini,' but some nouns in *e* are used in the same way. Horace says (Ep. i. 2), "Dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi." As to Bibracte see i. 23.

oppidum—incenderunt] Dion Cassius (40, c. 38) tells the story of the capture of Noviodunum after Caesar; but the rest of his narrative is in confusion. He says that Caesar not being able to advance against the Aedui on account of the Loire, turned against the Lingones, and did not succeed even there. It is a mon-

menti quod subito potuerunt navibus avexerunt, reliquum flumine atque incendio corruperunt; ipsi ex finitimis regionibus copias cogere, praesidia custodiasque ad ripas Ligeris disponere, equitatumque omnibus locis injiciendi timoris causa ostentare coeperunt, si ab re frumentaria Romanos excludere aut adductos inopia ex provincia excludere possent. Quam ad spem multum eos adjuvabat, quod Liger ex nivibus creverat ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

56. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar maturandum sibi censuit, si esset in perficiendis pontibus periclitandum, ut prius quam essent majores eo coactae copiae dimicaret. Nam ut commutato consilio iter in provinciam converteret, id ne tum quidem necessario faciundum existimabat: quum infamia

strous perversion of a plain story. The Greek did not know where the Lingones were, nor the Ligeris.

si ab re—excludere—possent] 'To exclude or prevent the Romans from getting supplies' is intelligible, but the rest is not so clear. 'Adductos inopia,' 'induced or led by' (as in B. G. i. 3), requires something after it to express what those do who are 'adducti inopia.' The next sentence shows that the direct object of the Aedui was to prevent Caesar from crossing the river. If they kept him on the west side, he would have to levy contributions in a country which he had already passed through, and which was probably devastated. He had also Vercingetorix in his rear. There was corn on the east side of the Loire, for Caesar got it as soon as he crossed. 'Quam ad spem' therefore would be quite intelligible, if the direct object of the Aedui was to prevent his getting supplies, by preventing him from crossing the river. If he crossed the river, however, he would readily get into the 'provincia' by a much easier and shorter road than by crossing the Cévennes. It seems likely then that the Aedui wished to prevent his getting supplies and also to prevent his getting into the 'provincia' by crossing the Loire, for Caesar would plunder all the country of the Aedui, if he crossed the river. Davis' conjecture, 'in provinciam repellere,' is without any authority; and it is absurd. If they simply drove him into the 'provincia,' where he could get supplies, and from Italy too, they might expect to see him among them again, and the country of the Aedui would be the first to suffer. Their plan was to starve him where he was, between the Allier and the Loire, or if he retired into the 'provincia,' to compel him to pass south through the Cévennes. I conclude that the text is corrupt; but there is enough to show what is meant.

Liger] See c. 35, and Introd. p. 13.

56. *eo*] means 'at the river.' Caesar thought that he ought to make haste, if he must run a risk while making his bridges, that he might have the fight, which he expected, before larger forces were assembled on the Loire.

id ne tum quidem] Here is another corruption in the MSS., unless the editors have spoiled the passage. Elb., following Oudendorp, has 'ut nemo non tum,' &c. The 'non' is an invention of Ciacconius, who proposed 'ut non nemo.'

atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cevenna viarumque difficultas impediebat, tum maxime, quod abjuncto Labieno atque iis legionibus quas una miserat vehementer timebat. Itaque admodum magnis diurnis atque nocturnis itineribus confectis contra omnium opinionem ad Ligerim pervenit; vadoque per equites invento pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut brachia modo atque humeri ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu qui vim fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus primo aspectu perturbatis, incolumem exercitum transduxit; frumentumque in agris et pecoris copiam nactus, repleto his rebus exercitu, iter in Senonas facere instituit.

57. Dum haec apud Caesarem geruntur, Labienus eo supplemento quod nuper ex Italia venerat relicto Agendici, ut esset impedimentis praesidio, cum IV legionibus Lutetiam proficiscitur. Id est oppidum Parisiorum positum in insula fluminis Sequanae. Cujus adventu ab hostibus cognito, magnae ex finitimis civitatibus copiae convenerunt. Summa imperii traditur Camulogeno Aulerco, qui prope confectus aetate, tamen propter singularem scientiam rei militaris ad eum est honorem evocatus. Is quum animadvertisset perpetuam esse paludem quae in-

It does not seem to me likely that Caesar would tell us what others thought to be necessary under the circumstances. He always trusted his own judgment (i. 40; vii. 52). The common reading before the edition of Oudendorp was 'id ne tum quidem,' which may be a correction of 'ut ne metu quidem,' or 'id ne metu quidem,' which many MSS. are said to have. Oxon. and Havn. A. are said to have 'ut nemo tunc quidem.' Oudendorp put 'ut nemo non tum quidem' in his text, 'audenter,' as he says. Kraner has 'Nam ne,' and the rest like Oudendorp. The reading that I have followed is the only reading that fits the context, and it may be the true reading. It gets rid of the difficulty of the construction, 'ut . . converteret . . impediebat.' which is the true construction of this sentence according to Oudendorp's text; and it dispenses with Herzog's translation of 'ut . . converteret,' *gesetzt dass*, 'granted,' or 'supposed that.'

disposito equitatu] This use of cavalry is described by Vegetius iii. 7, Clarke's translation.

in agris] Not on the ground, but stored in the country. The corn was not ripe. It was still early in the year, for the Loire was swollen by the melting of the snow on the Cévennes, and the winter was not quite past when Avaricum was taken (c. 32).

57. *supplemento*] See vii. 7.—'Lutetiam:' see Introd. p. 15.

paludem] There was a continuous swamp, probably along the Seine, with which it communicated, and 'made all that place' impassable. 'That place' is the bank of the Seine, on the south side, opposite to

flueret in Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere impediret, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit.

58. Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur. Postquam id difficilius fieri animadvertit, silentio e castris tertia vigilia egressus, eodem quo venerat itinere Melodunum pervenit. Id est oppidum Senonum, in insula Sequanae positum, ut paullo ante Lutetiam diximus. Deprehensis navibus circiter L celeriterque conjunctis, atque eo militibus impositis, et rei novitate perterritis oppidanis, quorum magna pars ad bellum erat evocata, sine contentione oppido potitur. Refecto ponte, quem superioribus diebus hostes resciderant, exercitum transducit, et secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere coepit. Hostes, re cognita ab iis qui a Meloduno profugerant, Lutetiam incendi pontesque ejus oppidi rescindi jubent: ipsi profecti a palude in ripis Sequanae e regione Lutetiae contra Labieni castra considunt.

59. Jam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur; jam de Aeduorum defectione et secundo Galliae motu

the island of Lutetia. Reichard makes the 'palus' to be the outlet of the Marne into the Seine; and yet Labienus tries to make a road over it. But Labienus would approach Lutetia on the south side, and so avoid crossing the Marne.

58. *vineas agere*] See ii. 30. The 'vineae' were to protect the men while they attempted to make a road across the marsh by throwing in wood and earth. 'Iter munire,' to 'build a road,' is the Roman expression, used both by writers and in inscriptions. Their roads were built, they were constructed of stones with great solidity. — 'fieri:' 'confieri,' Elb., Kraner.

Melodunum] This is Melun on the right bank of the Seine. The island on which the Celtic town stood is still there. Labienus had passed the place on his march from Agendicum, and he returned there. He repaired the bridge, and took over his men to the other side, that is, the right side of the river. He also took the vessels with him, which he had used to bridge the river at Melun. Labienus now marched again to Paris down the stream ('secundo flumine'); but on the right bank. He would use the boats to take his men over the Marne and afterwards over the Seine (c. 60).

Lutetiam] Many MSS. have 'de Lutetia,' which is just as good.— 'eo:' that is, 'in naves,' as Cicero says (Ad Div. xii. 14), "naves onerarias in quas exercitus ejus imponi posset." See i. 42.—'qui a Meloduno:' 'qui Metiosedo,' Havn. A.; and the same MS. has the same in c. 60.—'incendi:' 'incendunt,' Elb.

pontesque] The bridges which connected the island of Lutetia with both banks of the Seine.

rumores afferebantur, Gallique in colloquiis interclusum itinere et Ligeri Caesarem inopia frumenti coactum in provinciam contendisse confirmabant. Bellovaci autem defectione Aeduorum cognita, qui ante erant per se infideles, manus cogere atque aperte bellum parare coeperunt. Tum Labienus tanta rerum commutatione longe aliud sibi capiendum consilium atque antea senserat intelligebat, neque jam ut aliquid acquireret proelioque hostes lacesseret, sed ut incolumem exercitum Agendicum reduceret, cogitabat. Namque altera ex parte Bellovaci, quae civitas in Gallia maximam habet opinionem virtutis, instabant; alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo exercitu tenebat; tum legiones a praesidio atque impedimentis interclusas maximum flumen distinebat. Tantis subito difficultatibus objectis ab animi virtute auxilium petendum videbat.

60. Itaque sub vesperum consilio convocato cohortatus ut ea quae imperasset diligenter industrieque administrarent, naves quas [a] Meloduno deduxerat singulas equitibus Romanis attribuit, et prima confecta vigilia IV milia passuum secundo flumine silentio progredi ibique se exspectari jubet. Quinque cohortes, quas minime firmas ad dimicandum esse existimabat, castris praesidio relinquit: V ejusdem legionis reliquas de media nocte cum omnibus impedimentis adverso flumine magno tumultu proficisci imperat. Conquirit etiam lintres: has magno sonitu remorum incitatas in eandem partem mittit. Ipse

59. *Bellovaci*] See ii. 4. The Bellovaci threatened Labienus on one side, and the forces of Camulogenus on the other. He was also separated by a large river from his troops and material at Agendicum. Those who suppose that Labienus was on the south side of the Seine, cannot explain how he was between the Bellovaci and the forces of Camulogenus; for the Bellovaci were to the N.W., and Camulogenus was not on the same side of the river as Labienus. Nor can they explain if Labienus was on the south side of the Seine, why he could not march quietly to Agendicum, and leave his enemies behind him.

Namque &c.] 'nam cum ex altera parte,' Havn. A.; where 'cum' or 'quum' corresponds to 'tum,' which comes after.

opinionem virtutis] See vii. 83.

60.] The movements of Labienus are clearly described. He left five cohorts in his camp. He ordered the other five cohorts to march up the stream ('adverso flumine') and to make a great noise. He sent the ships down the river, and crossed over by them to the left bank with three legions.

sub vesperum] See ii. 33.

post paullo silentio egressus cum tribus legionibus eum locum petit quo naves appelli jusserat.

61. Eo quum esset ventum, exploratores hostium, ut omni fluminis parte erant dispositi, inopinantes, quod magna subito erat coorta tempestas, ab nostris opprimuntur: exercitus equitatusque, equitibus Romanis administrantibus quos ei negotio praefecerat, celeriter transmittitur. Uno fere tempore sub lucem hostibus nunciatur in castris Romanorum praeter consuetudinem tumultuari et magnum ire agmen adverso flumine, sonitumque remorum in eadem parte exaudiri et paullo infra milites navibus transportari. Quibus rebus auditis, quod existimabant tribus locis transire legiones atque omnes perturbatos defectione Aeduorum fugam parare, suas quoque copias in tres partes distribuerunt. Nam praesidio e regione castrorum relicto, et parva manu Metiosedum versus missa, quae tantum progrediatur quantum naves processissent, reliquas copias contra Labienum duxerunt.

62. Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati et hostium acies cernebatur. Labienus milites cohortatus ut suae pristinae virtutis et tot secundissimorum proeliorum memoriam retinerent, atque ipsum Caesarem cujus ductu saepenumero hostes superassent [praesentem] adesse existimarent, dat signum proelii. Primo concursu ab dextro cornu, ubi septima legio constiterat, hostes pel-

61. *tumultuari*] is used here as a passive verb.

exaudiri] There is a reading 'audiri.' See vi. 39. — 'Metiosedum versus.' The place is unknown, but it may be intended for Melodunum, the name of which is written with great diversities. The matter is well discussed by D'Anville, Notice de la Gaule, Melodunum. If we follow the reading of Havn. A., we have the name Metiosedum three times, but it has 'Mellodunum pervenit' (c. 58). The place, whatever is the name, was higher up the stream than Paris; for of the three divisions which the Galli made of their forces, one was posted opposite to the camp of Labienus, a small force was sent up the stream, and the rest was led against Labienus, and therefore down the stream. Reichard has a dissertation on the movements of Labienus. He places him on the wrong side of the river, and puts the whole narrative into confusion. The same geographer shows his skill by placing Gergovia near Orléans.

progrediatur] Oudendorp reads 'progrederetur,' which is a correction. Some MSS. have 'progrediebatur,' which is wrong.—'naves:' these are the 'lintres.'

62. [*praesentem*]] This word is omitted in some good MSS., and also 'hostes pelluntur atque.'

luntur atque in fugam conjiciuntur: ab sinistro, quem locum duodecima legio tenebat, quum primi ordines hostium transfixi pilis concidissent, tamen acerrime reliqui resistebant, nec dabat suspicionem fugae quisquam. Ipse dux hostium Camulogenus suis aderat atque eos cohortabatur. Incerto etiam nunc exitu victoriae, quum septimae legionis tribunis esset nunciatum, quae in sinistro cornu gererentur, post tergum hostium legionem ostenderunt signaque intulerunt. Ne eo quidem tempore quisquam loco cessit, sed circumventi omnes interfecti sunt. Eandem fortunam tulit Camulogenus. At ii qui praesidio contra castra Labieni erant relicti, quum proelium commissum audissent, subsidio suis ierunt collemque ceperunt, neque nostrorum militum victorum impetum sustinere potuerunt. Sic cum suis fugientibus permixti, quos non silvae montesque texerunt, ab equitatu sunt interfecti. Hoc negotio confecto, Labienus revertitur Agendicum ubi impedimenta totius exercitus relicta erant: inde cum omnibus copiis ad Caesarem pervenit.

63. Defectione Aeduorum cognita bellum augetur. Legationes in omnes partes circummittuntur: quantum gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas civitates nituntur. Nacti obsides, quos Caesar apud eos deposuerat, horum supplicio dubitantes territant. Petunt a Vercingetorige Aedui ut ad se veniat rationesque belli gerendi communicet. Re impetrata contendunt ut ipsis summa imperii tradatur; et re in controversiam deducta totius Galliae concilium Bibracte indicitur. Conveniunt undique frequentes. Multitudinis suffragiis res permittitur: ad unum omnes Vercingetorigem probant impera-

suis aderat] 'Alicui adesse' is to be with a person, to help him in any way that the case may require. It is a common Latin formula, as in Cicero, Verr. ii. 2, c. 29.

neque] A single 'neque' is sometimes thus placed, as in iv. 26, 'neque longius,' &c.; it seems to mean something like 'nor yet.'

ad Caesarem] Caesar had crossed the Loire in order to join Labienus, who after his campaign about Lutetia returned to Agendicum and thence marched to Caesar, who was in the country of the Lingones, c. 66.

63. *nituntur*] The Aedui, as the narrative shows.—'deposuerat:' c. 55. 'Depositum' in the Roman legal sense is that which a man commits to the keeping of another without any reward for the trouble of keeping it. (Inst. iii. tit 14.)—'petunt . . . ad se,' Elb. without 'ut.'—'eodem conveniunt,' Elb.

torem. Ab hoc concilio Remi, Lingones, Treviri abfuerunt: illi, quod amicitiam Romanorum sequebantur; Treviri, quod aberant longius et ab Germanis premebantur, quae fuit causa quare toto abessent bello et neutris auxilia mitterent. Magno dolore Aedui ferunt se dejectos principatu; queruntur fortunae commutationem et Caesaris in se indulgentiam requirunt; neque tamen suscepto bello suum consilium ab reliquis separare audent. Inviti summae spei adolescentes Eporedorix et Virdumarus Vercingetorigi parent.

64. Ipse imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides: denique ei rei constituit diem: huc omnes equites XV milia numero celeriter convenire jubet: Peditatu quem ante habuerit se fore contentum dicit, neque fortunam tentaturum aut acie dimicaturum; sed quoniam abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu frumentationibus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere, aequo modo animo sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque incendant, qua rei familiaris jactura perpetuum imperium libertatemque se consequi videant. His constitutis rebus, Aeduis Segusianisque qui sunt finitimi Provinciae X milia peditum imperat: huc addit equites DCCC. His praeficit fratrem Eporedorigis bellumque inferre Allobrogibus jubet. Altera ex parte Gabalos proximosque pagos Arvernorum in Helvios,

dejectos principatu] Caesar says (v. 48), 'opinione dejectus.'—'requirunt:' 'they miss,' as we say; they feel that they have lost something. So Cicero writes (De Sen. c. 9), "ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis ut adolescentiam non requireret."

64. *Ipse*] Most MSS. have 'ipse,' which Kraner has. 'Ille,' Ouden.

huc] This can only mean to Bibracte. Kraner omits 'huc.'

neque—aut] Cicero (Ad Div. vi. 6) has 'non igitur . . . nec . . . nec . . . aut,' and Caesar (B. C. iii. 31) has "ante id tempus nemo, aut miles aut equus ad Pompeium transierat." In this passage the old reading was 'neque acie,' but 'aut' is in nearly all the MSS. There are examples of 'neque . . . neque . . . aut' in B. G. iv. 20; v. 17; of 'neque . . . aut' in v. 6. Oudendorp says that in this chapter 'aut acie' is right, for 'fortunam tentare' and 'acie dimicare' are the same; a remark that does not apply to the 'aut,' v. 17.

Segusiani] See i. 11, note.—'Volcarum Arecomicorum:' these Volcae were the neighbours of the Tectosages, but it is not possible to fix the boundary between them. They extended along the coast to the Rhone, and they were separated by the Cévennes from the Ruteni and the Gabali. They were included in the Provincia. Their position corresponds nearly to the modern departments of Hérault and Gard.

item Rutenos Cadurcosque ad fines Volcarum Arecomicorum depopulandos mittit. Nihilo minus clandestinis nunciis legationibusque Allobrogas sollicitat, quorum mentes nondum ab superiore bello resedisse sperabat. Horum principibus pecunias, civitati autem imperium totius Provinciae pollicetur.

65. Ad hos omnes casus provisa erant praesidia cohortium duarum et viginti, quae ex ipsa coacta Provincia ab L. Caesare legato ad omnes partes opponebantur. Helvii sua sponte cum finitimis proelio congressi pelluntur, et C. Valerio Donotauro, Caburi filio, principe civitatis, compluribusque aliis interfectis, intra oppida murosque compelluntur. Allobroges crebris ad Rhodanum dispositis praesidiis magna cum cura et diligentia suos fines tuentur. Caesar, quod hostes equitatu superiores esse intelligebat, et interclusis omnibus itineribus nulla re ex Provincia atque Italia sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates quas superioribus annis pacaverat, equitesque ab his arcessit et levis armaturae pedites qui inter eos proeliari consueverant. Eorum adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum reliquisque [sed et] equitibus Romanis atque evocatis equos sumit Germanisque distribuit.

bello resedisse] See i. 6, and Introd. p. 34.—'resedisse,' one of the compounds of 'sid-ere,' expresses the sinking down of something that has been raised, as in Virgil, Aen. vii. 27, "omnisque repente resedit Flatus;" and hence it is used by a metaphor to express the settling down of passion, as in Livy ii. 29, "quum irae resedissent."

65. *L. Caesare*] Lucius Caesar, who had been consul B.C. 64, was of the same 'gens' as Caesar, and a kinsman. This example and many others show that a man, who had been consul, sometimes served afterwards under another.—'C. Valerio Donotauro.' See i. 19, note.

eas civitates] The Ubii (vi. 9); and perhaps no others.

inter eos proeliari] See i. 48; viii. 13.

[*sed et*]] This is said to be the reading of nearly all the MSS., but the passage seems to be corrupt. These 'equites' were Romans of equestrian rank who were with the army. "The Evocati were taken from citizens, from Socii, from horsemen and infantry; but they were got by asking and request, and therefore called Evocati; for they were Veterani, well skilled and experienced in war, who after having completed their service willingly joined the army for the sake of the consuls or commanders." (Lipsius, De Militia Romana, lib. i. Dial. viii.) He quotes Dion Cassius (xlv. 12), who gives the same meaning of the term Evocati. In iii. 20, Caesar speaks of a great number of men of Tolosa and Narbo being summoned by name ('evocati'). There

66. Interea dum haec geruntur, hostium copiae ex Arvernis, equitesque, qui toti Galliae erant imperati, conveniunt. Magno horum coacto numero, quum Caesar in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines iter faceret, quo facilius subsidium Provinciae ferre posset, circiter milia passuum x ab Romanis trinis castris Vercingetorix consedit, convocatisque ad concilium praefectis equitum, Venisse tempus victoriae demonstrat: fugere in Provinciam Romanos Galliaque excedere: id sibi ad praesentem obtinendam libertatem satis esse; ad reliqui temporis pacem atque otium parum profici, majoribus enim coactis copiis reversuros neque finem bellandi facturos; proinde in agmine impeditos adoriantur: si pedites suis auxilium ferant atque in eo morentur, iter confici non posse; si, id quod magis futurum confidat, relictis impedimentis suae saluti consulant, et usu rerum necessariarum et dignitate spoliatum iri; nam de equitibus hostium, quin nemo eorum progredi modo extra agmen audeat, ne ipsos qui-

must have been a muster-roll of these men, and perhaps they were those provincials who were entitled to relief from actual service, and were only summoned in emergencies.

66. *toti*] There is a reading 'tota Gallia.'—'Caesar in Sequanos per,' &c. is the common reading, but 'in Sequanos' is omitted in four of the best MSS. and Havn. A., according to Elb. But I believe the words to be genuine. Caesar's plan was to reach the Provincia, and the country of the Allobroges; in fact he was retreating, with the intention, we may be sure, of soon returning. The Lingones were friendly, and he was in their country. The Aedui were hostile, but the Sequani have never been mentioned as hostile. The revolt of the Aedui would rather confirm their obedience to the Romans. Caesar's only safe line of march therefore was on the east side of the Saône, through the country of the Sequani to the Allobroges; and this was his intended route, whether he wrote 'in Sequanos' or not. Plutarch (Caesar, c. 26), certainly no authority for interpreting Caesar, seems, however, to have got his notion of Caesar's movements from a text which had 'in Sequanos;' for he says, *ὑπερέβαλε τὰ Λιγγονικὰ βουλόμενος ἅψασθαι τῆς Σικουανῶν φίλων ὄντων καὶ προκειμένων τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Γαλατίαν.*—'ferre posset:' 'ferre possit,' Elb.—'finem belli,' Elb.

trinis castris] See c. 46.

proinde—adoriantur] 'adorirentur,' Kraner. 'They should attack the Romans then, on the march, encumbered with their heavy material.' 'Proinde,' that is 'pro' and 'inde,' 'hence forward,' is often used in conclusions, in the sense of 'then' or 'therefore.' I don't think the device of an ellipsis is necessary to explain 'adoriantur.' See i. 36, "quum vellet congrederetur."

progredi modo] "*modo* abest Leid. prim. Oxon. et Havn. A." Elb. Still 'modo' is perhaps genuine. It means 'so much as to advance forward out of the line of march.' See

dem debere dubitare: id quo majore faciant animo, copias se omnes pro castris habiturum et terrori hostibus futurum. Conclamant equites, Sanctissimo jurejurando confirmari oportere ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitarit.

67. Probata re atque omnibus ad jusjurandum adactis, postero die in tres partes distributo equitatu, duae se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt, una a primo agmine iter impedire coepit. Qua re nunciata Caesar suum quoque equitatum tripertito divisum contra hostem ire jubet. Pugnatur una [tunc] omnibus in partibus: consistit agmen: impedimenta inter legiones recipiuntur. Si qua in parte nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, eo signa inferri Caesar aciemque converti jubebat; quae res et hostes ad insequendum tardabat et nostros spe auxilii confirmabat. Tandem Germani ab dextro latere summum jugum nacti hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad

c. 76, 'aspectum modo,' and vi. 8, 'impetum modo.'—'bis' is omitted in some good MSS. If it is genuine, it perhaps means to ride through the enemy, and ride back again.

67. *a primo*] Most MSS. omit 'a,' and the earliest editors; but 'a primo' is right. It is a common Roman usage. Caesar's legions were marching as usual (ii. 17). His cavalry was formed into three divisions to oppose the three divisions of the enemy's cavalry. The legions halted and formed in masses, within which the material was received; and whenever Caesar's cavalry was hard pressed, he directed the legions to face about to that point and to advance. The Germans, by gaining a hill and driving the enemy from it, got the victory. Vercingetorix was posted on a stream with his Gallic infantry, and I suppose that it was between him and Caesar. His infantry was no match for the Roman legions. This river was not the Saône; for the distance from Alesia will not admit that supposition; but it may have been one of the streams which flow into the Saône on the right bank.

videbantur] The meaning of this word is sometimes misunderstood. Sometimes 'videri' and 'esse' are opposed, in which case an appearance, which may not be true, is opposed to a reality. But 'videri,' 'to be seen,' or, as we say, 'to seem,' often expresses an opinion or judgment; the judgment may be true or false, but still it is a judgment. So here, if we do not translate 'videbantur' by 'were seen,' and for what I know such a translation may be right, we must explain it to mean, 'if in any part our men in Caesar's judgment or opinion were hard pressed.' See i. 40, note.

Germani] Dion Cassius (40, c. 39) calls them Celtae, but he means Germani. He also says that Vercingetorix stopped Caesar in the country of the Sequani. Caesar was on the borders of the Sequani (c. 66) and entering the country of the Sequani; but he had not reached it. He was on the east side of the hills which bound the basin of the Saône.

flumen, ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat, persequuntur compluresque interficiunt. Qua re animadversa reliqui ne circumvenirentur veriti se fugae mandant. Omnibus locis fit caedes: tres nobilissimi Aedui capti ad Caesarem perducuntur: Cotus, praefectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitane proximis comitiis habuerat; et Cavarillus, qui post defectionem Litavici pedestribus copiis praefuerat; et Eporedorix, quo duce ante adventum Caesaris Aedui cum Sequanis bello contenderant.

68. Fugato omni equitatu Vercingetorix copias suas, ut pro castris collocaverat, reduxit; protinusque Alesiam, quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere coepit, celeriterque impedimenta ex castris educi et se subsequi jussit. Caesar, impedimentis in proximum collem deductis, duabusque legionibus praesidio relictis, secutus quantum diei tempus est passum, circiter tribus milibus hostium ex novissimo agmine interfectis, altero die ad Alesiam castra fecit. Perspecto urbis situ, perterritisque hostibus, quod equitatu, qua maxime parte exercitus confidebant, erant

Cotus] See vii. 33. 39. The 'proximis comitiis' is the last election for supreme magistrate. It is purely a Roman term, just as if we were to say 'at the last election.' Caesar distinguishes this Eporedorix from the 'adolescens' (c. 39. 54) by the words 'quo duce,' &c.

68. *ut—collocaverat*] Herzog compares (c. 46) 'ut meridie conquieverat,' and (c. 61) 'ut erant dispositi;' and also (v. 43) 'ut se sub ipso vallo constipaverant.' Our word 'as' seems to express it pretty well, or 'just as,' for a comparison is thus implied. Vercingetorix had placed his infantry ('copiae') in front of his camp, and there they stood until he retreated. As he had placed them in front of his camp, so he led them back to his camp. Between placing them and leading them back no change occurred in their position.

Alesiam] The Mandubii were within the limits of the Aedui, on the borders of the Lingones. Strabo (p. 191) is guilty of a great blunder when he makes them border on the Arverni. Their town was Alesia, or Alexia, as the name is sometimes written (Vell. Pat. ii. 47; Florus iii. 10, who makes a strange confusion between Gergovia and Alesia). Plutarch (Caesar, c. 27) calls the place Alesia (Ἀλησία), and also Diodorus (iv. 19), and Strabo (p. 191), who has copied Caesar's description of the place. There seems to be no authority for Alexia, but it is so written in some editions of Strabo.

Caesar followed up the pursuit on the day of the battle, and on the next day he encamped before Alesia. We cannot therefore reckon more than one good day's march from the field of battle to Alesia; and as Caesar was on the borders of the Lingones, the battle was fought east of Alesia; but we cannot tell how much to the south or north of east.

qua—confidebant] Codd. et edd. prim. 'quo maxima parte ex. confide-

pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites Alesiam circumvallare instituit.

69. Ipsum erat oppidum in colle summo, admodum edito loco ut nisi obsidione expugnari posse non videretur: cujus collis radices duo duabus ex partibus flumina subluebant. Ante id oppidum planities circiter milia passuum III in longitudinem patebat: reliquis ex omnibus partibus colles mediocri interjecto spatio pari altitudinis fastigio oppidum cingebant. Sub muro, quae pars collis ad orientem solem spectabat, hunc omnem locum copiae Gallorum compleverant fossamque et maceriam sex in altitudinem pedum praeduxerant. Ejus munitionis quae

bat,' Elb. But some MSS. have 'confidebant,' and some have 'quo maxime confidebat' or 'confidebant.'

69. Alesia is now the village of Alise Sainte Reine in the department of Côte d'Or, near Flavigny. In the excavations made at Alise small figures of bronze, fragments of stone, Roman medals, and many domestic utensils have been found, which show that Alise was once the site of a town. The modern village of Alise is on one side of the hill. The old town, which Caesar besieged, was on the plateau, on the summit of the hill, like Gergovia. The locality, which is well marked, agrees with Caesar's description. A stream runs on each side of the hill, and the two streams after their junction fall into the Yonne, a branch of the Seine. See the note at the end of Lib. vii.

subluebant] He also has 'patebat,' 'cingebant,' and 'spectabant.' See ii. 5, note.

mediocri—spatio] This 'mediocre spatium' is the valleys in which the two rivers flow on three sides round the hill of Alesia. The 'fastigium' is the summit of the hills which bound these valleys on the north, east, and south. On the west side of the hill of Alesia is the 'planities.'

Sub muro—hunc omnem] 'Under the wall, that part of the hill which looked towards the east, all this space the forces of the Galli had occupied.' This is a way of writing which a formalist would never use. It is the fashion of a man who looks to the matter more than to the form; and yet the form is clear, precise, and natural, agreeable to the nature of the thing; first the wall, then its position, then all the space beneath it, and the way in which it was occupied. 'Quae pars collis' is a usual kind of expression, the relative having its noun following it, and a different noun from that to which it refers. See ii. 1, "quam . . . partem," and the note; and iv. 29, "luna plena, qui dies," &c.

solem] Some of the best MSS. omit 'solem.' In i. 1 there is, 'orientem solem.'

maceriam] The Galli made a wall of stones ('maceria') six feet high, as a defence in front ('praeduxerant'). They did not intrench themselves all round within a ditch and wall, for they were protected on the west by the hill of Alesia. In c. 71 Caesar says "copias omnes quas pro oppido collocaverat in oppidum recipit." The wall was made in haste of stones without any cement, of such stones as they found on the spot, such as are there still. Varro (De Re Rust. i. 14) describes four kinds of 'maceria.'

ab Romanis instituebatur circuitus XI milia passuum tenebat. Castra opportunis locis erant posita, ibique castella XXIII facta; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes disponebantur ne qua subito eruptio fieret: haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.

tenebat] As to the numbers I cannot tell what the MSS. readings are, whether X or XI. If 'XI milium' is right, 'tenebat' must be taken in a sense of which I can find no examples. Those that are cited are not to the purpose. The MSS. are of little authority, for they have probably the abbreviation 'm.' or 'mil.' Elb. and the editors generally have 'XI milium.'

castella] A 'castellum' is a small 'castrum,' a redoute. Sometimes 'castella' might be constructed with more care, as probably in i. 8; and of stones and timber when circumstances required. These 'castella' were small inclosures with a ditch and 'vallum,' adapted to hold a certain number of men. Caesar says that his 'castra' were placed at convenient sites, and there ('ibi') 23 'castella' were made. These 'castra' were therefore different from the 'castella.' The 'castella' were used in the day time as 'stationes,' and in the night as places for men ('excubitores') to keep a look out from. If the text is right there might be 23 'castra,' and a 'castellum' close to each; but I suppose that there were fewer 'castra' and 'castella' between them. He had not yet made his lines of circumvallation. He left Gergovia with six legions, but incomplete. Labienus joined him with four legions (vii. 34. 62). He had a large body of cavalry, both Galli and Germans. At the siege of Gergovia (vi. 50) he had a number of Aedui in his service; but it is certain that he did not keep them. There was a 'supplementum' from Italy, the amount of which is not stated, which Labienus left at Sens when he went against Paris (vii. 57). We must assume that he took this 'supplementum' with him when he returned to Sens on his way to join Caesar (vii. 62); for he came to Caesar 'cum omnibus copiis.' This was all Caesar's force, for he could get no aid from the 'provincia' when he was in the country of the Lingones (vii. 65); all the roads were stopped. In this difficulty he sent for German cavalry from the east side of the Rhine. The cavalry of Caesar must have been strong, for it was more than a match for that of Vercingetorix. The number of men in Alesia, after Vercingetorix sent away his cavalry, is stated at 80,000; but we cannot trust the numerals. We may perhaps estimate all Caesar's force at not less than 50,000 infantry and cavalry.

In the civil war (B. C. iii. 43) Caesar tried to hem in Pompeius in the way that he describes here. There were many lofty hills around the camp of Pompeius. Caesar first occupied these hills with bodies of men ('praesidia'); and then 'castellaque ibi communiit,' he made small camps or redoutes. He goes on to say, "inde ut loci cujusque natura ferebat, ex castello in castellum perducta munitione circumvallare Pompeium constituit." The 'circumvallatio' could not be effected till the 'castella' were made in order to secure the communications. Lucan, who has taken more pains than poets generally do with military operations, has a description of the circumvallation of Pompeius by Caesar (Pharsalia, vi. 37):—

"Franguntur montes planumque per ardua Caesar
Ducit opus," &c.

excubitoribus] The 'stationes' during the day. The 'excubitores'

70. Opere instituto fit equestre proelium in ea planitie quam intermissam collibus III milia passuum in longitudinem patere supra demonstravimus. Summa vi ab utrisque contenditur. Laborantibus nostris Caesar Germanos submittit, legionesque pro castris constituit ne qua subito irruptio ab hostium peditatu fiat. Praesidio legionum addito nostris animus augetur: hostes in fugam conjecti se ipsi multitudine impediunt atque angustioribus portis relictis coartantur. Germani acrius usque ad munitiones sequuntur. Fit magna caedes: nonnulli relictis equis fossam transire et maceriam transcendere conantur. Paullum legiones Caesar quas pro vallo constituerat promoveri jubet. Non minus qui intra munitiones erant Galli perturbantur; veniri ad se confestim existimantes ad arma conclamant; nonnulli perterriti in oppidum irrumpunt. Vercingetorix portas jubet claudi ne castra nudentur. Multis interfectis, compluribus equis captis, Germani sese recipiunt.

71. Vercingetorix, priusquam munitiones ab Romanis perficiantur, consilium capit omnem ab se equitatum noctu dimittere. Discedentibus mandat, Ut suam quisque eorum civitatem adeat omnesque qui per aetatem arma ferre possint ad bellum cogant; sua in illos merita proponit obtestaturque ut suae salutis rationem habeant, neu se de communi libertate optime meritum hostibus in cruciatum dedant: quod si indiligentiores fuerint, milia

watched by night. See c. 11, 'excubiae,' and c. 24, 'excubaret.'

70. *Opere instituto*] 'Institutum' not 'perfectum' (c. 71). The object of the Galli was to prevent the 'circumvallatio.'—'intermissam:' see vii. 17.—'irruptio:' there is also a reading 'eruptio.'

angustioribus—relictis] Oudendorp understood this to mean that "not only all the 'castra,' but also the larger gates, were closed by a ditch and wall, so that these narrow gates were left for them to return by." But Caesar means, as Herzog says, that the Galli had left the openings in their wall ('maceria') too narrow for them when they were re-entering in the hurry of defeat. The word 'relictis' must be explained by the context, as in vii. 41, 'duabus relictis portis,' which is 'non obstructis.' In place of 'coartantur' Kraner has 'coacervantur.'—'veniri:' most MSS. and editions have 'venire.'—'portas claudi:' the gates of the town, for some of the Galli were leaving the camp and rushing into the town.

71. *consilium capit—dimittere*] Comp. c. 26, "consilium ceperunt profugere."

quod si] There is a reading 'qui si,' which also means 'and if they should be at all negligent;' and it is also Latin, just as good as 'quod si.'

hominum delecta LXXX una secum interitura demonstrat; ratione inita frumentum se exigue dierum XXX habere, sed paullo etiam longius tolerare posse parcendo. His datis mandatis, qua erat nostrum opus intermissum, secunda vigilia silentio equitatum dimittit; frumentum omne ad se referri jubet; capitis poenam iis qui non paruerint constituit; pecus, cujus magna erat ab Mandubiis compulsa copia, viritim distribuit; frumentum parce et paullatim metiri instituit; copias omnes quas pro oppido collocaverat in oppidum recipit. His rationibus auxilia Galliae exspectare et bellum administrare parat.

72. Quibus rebus ex perfugis et captivis cognitis Caesar haec genera munitionis instituit. Fossam pedum XX directis lateribus duxit ut ejus fossae solum tantumdem pateret quantum summa labra distabant. Reliquas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa pedes CD reduxit, id hoc

—'ratione inita.' This means that by having taken account of the stock of corn, he had, as he told them, barely enough for thirty days.—'paullatim:' at short intervals, by doing which he could judge better whether he could continue the same allowance, than if he gave it out in larger quantities and at longer intervals.

frumentum—dierum XXX] Comp. i. 5, "trium mensium—cibaria."

72. *directis*] The sides of the ditch were perpendicular. Caesar explains 'directis' by 'ut . . . distabant.' The readings vary between 'directis' and 'derectis' here as in other cases (iv. 17). In Cicero (Verr. ii. 4, c. 48) the word occurs in the same sense, and the MSS. there, as it is said, vary between 'directa' and 'dirempta.' Herzog takes 'derectus' to mean 'perpendicular,' and 'directus' straight generally. The 'solum' of the 'fossa' is the ground at the bottom: 'XX' is the width of the ditch. The word 'fossae' is omitted in some MSS.; and it may be omitted, for 'ejus' refers to 'fossam;' but as Caesar sometimes repeats the preceding noun with the relative (i. 6), so he sometimes repeats it with 'is.' 'Labrum' is a lip, and the margin of any thing; in vi. 28 the broad and open end of a horn has 'labra.'

pedes] Most MSS. have the accusative, but some have 'pedibus.' Caesar uses both the accusative and the ablative to express a measure of this kind. The Greek paraphrast has τρία στάδια, which is 375 'passus.' See i. 8.

id hoc] This refers to 'pedes CD reduxit.' He did it with this design, or with this 'purpose, since he had of necessity comprehended so large a space, and the whole could not easily be manned with a line of soldiers, that a number of the enemy might not,' &c. Caesar explains the purpose of this ditch, which was, as Guischardt says (Mém. Milit. c. xvi. i. 233), to secure the Roman troops while they were working at the 'ligne de contrevallation.' The circuit of this ditch was of course much less than the circuit of the real works, which were beyond and outside of it. This ditch was what the

consilio, quoniam tantum esset necessario spatium complexus nec facile totum opus corona militum cingeretur, ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudo advolaret, aut interdiu tela in nostros operi destinatos conjicere possent. Hoc intermisso spatio duas fossas XV pedes latas. eadem altitudine perduxit; quarum interiorem campestribus ac demissis locis aqua ex flumine derivata complevit. Post eas aggerem ac vallum XII pedum exstruxit; huic loricam pinnasque adjecit, grandi-

French call 'un fossé perdu, à fond de cuve.' The earth from this ditch was thrown up on the outside and served to protect the soldiers.

The real works were 400 feet behind this ditch. They consisted of a rampart ('agger') twelve feet high strongly palisaded and surmounted by a parapet. In front of this rampart was a ditch, and in front of this ditch was another ditch, each of which ditches was fifteen feet wide and fifteen feet deep. The earth, thrown out of the front ditch, the inner ditch, would form a rampart on the outside of it. but Caesar says nothing about this rampart, which was not his real defence. This inner ditch was filled with water in tho e parts where it passed through the plain ('campestribus locis'), and also in those parts where it passed along the valleys ('demissis locis'), which separate the hill of Alesia from the high lands on the north, east, and south. All this is quite plain to any man who has seen Alesia.

opus] is omitted in some MSS. Others have a bad reading, 'corpus.' A 'corona' is a number of persons standing round in a circle, as in Ovid. Met. xii. 1, "vulgi stante corona;" and in Livy 28, c. 29. It has also the meaning of works to inclose and surround (Liv. 23, c. 44); but Caesar fixes his own meaning here by the addition of 'militum.'—'aggerem ac vallum:' here we have the two proper words, 'agger,' the earth which is piled up after being dug out of the 'fossa;' and 'vallum,' the work that is placed on the 'agger,' consisting of stakes fastened together. Each several stake is a 'vallus.' The 'XII' feet is the height of the 'vallum' (ii. 30).

loricam pinnasque] See v. 40. 'Adjecit' is to us an ambiguous word. for we do not know if this 'lorica' was put on the top of the 'vallum' or in front of it, to make it still stronger. It seems that the 'lorica' was in front of the 'vallum,' and the whole formed a strong parapet.—'cervi:' 'stags,' that is, pieces of wood forked like the horns of a stag. They are mentioned by Livy (xliv. 11). 'Plutei' are the blinds or planks used for a defence (B. G. vii. 25. 41; B. C. i. 25; iii. 24), and here manifestly they comprehend the whole breastwork made by the 'vallum' and 'lorica.' The 'commissurae' is the place where these 'plutei' were fixed in the 'agger,' which would be at their base or lowest part; and from this lowest part these branching pieces of wood projected horizontally, and up and down, to impede ('qui tardarent') the enemy if they attempted to get up. —'Quae . . . distarent' is the regular strict Roman usage. He placed the towers round at the distance of 'LXXX' feet from one another. The affirmation is not made in direct terms, that the 'turres pedes inter se LXXX distabant;' but they were so placed as to be 'LXXX' feet asunder. This passage shows, if there was any doubt about it. that the 'turres' are different from the 'castella.'

bus cervis eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris qui ascensum hostium tardarent; et turres toto opere circumdedit quae pedes LXXX inter se distarent.

73. Erat eodem tempore et materiari et frumentari et tantas munitiones fieri necesse diminutis nostris copiis quae longius ab castris progrediebantur: ac nonnumquam opera nostra Galli tentare atque eruptionem ex oppido pluribus portis summa vi facere conabantur. Quare ad haec rursus opera addendum Caesar putavit, quo minore numero militum munitiones defendi possent. Itaque truncis arborum aut admodum firmis ramis abscisis atque horum delibratis ac praeacutis cacuminibus, perpetuae fossae quinos pedes altae ducebantur. Huc illi stipites demissi et ab infimo revincti ne revelli possent ab ramis

73. *materiari*] To get 'materia,' large timber; not 'lignari,' to get fire-wood (iii. 29). This is the popular and proper distinction of the words, as the adoption of it by the law writers proves (Ulp. Dig. 32. 53. 1). There is also 'aquari' and others of a like form and sense.

delibratis] There is better authority for this reading than 'dolabratis.' It means 'the bark being stripped off and the ends being sharpened.' Continuous trenches ('perpetuae') were made all around the place in front of the 'agger.' Into these 'fossae' ('huc') these stems or strong branches ('stipites') were let down, and at the bottom being fastened ('revincti,' iv. 17) so that it was not possible for them to be pulled out of their place, they rose above the ditches with their branches ('ab ramis'). The part which appeared above the ground was the smaller branches, cut short and pointed. He has already spoken of 'admodum firmis ramis,' but these 'rami' which 'eminebant' were not the 'admodum firmi rami.' The thick parts which were fixed in the ground were either trunks of trees or very strong branches, and these trunks and strong branches had the smaller branches left on them and made pointed. Berlinghieri (quoted by Herzog) supposes that the branches were fixed down in the earth and the thick end uppermost, which is a ludicrous blunder in a man who undertook to explain the siege of Alesia.

The 'fossae' were 'quinos pedes' deep, or each five feet deep, from which we learn that the 'fossae' were not all one. Perhaps he means that they were made only where they were wanted. The ground in some places might not require them; or he may mean by this plural ('fossae') the several parts of the ditch. The 'quini ordines' are 'five rows' of these pointed trunks or branches, five in each 'fossa,' connected with one another, and crossing, interlacing, so that those who came into these 'fossae' got upon these very sharp points. It was like a hedge. 'Induebant' is used by Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 42), "Hic videte in quot se laqueos induerit." 'Vallis' is the dative.—'cippos:' this is a Roman name for an upright quadrangular piece of stone, such as was used at burial places and to mark the boundary of land (Horat. Sat. i. 8, v. 12). Simplicius (apud Goes. Rei Agrariae Auctores, p. 88) says that when a boundary stone is smoothed only in the upper part, and the lower part is left rough, it is a 'cippus monumentalis.'

eminebant. Quini erant ordines conjuncti inter se atque implicati, quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis vallis induebant. Hos cippos appellabant. Ante hos obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis scrobes trium in altitudinem pedum fodiebantur paullatim angustiore ad infimum fastigio. Huc teretes stipites feminis crassitudine, ab summo praeacuti et praeusti, demittebantur ita ut non amplius digitis quatuor ex terra eminerent: simul confirmandi et stabiliendi causa singuli ab infimo solo pedes terra exculcabantur; reliqua pars scrobis ad occul-

quincuncem] 'Quincunx' is five 'unciae,' five parts out of the twelve which the 'as' contained. The numerical representation of it is V; and this is the form of a quincunx. A series of them is thus:

*   *   *   *   *   *   *
  *   *   *   *   *   *

and so on.—'dispositis:' "Morus, Bipp. Oberl. Herz. Held, nescio unde dispositos," Elb. And so it is. 'Dispositos,' originally a typographical blunder, has been propagated from one book to another. These were not 'fossae,' but 'scrobes,' 'holes,' three feet deep, so arranged as to form a quincunx. 'Ad infimum' is the reading of most MSS., but some have 'summum.' The holes, if they were like other holes that a man digs, would be wider at the top than at the bottom. 'Fastigium' often means the summit of a thing, but it is a summit formed by something which slopes up to a point or edge. If then the holes sloped down in the usual way, the 'fastigium' must be viewed in an inverted position, if we call it the bottom. But that makes no sense, for it is the 'fastigium' that gradually grows narrower, as Caesar says. 'Fastigium' is neither bottom nor top in this passage, for we can't say that either bottom or top gradually grows narrower. Forcellini has the reading 'summum,' and supposes that the bottom was wider than the top, and this will agree with the sense of 'fastigium.' The sides too would easier fall in when the enemy trod on them. Sharp pointed logs were fixed in these holes, so as to rise about four fingers above the level of the ground. They were secured by trampling the earth round them at the bottom to the depth of one foot, for this must be the meaning of 'exculcabantur.' Many MSS., I don't know how many, have 'pedes tres,' which is a blunder, and has arisen from 'in' being mistaken for 'III'; or it has come out of 'terra.' For the reading of some MSS. is 'in terra,' as I believe. According to this reading each piece of wood was rammed in with earth to the top of the hole, and the words 'reliqua pars scrobis' are left without a meaning. 'Singuli pedes' a foot in each hole was filled with earth to secure the upright wood, and the rest was covered with brushwood to hide it. So Glareanus and Lipsius have correctly explained the passage. Wherever these pits were made, eight rows were formed ('octoni), and the several rows were each three ('ternos') feet apart. Furlanetto, the editor of Forcellini, thinks that each several hole with its stake in it was called a 'lilium,' from its resemblance to a flower, the stake being the stem and the circular hole the flower. But Vossius started this idea; and it is the correct explanation. Each hole with its stake was a lily.

tandas insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur. Hujus generis octoni ordines ducti ternos inter se pedes distabant. Id ex similitudine floris lilium appellabant. Ante haec taleae, pedem longae, ferreis hamis infixis, totae in terram infodiebantur, mediocribusque intermissis spatiis omnibus locis disserebantur, quos stimulos nominabant.

74. His rebus perfectis regiones secutus quam potuit aequissimas pro loci natura, XIV milia passuum complexus, pares ejusdem generis munitiones, diversas ab his, contra exteriorem hostem perfecit, ut ne magna quidem multitudine, si ita accidat ejus discessu, munitionum praesidia circumfundi possent; neu cum periculo ex castris egredi cogatur, dierum XXX pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum jubet.

75. Dum haec ad Alesiam geruntur, Galli concilio

Ante haec] 'In front of all this' which he has mentioned. All 'these things' which he describes were between the first ditch which was made to protect the men during their work and the contrevallation.

taleae] See iv. 12. These were pieces of wood with curved pieces of iron fixed to them, buried so as not to be visible, but still not too deep to be felt. They were planted all about at moderate distances. They are 'stili caeci' (Bell. Afr. c. 31). They were called 'hami,' from being recurved, but they were also pointed. The caltrop, or chausse-trappe, as the French call it, serves the same purpose.

74. *regiones—aequissimas*] 'Following the most level parts that he could,' not the level in the valleys, as some have supposed, but the level on the high land which on three sides surrounds the hill of Alesia. (Comp. c. 80, "erat ex omnibus," &c.) This high land which surrounds Alesia is nearly flat on the summit.

diversas] This word expresses the position of the outer line of works, which were turned the other way, 'contra exteriorem hostem,' as he says, so that the ditch of the outer works would be nearest to the 'exterior hostis,' if he should come. Some of the commentators have found a difficulty here, particularly in 'diversas,' because they incorrectly translate it 'different.' This was the line of circumvallation.

si ita—discessu] There are all the possible variations of 'accidat,' 'acciderit,' 'accideret,' 'accidisset.' Instead of 'ejus discessu' there is a reading 'per ejus discessum.' As to 'ejus discessu,' Elberling says "equidem haec verba non intelligo." They refer to the departure of the cavalry of Vercingetorix, and so Guischardt takes it. 'Eius' may be a corruption of 'equitatus.'

neu] Most MSS. are said to have 'aut,' and Havn. A. has 'ut.' 'Ut' may be followed by 'neu' (ii. 21); and 'aut' may follow 'ne.' But I don't see how 'aut' can stand here with 'dierum . . . jubet' following.

75. This muster-roll contains the names of many Gallic tribes. The positions of all of them which are of any note, have been given. See Index.

The Ambivareti, if the name is right, must have been near the Aedui. and different from the Ambivariti mentioned in iv. 9. They are mentioned again in vii 90.

The authority for Brannoviis seems

principium indicto non omnes qui arma ferre possent, ut censuit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique civitati imperandum; ne tanta multitudine confusa nec moderari nec discernere suos nec frumentandi rationem habere possent. Imperant Aeduis atque eorum clientibus, Segusianis, Ambivaretis, Aulercis Brannovicibus [Brannoviis], milia xxxv; parem numerum Arvernis, adjunctis Eleutheris Cadurcis, Gabalis, Velaunis, qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt; Senonibus, Sequanis, Biturigibus, Santonis, Rutenis, Carnutibus duodena milia; Bellovacis x; totidem Lemovicibus; octona Pictonibus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helviis; Suessionibus, Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nerviis, Morinis, Nitiobrigibus quina milia; Aulercis Cenomanis totidem; Atrebatibus iv; Bellocassis, Lexoviis, Aulercis Eburonibus terna; Rauracis et Boiis xxx; universis civitatibus quae Oceanum attingunt quaeque eorum consuetudine Armoricae appellantur, (quo sunt in numero Curiosolites, Redones, Ambibari, Caletes, Osismi, [Lemovices,] Veneti, Unelli) sex. Ex his Bellovaci suum nume-

little or nothing. The Aulerci Brannovices may be a branch of the Aulerci. Some geographers place the Brannovices north of the Segusiani, between the Loire and the Rhone, in the Briennois on the Loire.

If Eleutheris Cadurcis is right, Eleutheri may be a general name like Aulerci, and Cadurci a division of the Eleutheri. Walckenaer asserts that the Eleutheri are distinct from the Cadurci, and he places them between the dioceses of Cahors and Clermont, or else in the northern part of the diocese of Rhodez; and he adds with great simplicity, "for on this matter we have no positive information." Quite true; none at all.

The Velauni are the Vellavi of Strabo (p. 190), who were between the Gabali and the Segusiani, in Vélay. I suspect that many of the MSS. of Caesar have Vellavi. Kraner has 'Vellaviis.'

The Bellocassi are the Velocasses (ii. 4; viii. 7). In this passage many MSS. are said to have Belliocassis or Baiocassis, but the Baiocasses were a different people. Whether we write Bellocassi, Vellocasses, or Veliocasses, it is still the same people. The Aulerci Eburones should be probably the Aulerci Eburovices (B. G. iii. 17, note). As to the Armoric states, see Introd. p. 3, and ii. 34.

The Helvii were in the Provincia (c. 7), and are out of place here. For 'Helviis' Kraner has 'Helvetiis,' which is false, I think.

quae Oceanum] See ii. 34. All these states were only required to send six thousand. The Veneti had been nearly destroyed (iii. 16).

[*Lemovices*]] The Lemovices have been mentioned before in this chapter; they are out of their place here, and there is some error in the name, or it ought to be omitted. The only name that we can put in its place is Lexovii, and they have been mentioned. Caesar's enumeration of Armoric

rum non contulerunt, quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis bellum gesturos dicerent, neque cujusquam imperio obtemperaturos; rogati tamen ab Commio pro ejus hospitio duo milia miserunt.

76. Hujus opera Commii, ita ut antea demonstravimus, fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Caesar; quibus ille pro meritis civitatem ejus immunem esse jusserat, jura legesque reddiderat, atque ipsi Morinos attribuerat. Tanta tamen universae Galliae consensio fuit libertatis vindicandae et pristinae belli laudis recuperandae ut neque beneficiis neque amicitiae memoria moverentur, omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum incumberent, coactis equitum VIII milibus et peditum circiter CCXL. Haec in Aeduorum finibus recensebantur numerusque inibatur. Praefecti constituebantur. Commio

people here extends from the Caleti, who were the neighbours of the Velocasses, and on the north side of the lowest part of the Seine, to the Veneti, who were the neighbours of the Namnetes. This enumeration of the Armoric states is not complete, nor is it the same as in ii. 34, where he perhaps does not intend to enumerate all of them. In fact all the states on the ocean might be called Armoric, for the name means 'maritime.'

I know nothing of the Ambibari. There are probably several errors in this chapter in the proper names and the numerals. The number 'XXX' is too large for the Rauraci, who had been so severely punished (i. 29), and the Boii. The sum total (c. 76) may be incorrect too. Some editors have made the particulars and the sum agree.

76. *Commii*] See iv. 21.—'ille,' who is Caesar, is in most MSS., and in the first editions, but we do not want it. 'Immunem' means free from services and contributions due to the Romans, or rather to Caesar, for we must suppose that while he was in Gallia all payments and contributions came to him. Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 6) mentions five cities of Sicily as 'immunes ac liberae' under the Roman government. The 'immunitas,' or freedom from 'munia,' obligations, duties, was not complete in the case of these Sicilian towns, but they were 'immunes' in comparison with others.—'jura,' &c.: this is a phrase which signifies restoring to them every thing except political independence. In fact all that Caesar could claim of them would be that they should be quiet. He also gave them ('attribuerat') the Morini as dependents, which means that the Atrebates would exact certain payments from the Morini. See vii. 9, "Aeduisque attribuerat," and Cicero, De Prov. Cons. c. 3.

Commio &c.] Four of the best MSS. have 'constituebantur Commius Atrebas, Viridomarus et Eporedorix Aedui. Vergasillauno,' &c.; and this looks specious. But the words 'His delecti,' &c., seem to justify the text. Besides it is said in c. 79, "Commius et reliqui duces quibus summa imperii commissa erat;" c. 83, "Vergasillaunum . . . unum ex quatuor ducibus." Herzog properly remarks that these 'delecti' were commissioners who accompanied the army to direct, or at least to watch the generals; such as the French Convention used to send to

Atrebati, Virdumaro et Eporedorigi Aeduis, Vergasillauno Arverno, consobrino Vercingetorigis, summa imperii traditur. His delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur quorum consilio bellum administraretur. Omnes alacres et fiduciae pleni ad Alesiam proficiscuntur; neque erat omnium quisquam qui aspectum modo tantae multitudinis sustineri posse arbitraretur, praesertim ancipiti proelio, quum ex oppido eruptione pugnaretur, foris tantae copiae equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

77. At ii qui Alesiae obsidebantur, praeterita die qua suorum auxilia exspectaverant, consumpto omni frumento, inscii quid in Aeduis gereretur, concilio coacto de exitu fortunarum suarum consultabant. Apud quos variis dictis sententiis, quarum pars deditionem, pars, dum vires suppeterent, eruptionem censebat, non praetereunda videtur oratio Critognati, propter ejus singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem. Hic summo in Arvernis ortus loco et magnae habitus auctoritatis, Nihil, inquit, de eorum sententia dicturus sum, qui turpissimam servitutem deditionis nomine appellant; neque hos habendos civium loco neque ad concilium adhibendos censeo. Cum his mihi res sit qui eruptionem probant, quorum in consilio omnium vestrum consensu pristinae residere virtutis memoria videtur. Animi est ista mollities, non virtus,

look after their generals and report their doings.

aspectum modo] 'Even the sight,' vi. 8. Though 'modo' is omitted in two good MSS., that is not sufficient reason for rejecting it.—Caesar explains 'ancipiti proelio;' when the Romans should be attacked on both sides. See i. 26.

77. *Critognati*] Caesar does not often treat us with a speech of his own making, but we may be sure that he does here. The proposal of Critognatus to eat those who were not good for fighting may be a fact, and Caesar embellishes it.

Cum his—sit] 'Let me deal with those who,' &c. So in Terence, Phorm. ii. 1, 19, "Quod si tibi res sit cum eo lenone."—'residere' is a compound of 're' and 'sede.' The form 'resĭdēre' is proved from Lucretius (iii. 398), Ovid, and Cicero, In Cat. i. 13, 'residebit.' It is a difficult word to translate. The following passage of Cicero (Tusc. i. 43) shows what it means: "In corpore autem perspicuum est vel extincto animo vel elapso nullum residere sensum." The 're' must have its due force in the version. To propose to surrender was a sign that those who proposed it had lost all their spirit; but to propose to sally out and die fighting seemed to show that the memory of their ancient spirit still remained in those who were for this movement.

ista] This is one of those cases in which 'iste' contains the expression of contempt, which is not however the primary notion of 'iste,' but a

inopiam paullisper ferre non posse. Qui se ultro morti offerant facilius reperiuntur quam qui dolorem patienter ferant. Atque ego hanc sententiam probarem, nam apud me tantum dignitas potest, si nullam praeterquam vitae nostrae jacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio capiendo omnem Galliam respiciamus quam ad nostrum auxilium concitavimus. Quid hominum milibus LXXX uno loco interfectis propinquis consanguineisque nostris animi fore existimatis, si paene in ipsis cadaveribus proelio decertare cogentur? Nolite hos vestro auxilio exspoliare, qui vestrae salutis causa suum periculum neglexerunt, nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra aut imbecillitate animi omnem Galliam prosternere et perpetuae servituti addicere. An, quod ad diem non venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis? Quid ergo Romanos in illis

subsidiary notion. It means, 'this is weakness in you, not courage.'

ultro] Once more as to 'ultro,' which does not mean 'voluntarily,' as opposed to 'compulsion.' 'Se morti offerre,' expresses a man's readiness to die and 'ultro' merely strengthens the expression. The real meaning of the 'ultro' is that those, of whom it is here said, go to meet death, instead of shunning it; and we may translate it 'even' if we like. The following lines in Ovid explain 'ultro' (Met. iii. 457):—

"Spem mihi nescio quam vultu promittis amico,
Quumque ego porrexi tibi brachia, porrigis ultro."

tantum] There is a reading 'multum,' but 'tantum' is more emphatic. He means that the authority ('dignitas') of those who recommend a sally has weight enough with him to make him approve of it, if there were not stronger reasons against it.

Quid hominum] As many MSS have 'Quid in hominum,' Dähne proposes 'Quid enim hominum,' &c. 'Quid' is often thus separated from its genitive, as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 20), "Quid censetis... laboris," &c.

Nolite hos vestro] Or 'Nolite vestro auxilio exspoliare (spoliare?) eos qui,' as some MSS. have it.

nec—addicere] There is a reading 'subjicere.' See the note of P. Manutius on Cicero (Ad Div. iv. 5), "Noli . . oblivisci. . . neque imitari," as he reads the passage, and perhaps rightly; the common reading now is 'neque imitare.' It is a kind of expression that one easily adopts in the Latin language, but I don't accept the explanation of Manutius, who extracts a 'velitis' out of 'nolite.' Caesar simply says, 'Do not despoil, &c., nor give up Gallia to lasting servitude,' instead of saying, 'or give up,' &c. 'Addicere' is a Roman technical term, a court term, used to express the declaration of a 'magistratus' that a thing belonged to a particular person. Livy (iii. 56) has "qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset." It is also a term applied to auctions ('auctiones') to express a thing being knocked down to a man (Cicero, Verr. ii. 2, c. 63).

Quid ergo] The practice is to put a (?) after 'ergo,' a vicious punctuation. There ought not to be even a comma after it. The interrogation

ulterioribus munitionibus, animine causa quotidie exerceri putatis? Si illorum nunciis confirmari non potestis omni aditu praesepto, his utimini testibus appropinquare eorum adventum, cujus rei timore exterriti diem noctemque in opere versantur. Quid ergo mei consilii est? Facere quod nostri majores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt, qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti eorum corporibus, qui aetate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt, neque se hostibus tradiderunt. Cujus rei si exemplum non haberemus, tamen libertatis causa institui et posteris prodi pulcherrimum judicarem. Nam quid illi simile bello fuit? Depopulata Gallia Cimbri magnaque illata calamitate finibus quidem nostris aliquando excesserunt atque alias terras petierunt; jura, leges, agros, libertatem nobis reliquerunt: Romani vero quid petunt aliud aut quid volunt, nisi invidia adducti, quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considere atque his aeternam injungere servitutem? Neque enim umquam alia conditione bella gesserunt. Quod si ea quae in longinquis nationibus geruntur ignoratis, respicite finitimam Galliam, quae in Provinciam redacta, jure et legibus commutatis, securibus subjecta, perpetua premitur servitute.

78. Sententiis dictis constituunt ut qui valitudine aut aetate inutiles sunt bello oppido excedant, atque omnia

is 'Quid ergo Romanos . . . munitionibus,' and it is resumed in 'animine.' 'Well then the Romans in these outer works of theirs, is it for pure pleasure, think ye, that they are daily exercising themselves?' No; they are expecting to be attacked; and so you need not doubt that our friends will keep their promise. As to 'animi causa,' see v. 12.

Quid—consilii] See i. 21.

Cimbrorum] See Introd. p. 29; i. 33; ii. 4.—'toleraverunt:' see i. 28, "famem tolerarent." In v. 47, "tolerandae hiemis causa." But 'tolerare vitam,' a common form, does not express the same notion. In vii. 17 he has "extremam famem sustentarent."

instituï] 'Established, made.' See vi. 9.

Nam quid] 'Simile' is a noun. It means, 'what resemblance was there in that war to this?'

reducta] See Introd. p. 27.—'securibus:' the stern symbols of Roman power were the axe bound in a bundle of rods ('virgae'); the rods for the back (vi. 44, note), the axe for the neck. Both together, axe and rods, were the 'fasces.' Only in Rome was the axe taken out when the lictors carried the 'fasces' before him who was entitled to this honour. (Livy, 24, c. 9.)

78. *ut qui—sunt*] Havn. A. has 'sint,' which any one may safely take,

prius experiantur quam ad Critognati descendant sententiam: illo tamen potiús utendum consilio, si res cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut deditionis aut pacis subeundam conditionem. Mandubii, qui eos oppido receperant, cum liberis atque uxoribus exire coguntur. Hi quum ad munitiones [Romanorum] accessissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant ut se in servitutem receptos cibo juvarent. At Caesar dispositis in vallo custodiis recipi prohibebat.

79. Interea Commius et reliqui duces, quibus summa imperii permissa erat, cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam perveniunt, et colle exteriore occupato non longius M passibus ab nostris munitionibus considunt. Postero die equitatu ex castris educto, omnem eam planitiem, quam in longitudinem III milia passuum patere demonstravimus, complent pedestresque copias paullum ab eo loco abditas in locis superioribus constituunt. Erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum. Concurritur his auxiliis visis; fit gratulatio inter eos, atque omnium animi ad laetitiam

if he likes it better; but it has not the same meaning as 'sunt.' If we accept the reading 'ut hi qui,' or 'ut ii qui,' we must certainly have 'sunt.'

descendant] See v. 29, and the note.

[*Romanorum*]] This seems an idle addition. It is omitted in some MSS.

Caesar's brevity, his close sticking to his matter, sometimes disappoints us. He would not receive these wretched people, women and children, and he does not tell us what became of them. They either went back or died of hunger between the city and the Roman lines. But we have no authority for assuming that the Galli in the city let them in again. The conclusion then is certain, but it is left to the reader to make it. Dion Cassius (40, c. 40) would not let the reader make this conclusion, but he makes it part of his history; he says that all the Mandubii perished between the city and the Roman lines. He also informs us of Caesar's reasons for not receiving the expelled Mandubii, part of which reasons is manifestly false. This Greek writes history, as it is written now-a-days, a compound of facts, inferences, and inventions.

79. *colle exteriore*] Kraner erroneously supposes this to be one of the 'colles' spoken of in c. 69. It was one of the hills on the west side of the 'planities.'

abditas] This seems to mean simply 'put apart,' or 'placed away.' The notion of concealment in this word is only a secondary one. As they were here placed on the higher grounds, they were not in the best position for being hid, though in the best to be out of the way of the Romans. At any rate the people in Alesia saw them. I take 'in superioribus locis' with 'constituunt.'—'concurritur:' the people in Alesia run to and fro on seeing their friends arrive: they move about to speak and to hear, as people do when great news arrives. Kraner has 'concurrunt.'

excitantur. Itaque productis copiis ante oppidum considunt et proximam fossam cratibus integunt atque aggere explent, seque ad eruptionem atque omnes casus comparant.

80. Caesar omni exercitu ad utramque partem munitionum disposito ut, si usus veniat, suum quisque locum teneat et noverit, equitatum ex castris educi et proelium committi jubet. Erat ex omnibus castris quae summum undique jugum tenebant despectus, atque omnium militum intenti animi pugnae proventum exspectabant. Galli inter equites raros sagittarios expeditosque levis armaturae interjecerant, qui suis cedentibus auxilio succurrerent et nostrorum equitum impetus sustinerent. Ab his complures de improviso vulnerati proelio excedebant. Quum suos pugna superiores esse Galli confiderent et nostros multitudine premi viderent, ex omnibus partibus et ii qui munitionibus continebantur, et ii qui ad auxilium convenerant, clamore et ululatu suorum animos confirmabant. Quod in conspectu omnium res gerebatur, neque recte ac turpiter factum celari poterat, utrosque et laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiae ad virtutem excitabant. Quum a meridie prope ad solis occasum dubia victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte confertis turmis in

80. *si usus veniat*] 'if the occasion should arise.' See vii. 9.—'ex omnibus castris:' there were several 'castra' (c. 69), some of which (c. 82) are called 'superiora.' See also c. 83, "iniquo loco et leniter declivi castra fecerant." Some of the camps were on the heights ('jugum') round Alesia. But the camp which was in a level part (c. 81), could not have a look down, at least not from heights. I conclude that the text means from 'all the camps which occupied the surrounding heights,' not 'from all the camps, all which occupied,' &c.

omnium—pugnae] There is a reading 'omnes milites intenti pugnae.' Some editions have 'omnes milites intenti animis.'

proventum] See vii. 29.—'succurrerent:' in v. 44, "succurrit inimicus illi Varenus." Here 'auxilio' is also a dative, and the whole means 'to run up to the horsemen in their retreat to aid them.'

recte ac turpiter] The meaning of 'recte' is easily got from its opposite 'turpiter.' It seems natural, a part of man's nature, to consider a straight line, for this is the notion of 'rectus,' as the outward sign of all that is fit, proper, just, right. There is a reading 'neque recte aut turpiter.'

confertis] The heavy Germans in a close mass bore down the Galli and broke them. These barbarians did Caesar good service here and in the previous battle (c. 67). Though Caesar had punished their countrymen so severely at the Rhine and elsewhere, the Germans hated the Galli enough to serve him zealously, perhaps with the hope of getting lands

hostes impetum fecerunt eosque propulerunt; quibus in fugam conjectis, sagittarii circumventi interfectique sunt. Item ex reliquis partibus nostri cedentes usque ad castra insecuti sui colligendi facultatem non dederunt. At ii qui ab Alesia processerant moesti prope victoria desperata se in oppidum receperunt.

81. Uno die intermisso Galli atque hoc spatio magno cratium, scalarum, harpagonum numero effecto, media nocte silentio ex castris egressi ad campestres munitiones accedunt. Subito clamore sublato, qua significatione qui in oppido obsidebantur de suo adventu cognoscere possent, crates projicere, fundis, sagittis, lapidibus nostros de vallo deturbare, reliquaque quae ad oppugnationem pertinent parant administrare. Eodem tempore clamore

on the French side of the Rhine, as the Ubii did in the time of Augustus.

ab Alesia] Perhaps 'ab' should be omitted. Roman usage does not require the preposition with a verb signifying motion and a name of a place. It is omitted here by Havn. A. and other MSS. In c. 58, Havn. A. has 'qui Metiosedo profugerant,' and in c. 69, 'quas Metiosedo deduxerat.' But in c. 59, 'a Gergovia.'

81. *cratium*] fascines. See iii. 8, 'virgultis,' and vii. 79, 'fossam cratibus.'

harpagonum] A Greek word, or a Latin form of a Greek word. The 'harpago' is a pole with an iron hook at the end (Livy, xxx. 10). It is sometimes used as synonymous with the 'manus ferrea;' but Caesar (B. C. i. 57) mentions both.

campestres munitiones] That part of Caesar's lines which was on the 'planities,' c. 69.—'qua significatione:' 'a signal by which.' See ii. 1, note.

parant administrare] Elb. omits 'parant,' though most MSS. have it.—'definitus:' there is a reading 'attributus' on good authority.—'librilibus:' the word is omitted in two good MSS., and some have 'libralibus.' Forcellini takes 'fundis librilibus' together, and explains them to be slings which threw stones a pound weight, which I think are rather too heavy for a sling. Vegetius (ii. 23) says the Roman soldiers practised throwing with the hand 'libralia saxa,' and that this was a readier mode of fighting, as it did not require a sling. If 'libralibus' is right, this may be the meaning. Those who threw these stones were called 'libratores' (Tacit. Ann. ii. 39, "funditores libratoresque;" and Ann. xiii. 39, "libratoribus funditoribusque attributus locus unde eminus glandes torquerent"). If then the text is right, as to which there is some doubt, 'librilibus' may be the 'libralia' of Vegetius. But the mention of 'sudibusque' after them seems curious, especially as 'glandes' (v. 43, note) are mentioned at the end of the sentence. Festus has an article 'Librilia,' "Librilia appellantur instrumenta bellica, saxa scilicet ad brachii crassitudinem in morem flagellorum loris revincta." Herzog, who writes 'librilibus,' derives the word from 'liber,' 'bark of a tree,' and hence probably, he says, 'librilia' were slings made of strips of bark. Very improbable I think. 'Libralia' he derives from 'libra.'

exaudito dat tuba signum suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. Nostri, ut superioribus diebus suus cuique locus erat definitus, ad munitiones accedunt; fundis, libribus, sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac glandibus Gallos perterrent. Prospectu tenebris adempto multa utrimque vulnera accipiuntur: complura tormentis tela conjiciuntur. At M. Antonius et C. Trebonius, legati, quibus hae partes ad defendendum obvenerant, qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, his auxilio ex ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

82. Dum longius ab munitione aberant Galli, plus multitudine telorum proficiebant: posteaquam propius successerunt, aut se ipsi stimulis inopinantes induebant, aut in scrobes delapsi transfodiebantur, aut ex vallo ac turribus transjecti pilis muralibus interibant. Multis undique vulneribus acceptis, nulla munitione perrupta, quum lux appeteret, veriti ne ab latere aperto ex superioribus castris eruptione circumvenirentur, se ad suos receperunt. At interiores, dum ea quae a Vercingetorige ad eruptionem praeparata erant proferunt, priores fossas explent; diutius in his rebus administrandis morati prius suos discessisse cognoverunt quam munitionibus appropinquarent. Ita re infecta in oppidum reverterunt.

83. Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli quid agant

perterrent] There is a reading 'proterrent.' See iii. 26, note on 'perruptis;' and v. 58, 'perterritis.'

M. Antonius] M. Antonius the son of Julia the sister of L. Julius Caesar, consul B.C. 64. Antonius was quaestor in this year B.C. 52 (Cicero, Phil. ii. 19, 20). He is here mentioned in the Gallic war for the first time, though he is said to have joined Caesar in Gallia in B.C. 54. He afterwards makes a great figure in Roman history. The 'ulterioribus castellis' are the 'castella,' which were further from their 'castra,' in those parts of the lines which the enemy were not attacking.

82. *se—induebant*] See c. 73. Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 42), "videte in quot se laqueos induerit;" and Livy (44, c. 41), "induissent se hastis."—'pilis muralibus,' v. 40.

appeteret] See vi. 35. There is a reading 'adpareret.'

ex superioribus castris] The camps on the high grounds, and on those parts of the high grounds which were nearest to the 'planities,' and in the line of circumvallation. The attack was directed against the outer lines on the plain. The 'interiores,' those in Alesia, bring out what was got ready for the sally, and fill up the ditches in front ('priores fossas'). These ditches seem to be not only the first ditch made to protect the men while they were working, the 'fossé perdu' (c. 72), but also the second ditch which was in front of the ditch which protected the line of contrevallation.

consulunt: locorum peritos adhibent: ab his superiorum castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscunt. Erat a septemtrionibus collis, quem propter magnitudinem circuitus opere circumplecti non potuerant nostri, necessarioque paene iniquo loco et leniter declivi castra fecerunt. Haec C. Antistius Reginus et C. Caninius Rebilus legati cum duabus legionibus obtinebant. Cognitis per exploratores regionibus duces hostium LX milia ex omni numero deligunt earum civitatum quae maximam virtutis opinionem habebant; quid quoque pacto agi placeat occulte inter se constituunt; adeundi tempus definiunt, quum meridies esse videatur. Iis copiis Vergasillaunum Arvernum, unum ex quatuor ducibus, propinquum Vercingetorigis, praeficiunt. Ille ex castris prima vigilia egressus, prope confecto sub lucem itinere, post montem se occultavit militesque ex nocturno labore sese reficere jussit. Quum jam meridies appropinquare videretur, ad ea castra quae supra demonstravimus contendit, eodemque tempore equitatus ad campestres munitiones accedere et reliquae copiae sese pro castris ostendere coeperunt.

84. Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiae suos conspicatus ex oppido egreditur; a castris longurios, musculos, falces

83. *septemtrionibus*] This is one of the heights which the plan shows (see note at the end of Lib. vii.), that to the west of Cressigny, which was too large to be inclosed. The line of circumvallation ran along the slope which faces the west end of the plateau of Alesia, and therefore the camp was on the slope of the hill, with the rest of the hill above it. This slope is seen from the west end of the plateau of Alesia.

virtutis opinionem] Cicero says (Ad Attic. vii. 2), "opinio quam is vir habet integritatis meae," where the 'is' has the 'opinio.' Here it is used the other way: the sixty thousand had the 'opinio' of others in their favour. See B. G. ii. 24; vii. 59.

meridies] No MSS. authority is given by Elb. for 'meridies,' as to which he says 'sic cdd. prim.' The MSS. seem generally to have 'meridie.'—'sub lucem,' 'just at daybreak.' See ii. 33, note.

pro castris] The enemy's infantry began to show themselves in front of their encampment.

84. *castris*] This word has caused some commentators so much difficulty, that they have altered 'a castris' to 'crates,' and even to 'rastros;' but Vercingetorix had a camp (c. 70), and though it was at the east end of the hill, it was below it, and on such a level that it was much more easy to carry such things as 'musculi' from his camp ('castra') to the lines on the west side of the hill ('campestres munitiones'), or to any other part of them, than to bring them from the high plateau of Alesia down its steep sides. Any man who has seen the ground and

reliquaque quae eruptionis causa paraverat profert. Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis [acriter], atque omnia tentantur: quae minime visa pars firma est, huc concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus distinetur, nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. Multum ad terrendos nostros valet clamor, qui post tergum pugnantibus existit, quod suum periculum in aliena vident virtute constare: omnia enim plerumque quae absunt vehementius hominum mentes perturbant.

85. Caesar idoneum locum nactus, quid quaque in parte geratur cognoscit, laborantibus auxilium submittit. Utrisque ad animum occurrit unum illud esse tempus quo maxime contendi conveniat. Galli, nisi perfregerint munitiones, de omni salute desperant: Romani, si rem obtinuerint, finem laborum omnium exspectant. Maxime ad superiores munitiones laboratur, quo Vergasillaunum missum demonstravimus. Exiguum loci ad declivitatem fastigium magnum habet momentum. Alii tela conji-

read Caesar's text with care will reject the emendation 'crates.' There would be no use in having all these cumbrous things on the top of the hill in the town.

musculos] The 'musculus' is described by Vegetius (iv. 16); but most clearly by Caesar himself (B. C. ii. 10). It was a strong piece of wood-work. The base was quadrangular; at each angle was a strong pillar; the pillars supported a two-sided roof, sloping each way from a ridge. Under this the soldier worked and made holes in the wall of a besieged city. It was constructed so strong, that no stones or weights tumbled down from above could break through it. Every thing that was thrown upon it rolled off. Lipsius (Poliorcet. lib. i. Dial. 9) has an article on it, and a picture.

quae minime] 'qua minime,' Elb. See v. 44, note on 'quaeque pars.'—'valet . . . existit:' 'valuit . . . extitit,' Elb.; but he gives better authority for the present. There is a shout behind the rear of the Roman soldiers as they are fighting, behind the back of both lines, for the enemy was attacking the 'campestres munitiones' from the outside, and also from the inside. These shouts alarm them, because they see that their danger or risk depends on the valour of others: each body of men who faced the enemy feel that whatever they may do in front, they can't help themselves in the rear, and there they must rely on others.

85. *quaque in*] or 'quaque ex,' as some MSS. have.—'auxilium:' omitted in all the MSS. perhaps, except one.

rem obtinuerint] See vii. 37.

Exiguum—fastigium] There is a reading 'iniquum.' The Romans had made this part of their 'superiores munitiones' on a slope (c. 83), and the enemy who assailed it on the outside had the advantage of the ground sloping down towards the wall, so that they could throw their missiles from a distance at greater advantage than if the ground had been level, and at much greater than if it sloped upwards to the wall. Accordingly, Caesar says, 'a small

ciunt; alii testudine facta subeunt; defatigatis in vicem integri succedunt. Agger ab universis in munitionem conjectus et ascensum dat Gallis et ea quae in terram occultaverant Romani contegit: nec jam arma nostris nec vires suppetunt.

86. His rebus cognitis Caesar Labienum cum cohortibus sex subsidio laborantibus mittit: imperat, si sustinere non possit, deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnet; id nisi necessario ne faciat. Ipse adit reliquos; cohortatur ne labori succumbant; omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque hora docet consistere. Interiores desperatis campestribus locis propter magnitudinem munitionum loca praerupta ex ascensu tentant: huc ea quae paraverant conferunt: multitudine telorum ex turribus propugnantes deturbant, aggere et cratibus fossas explent, falcibus vallum ac loricam rescindunt.

87. Caesar mittit primo Brutum adolescentem cum cohortibus VI, post cum aliis VII C. Fabium legatum: postremo ipse, quum vehementius pugnaretur, integros subsidio adducit. Restituto proelio ac repulsis hostibus eo quo Labienum miserat contendit; cohortes quatuor ex proximo castello deducit; equitum partem [se] sequi, partem circumire exteriores munitiones et ab tergo hostes adoriri jubet. Labienus, postquam neque aggeres neque fossae vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactis undequadraginta cohortibus, quas ex proximis praesidiis

inclination of the ground (fastigium) downwards has a great effect or force;' it may help greatly to decide a battle.—'fastigium:' see c. 73.

'Agger' means earth, stones, any thing that was at hand, which the Galli threw up against the Roman lines to make way for the assault, and at the same time covered all the Roman 'lilia' and 'cippi.'—'in terram:' some MSS. have 'in terra.'

86. *possit—pugnet*] 'posset . . . pugnaret,' Kraner.

deductis] This is explained by c. 87. He was to draw the cohorts from the 'castella,' and make a sally. If the enemy could no longer be kept out, the right way was evidently to rush out upon them.

fossas explent] In place of this Elb. has 'aditus expediunt,' from "Andin. Oxon. edd. Ald. al. Scal. seqq. et Giani.—Ceteri codd. etiam Havn. A. edd. prim. R. Steph. al. *fossas explent*." Some editions have 'fossas explent, aditus expediunt.'

87. *Brutum*] See iii. 11, "D. Brutum adolescentem;" and iii. 14, "Bruto qui classi praeerat." Kraner omits 'VI' and 'VII.' There seems to be little authority for these numerals.—'integros,' fresh men, who had not yet been in the battle. Comp. c. 85, "defatigatis integri in vicem succedunt."

deductas fors obtulit, Caesarem per nuncios facit certiorem quid faciundum existimet. Accelerat Caesar ut proelio intersit.

88. Ejus adventu ex colore vestitus cognito, quo insigni in proeliis uti consueverat, turmisque equitum et cohortibus visis, quas se sequi jusserat, ut de locis superioribus haec declivia et devexa cernebantur, hostes proelium committunt. Utrimque clamore sublato excipit rursus ex vallo atque omnibus munitionibus clamor. Nostri omissis pilis gladiis rem gerunt. Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur: cohortes aliae appropinquant: hostes terga vertunt: fugientibus equites occurrunt: fit magna caedes. Sedulius, dux et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur: Vergasillaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga comprehenditur: signa militaria LXXIV ad Caesarem referuntur: pauci ex tanto numero se incolumes in castra recipiunt. Conspicati ex oppido caedem et fugam suorum desperata salute copias a munitionibus reducunt. Fit protinus hac re audita ex castris Gallorum fuga. Quod nisi crebris

fors obtulit] It is difficult to discover the exact meaning of Caesar. These words are used to express something that we may call accidental, as opposed to that which comes from design. Thus 'ratio' and 'fors' are sometimes opposed. Labienus, it seems, could not have reckoned on so many cohorts. All the Roman lines were manned, and the battle had been raging at the point where the Galli from Alesia had been attempting to break through the lines on the higher ground. Labienus was hard pressed. he saw that he must come to close quarters with the assailants, he summoned the cohorts from the nearest parts, and it happened that he got together nine-and-thirty, near four legions. It was accident. not design or plan, which secured him so many. Kraner has 'coactis una quadraginta.'

88. *quo insigni—consueverat*] His scarlet cloak was probably the 'paludamentum.' These words have been considered spurious by some editors, because all generals wore the 'paludamentum.' But all generals may not have worn it in battle, and Caesar's cloak or dress may have been particularly distinguished by colour. The word 'insigni' is a noun, as Caesar elsewhere uses the word; ii. 20.—'ut . . . cernebantur.' See vii. 68, note on 'ut.'—'haec declivia,' &c.: this is the true expression of a man who writes with the facts fresh in his recollection: he speaks of 'these movements along the descent to the level ground being seen by the enemy from the higher ground.' He says 'haec,' 'these parts which sloped downwards and these troops which were moving down.' This may be the meaning.

omissis] 'emissis,' Elb. There is authority for both, but 'omissis' suits the facts better, vii. 62, and i. 52. Herzog compares Sallust, Cat. c. 60. "pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur."—'de media nocte.' See i. 12.

subsidiis ac totius diei labore milites essent defessi, omnes hostium copiae deleri potuissent. De media nocte missus equitatus novissimum agmen consequitur: magnus numerus capitur atque interficitur; reliqui ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

89. Postero die Vercingetorix concilio convocato id se bellum suscepisse non suarum necessitatum sed communis libertatis causa demonstrat; et quoniam sit fortunae cedendum, ad utramque rem se illis offerre, seu morte sua Romanis satisfacere, seu vivum tradere velint. Mittuntur de his rebus ad Caesarem legati. Jubet arma tradi, principes produci. Ipse in munitione pro castris consedit: eo duces producuntur. Vercingetorix deditur,

89. *necessitatum*] This is contrasted with the 'common liberty,' from which we collect that it means 'for his own interests.'

consedit] Caesar was seated on his tribunal within his lines, in front of one of his camps, when the vanquished chiefs were brought before him. "The leader of the whole war, Vercingetorix, putting on his best armour and equipping his horse, came out through the gates, and riding round Caesar who was seated, and then, leaping from his horse, he threw off his complete armour, and seating himself at Caesar's feet, he remained there till he was delivered up to be kept for the triumph" (Plutarch, Caesar, c. 27). This is evidently not got from Caesar's text, and we cannot accept Hotmann's supposition, that Plutarch, by misunderstanding such a word as 'produci,' made all this story. It is so lively and so natural a thing, so truly Gallic, that it has been got from some authority. Caesar did not amuse himself with telling such trifles. Plutarch's description of the siege of Alesia is tolerably correct, and most lively. He says of the defeat of the Galli: "so quickly did so mighty a force, like a phantom or a dream, vanish out of sight and disperse, the greater part of the men having fallen in battle." Florus (i. 44) has something about Vercingetorix's surrender. He even tells us what the Gaul said. Dion Cassius says (40, c. 41) that Vercingetorix might have escaped, because he was neither taken nor wounded; but it is not clear how he could have escaped. He adds, that "trusting to his former friendship with Caesar, he hoped that he should be pardoned by him; and accordingly he came, without having sent him any message, and suddenly appeared before Caesar, who was sitting on his tribunal,—a circumstance which startled those who were present; for he was of great stature, and conspicuous for his splendid armour. There was dead silence. The Gaul said nothing, but falling on his knees and clasping his hands, in this manner supplicated his conqueror." But he moved not the compassion of the Roman, who put him in chains. He appeared in Caesar's four days' triumph (B.C. 46), after the close of the African war. Arsinoe, the Egyptian, a woman and a queen, appeared in chains in this barbaric pomp. The life of the woman was spared, but Vercingetorix with others was put to death after the triumph, according to Roman fashion (Dion Cassius 43, c. 19). This was the end of the brave Gaul after near six years' captivity in a Roman dungeon. As to this cruel

arma projiciuntur. Reservatis Aeduis atque Arvernis, si per eos civitates recuperare posset, ex reliquis captivis toto exercitu capita singula praedae nomine distribuit.

90. His rebus confectis in Aeduos proficiscitur; civitatem recipit. Eo legati ab Arvernis missi quae imperaret se facturos pollicentur. Imperat magnum numerum obsidum. Legiones in hiberna mittit. Captivorum cir-

Roman practice, see Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 30).

Reservatis] The captive Aedui and Arverni were reserved, in the hope that by means of them Caesar might bring those states back to his alliance. He was not so confident as to be willing to provoke the further enmity of two powerful states that bordered on the Provincia. 'Reservare' is to keep for some particular purpose, as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 30). The form 'si . . . posset,' and the like, are common. They express briefly a purpose or attempt, and are elliptical forms.

exercitu] The MSS. vary between 'exercitu' and 'exercitui' here as in other instances. If 'toto exercitu' is right, 'toto' is the dative. Caesar gave to every man in the army a single captive ('toto exercitu singula capita') as booty or prize-money ('praedae nomine'). In ii. 33, he sold the prisoners to the 'mercatores.' 'Praeda' is moveable things taken from the enemy; and they were either distributed among the soldiers or sold, and the produce brought into the Roman treasury ('aerarium').

90. *civitatem recipit*] 'He brings back the state to submission.' See vi. 8, and the note.

hiberna] Two legions were placed in the country of the Sequani under Labienus, with Rutilus as his deputy; two were placed in the country of the Remi, to protect them from any harm from the Bellovaci, for the Remi had continued faithful to Caesar (vii. 63). Three legions were placed severally in the country of the Ambivareti, Bituriges, and Ruteni.

Thus seven legions are disposed of. Cicero and Sulpicius were placed respectively at Cabillonum (vii. 42), on the west side of the Saône, a little below the junction of the Doubs and Saône, and at Matisco, or Mâcon, also on the west side of the Saône, about half way between Châlon and Lyon. Each of these had a legion (viii. 4). Caesar wintered at Bibracte (Autun), probably with a legion also. Thus the ten would be disposed of. At Bibracte Caesar was near the positions of Cicero and Sulpicius. Labienus was at no great distance, on the east side of the Saône. Caesar had thus five legions within a moderate distance of one another, and he held the chief town of the Aedui. His communication with the two legions in the Remi, through the friendly country of the Lingones, was not very difficult. The Arverni, if not quite reconciled to their defeat by the restoration of their prisoners, had a Roman legion in the Bituriges to the north, and another in the Ruteni to the south of them. The legion in the Ruteni was on the borders of the Provincia, whence aid could be got; and that in the Bituriges was within reach of Caesar at Bibracte. His forces were well placed for the defence of the Provincia, for the protection of the Remi, and for being collected with the least difficulty.

From this chapter and from vii. 75, we may make a guess as to the position of these Ambivareti, or whatever people are meant, for the reading here is 'Ambilaretos' They were dependents of the Aedui, and

citer xx milia Aeduis Arvernisque reddit. T. Labienum duabus cum legionibus et equitatu in Sequanos proficisci jubet: huic M. Sempronium Rutilum attribuit. C. Fabium et L. Minucium Basilum cum duabus legionibus in Remis collocat, ne quam ab finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant. C. Antistium Reginum in Ambivaretos, T. Sextium in Bituriges, C. Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum singulis legionibus mittit. Q. Tullium Cicero-

therefore near them, like the Segusiani and the Brannovices. Now it is clear that Caesar was placing his legions so that there would be an easy communication. No legion would be placed west of the Arverni; that would be only to expose them to destruction. The safe place for this legion in the Ambivareti would therefore be where the Ambivareti ought to be, on the Upper Loire, on the west border of the Aedui. We cannot de ermine their precise position; but it was probably on the east bank of the Loire, and between the legion in the Bituriges and Caesar at Bibracte. The only legion that was far removed from Caesar, and difficult to communicate with, was that in the Ruteni, but this legion was on the borders of the Provincia. It is hardly worth notice perhaps that Walckenaer makes the Ambivareti or Ambivariti of iv. 9, the same as those in vii. 90. D'Anville says nothing of the Ambivareti.

This conclusion as to the general position of the Ambivareti is certain; for (viii. 2) Caesar leaves Bibracte and goes to the thirteenth legion, which T. Sextius commanded (vii. 90), in the country of the Bituriges, and he joins to this legion the eleventh, which had been placed nearest to it. Now this eleventh was neither of the legions on the Saône under Cicero and Sulpicius, for these were the fourteenth and the eighth legions (viii. 4). It was not the legion at Bibracte, for Caesar left Bibracte with only a few cavalry. It was therefore the legion of Reginus, which was in the country of the Ambivareti. We may therefore place the Ambivareti with certainty within or on the borders of the Aedui, west of Bibracte, and east of the Loire.

in Sequanos] After the capture of Alesia Caesar enters the territory of the Aedui, which had been the centre of the late insurrection in Gallia. His object was to reduce the country to obedience and to take Bibracte (Autun). From Bibracte he sent Labienus into the country of the Sequani. If Alesia was, as some French critics have lately maintained, on the site of Alaise, in the country of the Sequani, and south of the Doubs, between Salins and Ornans, Caesar would have left Labienus there before he went to Bibracte; and if Labienus had accompanied him to Bibracte, he would have said that Labienus returned to the country of the Sequani. The same remark applies to Cicero and Sulpicius. If Alesia was at Alaise, Cicero and Sulpicius crossed the Saône to accompany Caesar to Bibracte, and then returned to the Saône. If Alesia was at Alise Ste Reine all the arrangements of Caesar are plain. This discovery of a new site for Alesia is a signal instance of perverted judgment and prejudice.

Basilum] There is a letter of Cicero (Ad Div. vi. 15) to Basilus, who is supposed to be this man. Basilus was praetor B.C. 45; and in B.C. 44 he was one of Caesar's assassins. See vi. 29.

Ciceronem] This is the only place in which Quintus is mentioned in

nem et P. Sulpicium Cabilloni et Matiscone in Aeduis ad Ararim rei frumentariae causa collocat. Ipse Bibracte hiemare constituit. His rebus litteris Caesaris cognitis Romae dierum xx supplicatio indicitur.

this book. Cicero (Pro Mil. c. 37) speaks of his brother as being away from Rome when the speech for Milo was delivered in April B.C. 52.

P. Sulpicium] He had been a 'legatus' for some time (iv. 22). He followed Caesar's fortunes in the Civil War.

His—cognitis] Perhaps it ought to be 'ex litteris' (ii. 35; iv. 38).—'indicitur:' 'redditur' is said to be the reading of nearly all the MSS.; but it is hard to believe that it is right.

NOTE

ON

ADUATUCA

(v. 24—37; vi. 32); and Note on vi. 5—8.

In the winter of B.C. 54, Caesar placed his legions in various quarters, because the harvest had failed. A legion and a half were quartered under L. Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta in the territory of the Eburones (v. 24). Caesar does not mention the name of these quarters in his fifth book; but in the sixth book (vi. 32) he calls the place Aduatuca, and says that it was about the middle of the territory of the Eburones. I have assumed it to be Tongern, near the Maas, but I might have added something more from a paper by H. L. Long, Esq. in the Gentleman's Magazine, New Series, 1847. Tongern on the Jaar, a branch of the Maas, is a position well fitted for a 'castellum' or fort. The road called the Chaussée Brunhault enters Tongern by the gate of St. Trond. Tongern stands on a ridge, where the watershed between the Schelde and the Maas is a narrow neck of land. This Chaussée Brunhault, whatever may have been done to it by the labour of man, runs in a direction which is determined by the nature of the country. "A dry elevated plateau extends in a direction from N.E. to S.W., dividing the waters of the Meuse and the Sambre on the east from those of the Schelde and the Senne on the west, and presenting a natural foundation for the reception of this great highway. For the most part it traverses an open, practicable, undulating country, with the woods and rocks of the Ardennes on one side, and the marshes of Flanders on the other." Tongern is at one extremity of this road, and Bavay (Bagacum), N.E. of Cambray, at the other. The position of Aduatuca at Tongern, where D'Anville placed it, seems to be certain. Whether a road existed in Caesar's time we cannot tell, but the Romans would certainly march to Aduatuca along the line of this road. The positions of Caesar's other legions in the winter of B.C. 54 (v. 24) can only be conjectured. Mr. Long places the legion of Fabius at Terouenne, in the country of the Morini, which is not improbable; and that of Cicero at Mons, which may be true, but we have no evidence. He rejects, as I have done, Walckenaer's position of the legion of Roscius at Esch in Luxembourg, which is altogether inconsistent with Caesar's narrative; and he places it at Séez in Normandy. Roscius was among the Essui, as the MSS. have it. If Séez is the true position, and it may be, for certainly it cannot be far wrong, these Essui are the same people who are called Sesuvii in another place (ii.

34, note). The position of Labienus was among the Remi, on the borders of the Treviri (v. 24), and about sixty Roman miles from Cicero's camp. In another place (v. 27), the camp of Sabinus and Cotta is said to be fifty miles from Cicero's camp, and a little more from the camp of Labienus, according to the statement of Ambiorix. But we cannot trust the barbarian's estimate of the distance, and the ancient texts are notoriously inaccurate in numbers. Mr. Long selects Meuzon (Mosomagus) on the Maas as the position of Labienus; but he admits that the respective positions of Tongern, Mons, and Meuzon, do not agree with the numbers in the text of Caesar. Labienus, however, was on a river, the Maas probably, or one of its branches (v. 58).

I have given my opinion (v. 24) on Caesar's words, 'milibus passuum centum continebantur.' Mr. Long understands these words to mean, that all the camps, except that of Roscius, 'were comprised within a radius of one hundred Roman miles;' for Tongern and Beauvais, the quarters of Crassus, are near two hundred miles apart. In order to establish this interpretation, we must find a centre for this circle of a diameter of near two hundred miles, and Mr. Long supposes that it may be near Avesnes. As the passage of Caesar presents a great difficulty, I mention this solution of it, which however I do not think consistent with the meaning of the Latin words.

When the Nervii attacked Cicero's position, they hemmed him in with a ditch and rampart, fifteen miles in circuit as the text stands (v. 42). The readings in this passage are very various, and Schneider has cited all of them, I suppose. Some have X and some have XV; some have 'pedum,' and some have 'passuum;' and some omit both 'pedum' and 'passuum.' Perhaps there is more authority for 'pedum' than for 'passuum.' If we have 'milium' only, the word to be supplied is 'passuum;' and we cannot supply 'pedum' because the height of the 'vallum' and the width of the 'fossa' have been given in feet at the beginning of that chapter. But I agree with Mr. Long, who observes as to the ten miles in circumference, that it was "a perfectly needless extent for the purpose of enclosing the camp of a single legion." We may then safely conclude that it was neither ten nor fifteen miles in circuit.

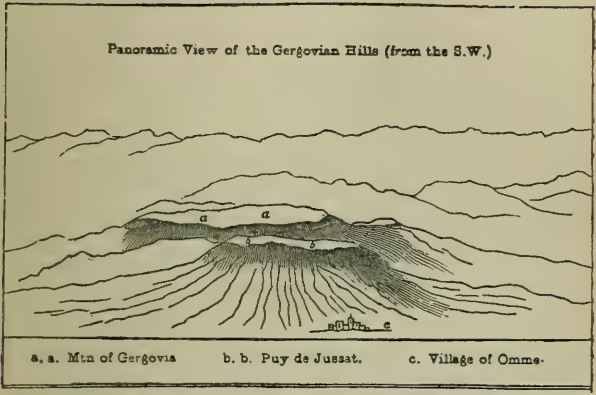
The Aduatuca of Caesar is fixed with great probability at Tongern. It was the chief place of the Eburones; and yet there is a people whom Caesar calls Aduatuci (ii. 29), and whose strong place he took. The name Aduatuca would lead us to suppose that the Aduatuci occupied Aduatuca, and Mr. Long supposes that it was their original place, and that they carried their name with them to their new town. He supposes the 'oppidum Aduatucorum' which Caesar took (ii. 29, 30) to be the citadel of Namur, "being a tongue of precipitous rock at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, and the fifteen thousand feet, or three miles, would very well suit its circumference, embracing the lunettes." The situation seems a very likely one, but I cannot reconcile it with Caesar's description. As to the fifteen thousand feet, we cannot, as I have already observed, supply 'pedum' with 'XV milium' (ii. 30): it is contrary to Roman usage (see Oudendorp on B. G. i. 15, note, and Schneider's note on ii. 30). The 'thousands' are usually signified by a mark over the numeral XV and the like; and this mark is often omitted by a transcriber. There may be an error in XV, and the circuit may have been less; but Caesar made as great a circumvallation, all but one mile, at Alesia. This 'oppidum' contained a large number of people, for fifty-three thousand were sold as slaves (ii. 33).

In the note on vi. 7, 8, I have assumed that Labienus defeated the Treviri near the Mosel. Reichard observes, that the Treviri, who were

waiting for their German auxiliaries, were two days' march from Labienus' camp on the borders of the Treviri. Labienus advanced to meet them, and by an artifice induced them to cross a river with steep banks. He says the Maas cannot be the river, because the Maas was the boundary between the Treviri and the Remi: nor the Mosel, which is more than two days march from the Roman camp in the territory of the Remi. He concludes that the river may be the Sure (Sauer), a branch of the Mosel. Labienus was encamped on the borders of the Remi and Treviri (v. 24), and on or near the Maas (v. 58). I have inferred that Labienus had advanced into the country of the Treviri, for Caesar says (vi. 5), "ad Labienum in Treviros mittit." In vi. 7, Caesar speaks of the one legion of Labienus which had wintered ('hiemarat,' or 'hiemabat' in some MSS) in the territories of the Treviri. Labienus may have advanced into the territories of the Treviri after defeating Induciomarus, for he was only on the borders of the Remi and Treviri before. If he was in the same camp, my opinion as to the battle being fought near the Mosel, is incorrect. I don't know if the banks of the Sure correspond to Caesar's description (vi. 7). Those of the Mosel do in some parts.

GERGOVIA

(vii. 36—53).



Panoramic View of the Gergovian Hills (*from the* S.W.)

a. a. Mtn of Gergovia   b. b. Puy de Jussat.   c. Village of Omme.

The Gergovia mountains belong to the high plateau on which stand the peaks of the Lower Auvergne. These peaks [1], which are called Puys in the country, lie in a line which runs west of the meridian of Clermont, and from north to south. Nearly due west of Clermont is the Puy de Dôme, 1476 mètres or 4841 feet above the sea-level. Seen from Clermont this Puy rises above the intervening heights like a huge blunted wedge. From the high plateau branches extend eastward towards the basin of the Allier, and contain valleys between them. Some of these branches terminate in plateaux. One of the most conspicuous of these plateaux is Gergovia, which is seen from a great distance as we approach Clermont from the south and from the north. It is a mass of limestone capped by a stream of lava, from the summit of which there is a wide prospect over the fertile Limagne d'Auvergne. The summit of Gergovia is 761 mètres above the sea-level, and nearly horizontal. It is a kind of parallelogram lying nearly east and west, about 1500 mètres (4920 feet) in length, and 600 mètres (1968 feet) wide from north to south. (Fischer.)

This view of the Gergovia mountains, as seen from the Puy Giroux, about four English miles S. of Clermont, the capital of the department of Puy de Dôme, is taken from Scrope's Central France. The view is towards the N.E. It represents in the foreground the Puy de Jussat, the summit of which is a small flat: the side opposite to the spectator appears steep.

[1] They are clearly indicated on the map published by the Dépôt de la Guerre, 1854, No. 166.

Rising above this and beyond it is the summit of the mountain of Gergovia. The valley between the Puy de Jussat and the mountain of Gergovia is hidden by the Puy de Jussat, but a small part of the steep side of the mountain of Gergovia, which is opposite to the Puy de Jussat, is seen.

Below the summit of Gergovia the hill descends steep, but with considerable variety on the different sides. On the east side the hill is rough and difficult of ascent. Caesar approached Gergovia from the south along the valley of the Allier, and the sight of the heights on the north and east was enough to show him that the place could not be taken by assault (vii. 36). On the south side the slopes descend more gradually to the plain, except at the village of Merdogne. On the north-west and north the hill descends rapidly towards the villages of Romagnat and Little Perignat. The following is Bouillet's description of the flat of Gergovia: "The plateau of Gergovia is cultivated at present. It is from 1700 to 1800 mètres (more than an English mile) from east to west, and about 600 mètres wide. The excavations which have been made have laid open walls built with great solidity, wells lined with cement, and pavements, which would seem to show that the place was inhabited after the conquest of Gaul by the Romans. The earliest excavations mentioned were made in 1755, when foundations of several buildings were discovered, a winding staircase, and a well twelve feet deep cut in the basalt; pieces of marble, a number of iron pins or pegs from fifteen to twenty inches long, heads of spears, pieces of bronze and iron, broken utensils, medals, and a great quantity of pieces of pottery of the red earth which the Romans called Terra Campana. At the present day whenever the earth is stirred for cultivation, particularly on the west side, Gallic medals of gold and silver are found, but most are of bronze; earthen vessels, generally broken, fragments of copper and iron, the points of arrows of flint, and Gallic axes of all kinds of primitive rocks" (M. Bouillet, Guide du Voyageur à Clermont).

The south-west angle of the plateau of Gergovia is connected by a lower and narrow neck or ridge (vii. 44, 'dorsum esse ejus jugi,' &c.) with another large plateau. This neck is the watershed between two valleys, one of which runs south to the little stream called the Auzon, and the other runs north to Romagnat. This second plateau is of an irregular form, and is named by Fischer the plateau of Jussac or Juillac, the name which in Scrope's view is written Jussat. There are several parts of this plateau which rise above the general level and may be called hills (vii. 36). The sides have also a rapid descent, except on the west side, where the plateau is connected by the defile of Opme with the Puy Giroux.

There is no doubt that the plateau of Gergovia near Clermont is the Gergovia of Caesar. The old town disappeared or was deserted under the Roman dominion, and Augustonometum became the chief town of this country, as it still is under the name of Clermont. The identity of the ancient and modern Gergovia was disputed by the Abbé Lancelot, in an essay read before the Académie des Inscriptions (vol. vi. pp. 635—669) in 1723; but the doubts which he raised had the effect of leading others to a more complete investigation, and the identity of the ancient and the modern Gergovia is established beyond doubt.

Fischer fixes the site of Caesar's larger camp at Le Crest, which is at the termination of La Serre. The large camp was certainly somewhere south of Merdogne, and it could be seen from Gergovia ('ut erat a Gergovia despectus in castra,' vii. 45). The position of this camp must therefore be determined by this condition: it must have been in some place which could be seen from the south side of the plateau on which the town stood.

Fischer translates the passage in vii 36—'qua despici poterat'—thus,

where we could look down on them;' and consequently he says, the larger camp was on high ground, from which one could look down not on Gergovia, but on the slopes and heights which were occupied by the Galli. He adds that this explanation agrees perfectly with the localities. He also thinks that it is confirmed by the passage in vii. 45, 'legionem unam eodem jugo,' &c.; which he explains thus: "Caesar orders them to advance a little on the same ridge, that which was connected with Le Crest, and then to halt on lower ground."

The hill described in vii. 36 ('erat e regione oppidi collis'), the hill which Caesar took by surprise, is supposed by Fischer to be the Roche Blanche. Having got this hill Caesar placed two legions there, and he connected this smaller camp with the larger camp by two ditches, between which there was a safe passage for his men from one camp to the other. If Fischer has rightly fixed the position of the two camps, the Auzon ran between them, and this circumstance would make the communication less complete, unless Caesar built a wooden bridge over this small stream.

Fischer supposes that Caesar made his feigned attack (vii. 44, 45) in the direction of Opme, and that the place to which the Galli hurried to fortify it, was the defile at Opme between the Puy Giroux and the plateau of Jussac. In order to take Gergovia Caesar, he says, must pass through the defile of Opme and attack Gergovia at the weakest point, which is on the north-west side. The Galli being drawn off to Opme had left their camps on the hill; and Caesar observing this (vii. 44) ordered his troops to pass a few at a time from the larger to the smaller camp, for though the larger camp could be seen from Gergovia, the smaller camp could not.

Caesar says 'that having gone to the smaller camp for the sake of examining the works (vii. 44), he saw that the hill or a hill was bared of men, which hill on former days could scarce be seen, such were the number of men on it.' It is a fair inference from this passage that he could not see this hill from the larger camp; and this fact may assist in the determination of the sites of his camps. If we are not quite sure about the position of Caesar's two camps, there is no doubt that Caesar ascended the hill (vii. 45) either on the south or the south-west side. The Aedui ascended the hill on Caesar's right, on the south-east or east side, and at a considerable distance from Caesar's men (vii. 50). The Romans took three camps of the enemy on the heights (vii. 46). Caesar having accomplished his purpose gave the signal for his men to come back, and he halted on the spot where he was with the tenth legion. The other troops elated with their success rushed on towards the town, and they did not hear the signal for retreat, for there is a considerable valley or depression between the place where Caesar had halted and the plateau of Gergovia ('satis magna vallis,' vii. 47). The Galli were working on the fortifications at 'the other part of the town,' but hearing the noise and receiving information of the attack on the town they hurried to the defence.

Caesar, seeing the difficulty in which he was, had sent orders to T. Sextius to lead the cohorts from the smaller camp and to place them at the foot of the heights on the right of the enemy. If the smaller camp was at the Roche Blanche, Sextius posted himself in the valley which leads up to the narrow ridge ('dorsum') on the west side of the city. Caesar himself moved on the high ground a little further from the place where he had halted with the tenth legion. In the mean time the Aedui had got up on the hill, and suddenly appearing on Caesar's right added to the confusion of the Romans, for as their armour was like that of the Galli they were taken for enemies (vii. 50). Caesar from his position between Merdogne and the valley on his left could see all the ground to the east end of Gergovia, as

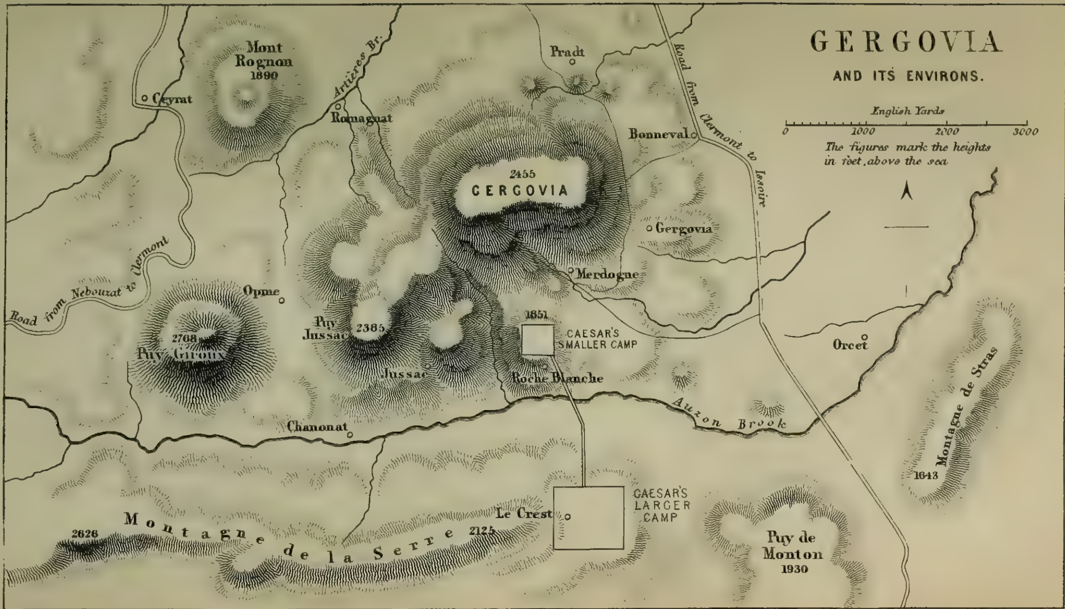
Fischer assures us. The tenth legion with Caesar checked the Galli, who were hotly pursuing the Romans in their retreat from the walls of Gergovia; and the thirteenth legion under Sextius, having got on the high ground, supported the tenth. Thus the Romans with great loss got down to the plain, and by the same part of the hill by which they had ascended.

The work of Fischer, to which I have referred, is entitled 'Gergovia, &c. von Maximilian Achilles Fischer, Doctor der Philosophie, Professor am Lyceum zu Clermont. Leipzig, 1855.' It contains a map of Caesar's route from the passage of the Allier to Gergovia, and a plan of Gergovia. The author says that the plan is after the official Atlas of the Department of the Puy de Dôme, and that it has been verified on the spot. Fischer's work contains references to the previous works on Gergovia.

The plan which was given in the first edition of these Commentaries was from Caylus (Recueil d'Antiquités, tom. v. Pl. 101). Fischer says that Caylus had never seen the ground, and that he did not possess a sufficient map, and that his plan is very defective. Caylus' plan is certainly not complete, but it must have been made by some person who had seen the place. Fischer observes that Pazumot first fixed the site of Caesar's small camp at the Roche Blanche. If this site is determined, it is the key to every thing else. Caylus fixed the site of this small camp at a hill on the plateau of Jussac, or at the Puy de Jussat in Scrope's view. Fischer says that this hill does not answer Caesar's description either in being isolated or being open to assault from the plain. I do not assent to either of these remarks; the Jussat is an isolated peak and it might be assaulted. Jussat is a truncated cone, with room enough on the top for a small station to keep a look out. Between Jussat and the opposite high ground on the east there is a narrow depression or small plain. At the foot of Jussat, and on the side turned toward Gergovia, there is a kind of plateau elevated above this narrow depression or small plain, and this plateau might be the site of the smaller camp. Caesar would not comprehend the whole of Jussat within his smaller camp, but his position at the base of it would give him the command of the hill, and from the top of it he could see round him for many miles, and command a complete view of the town of Gergovia and of the enemy who were on the heights west of Gergovia.

Fischer warns his readers against the theory of M. Bouillet of Clermont, who fixes Caesar's camps on the north side of Gergovia, and has inserted this theory in his Guide to Clermont. M. Bouillet's explanation may mislead those who visit Gergovia, and only consult his Guide, but it will not deceive any person who has read Caesar, whether he has seen the place or not.

With the assistance of this note and the plan, which is from Fischer's work compared with the French map mentioned above, and by reading the notes on Lib. vii. cc. 35—51, the reader may understand Caesar's operations before Gergovia. I am not quite satisfied about every point, and I must leave the correction of some of the particulars to those who may hereafter have the opportunity of carefully examining the ground, which will require a couple of days. There is one part of Fischer's explanation which I cannot accept. He supposes that when Caesar surprised the Gallic camps, the Galli were fortifying the defile at Opme between the Puy Giroux and the Puy de Jussac. I thought, and I still think, that the Galli were working at some point on the north-west side of Gergovia, looking towards Romagnat, as their object was to prevent Caesar from getting possession of the 'dorsum' mentioned in c. 45, and I cannot believe that they descended to the defile of Opme, which is a long way from their camps on the high ground.



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THE ENVIRONS OF
ALESIA.
Scale of Yards
0
1000
2000
3000
The figures mark the heights in feet above the sea
Cressigny sous Alise
1104
Darcy
1036
ALESIA
1379
Alise St. Reine
L'Ose R.
L'Oserain R.
Ancient Roman Way from Montoani
La Brenne R.
Venarey
Mussy la Fosse
1419
Pouillenay
From Semur
1481
1475
FLAVIGNY
Mt. Plevenel
1461
To Dijon
W Hughes

ALESIA

(vii. 68—90).

The hill on which Alesia stood is now named Mont Auxois. It is an isolated mass of high land surrounded on the north, east, and south by other hills of about the same height. On the north and south Mont Auxois is bounded by the valleys in which flow the Ose and Oserain. On the south-east a low col or neck separates Mont Auxois from the height called Plevenel, which also lies between the valleys of the Ose and Oserain.

The summit of Mont Auxois is a plateau, which about the middle rises a little above the general level. At the east end and just below the edge of the plateau there is a spring, the water from which is now carried in pipes to supply the hospice which is on the western slope of Mont Auxois. The highest point of the plateau of Mont Auxois is 418 mètres. The plateau is bordered all round by a steep face of rock, below which there is a narrow flat on the south-west side of the hill, and here the village of Alise Sainte Reine stands. In the other parts below the steep face of the rock there is a gentle descent to the valleys of the Ose and Oserain, and on the west to the fertile plain of Les Laumes. This is the plain three miles wide, from north to south, which Caesar describes as being in front of the town (c. 69). The place where Vercingetorix posted himself and made his wall and ditch, was below the plateau at the east end of Mont Auxois, between Mont Auxois and Mont Plevenel.

Caesar began the blockade of Alesia by placing his camps round Mont Auxois in convenient positions. He also made twenty-three redoutes ('castella') on a line of eleven Roman miles in circuit. These 'castella' were probably first placed on the heights to the south, east, and north. The cavalry of Vercingetorix made their escape through the plain on the west side of Mont Auxois (c. 71), before the place was shut in.

The first ditch which Caesar made (c. 72), the 'fossé perdu,' was in the plain of Les Laumes, and along the valleys on the north and south of Mont Auxois, but outside of the two streams. At the east end the ditch would run across the col or neck which separates Mont Auxois from Plevenel.

Caesar's parapet or 'vallum' was 400 feet distant from the first ditch (the 'fossé perdu'). It ran through the plain of Les Laumes and on the heights which surround Mont Auxois on the north, east, and south. This line of contrevallation passed over Réa, the height which is north-west of Mont Auxois. Réa is separated from the high land to the east of it by the valley in which Cressigny is situated. The line of circumvallation being outside of the line of contrevallation (c. 74) was of still greater circuit, fourteen Roman miles. This line also passed over Réa, and through the plain to the west of Mont Auxois, but between the foot of Mont Auxois and the small river Brenne. It then ran along the plateau on which the town of Flavigny stands and past the site of this town, across the Oserain, Mont Plevenel, the Ose, the Vaux which runs past Darcey, then along the high ground between Darcey and Cressigny, and terminated at Réa, where Reginus and Rebilus were posted (c. 83). The weak part of the line was

along Réa. But if Caesar had enclosed the hill of Réa, it would have been necessary to carry his lines some distance further to the north-west. Accordingly the lines ran along the face of Réa which was turned to the south, and the ground on the outside of the lines of circumvallation sloped down to them (c. 83). This was the post which Vergasillaunus attacked, and here the decisive battle was fought (c. 85).

The Gallic auxiliaries who arrived with Comm and others posted themselves on the heights to the west of the Brenne, not more than a Roman mile from Caesar's lines in the plain. In the battle described in c. 79, the Gallic cavalry filled all the plain, but their infantry remained on the heights. The men in Alesia had a full view from the town (c. 79); and they came down from the hill to the inner lines in the plain, ready to break through them if they found it practicable. Caesar was ready for them. He manned all his lines and led his cavalry out to battle. The infantry of the Gallic auxiliaries watched the fight from their heights, and those who were shut up in Alesia saw it from their high position. The Roman soldiers from their lines which crowned all the neighbouring heights had also a view of the battle. The Gallic cavalry was defeated, and the besieged returned from the inner lines to the plateau of Alesia.

The next day the lines in the plain were attacked by the Galli. This was the part where M. Antonius and Trebonius were posted (c. 81). As the Romans were hard pressed in some parts, Antonius and Trebonius got relief from the 'castella,' which were further removed from the point of attack (c. 81). The battle was fought here in the night, and when daylight appeared the Galli retired, being afraid of being attacked in flank from the lines on the higher ground (c. 82). I do not take 'latere aperto' to mean one flank more than the other. They were evidently in danger on both flanks. Nor do the 'superiora castra' in c. 83 mean the camp of Reginus and Rebilus only; for when Caesar says of the Galli, "they get people who were acquainted with the ground, and are informed by them of the position and fortifications of the 'superiora castra,'" he means all the lines on the high ground, and he then speaks of the hill to the north-west as the point which the Galli determined to attack. The sixty thousand men under Vergasillaunus (c. 83) made a circuit from the Gallic camp and marched on the west side of the high ground which bounds the plain, so as to be hid from the Romans. They rested behind a hill to the north-west of Réa, and at the time fixed they emerged from behind this cover and advanced to the position of Reginus and Rebilus. At the same time the cavalry advanced against the lines in the plain on the west side of the city, and the rest of the Gallic infantry began to show themselves in front of their camp, which was opposite to Caesar's 'campestres munitiones' in the plain of Les Laumes. Vercingetorix again descends from the heights of Alesia towards the plain (c. 86), to make a last effort to break out.

The great fight was at the lines on Réa, to which Vergasillaunus had led the sixty thousand men. Caesar was on the look out. Unless the Galli forced the Roman lines, they were beaten; and if they did force them, the Romans must be destroyed. Labienus is sent to support Reginus and Rebilus, with orders if the Galli could not be repelled from the lines, to draw the troops from the other parts of the fortifications and to make a sally on the enemy. The Galli in Alesia at last give up the attack on the lines along the plain and try the steeper parts. Brutus and Fabius are sent to stop the besieged from breaking out here, and Caesar himself brings fresh men to support them. The besieged are checked; and so far all is safe. Caesar now goes to support Labienus. He takes four cohorts from the nearest 'castellum,' and some cavalry. He orders another part of the

cavalry to go round the outer lines to attack the enemy in the rear. Labienus, being unable any longer to keep the enemy out, having got together nine and thirty cohorts, near four legions, from the nearest 'castella,' sends to tell Caesar what his opinion was as to the next move: he was preparing to sally out upon the assailants.

The Roman hurries to the fight. He seems to have come from the heights on the south-west, and to have passed between his lines in the plain, conspicuous with his scarlet cloak, the man whose presence brought victory. His narrative is as rapid as his movements. He seems in a hurry to end his story. He is received with shouts on both sides; the shout is answered from all the Roman lines. His soldiers attack with the sword, the weapon with which the Romans conquered the world. All at once the cavalry appear in the rear of the enemy; other cohorts advance upon them: the Galli turn their backs, and the fugitives meet the cavalry. The slaughter is great; and the battle is won. The narrative of Caesar is free from all difficulty. Its truth is justified by the unerring evidence of the localities, and those who have ignorantly found fault with the history of this incomparable writer, may learn a lesson of modesty and self-distrust from the siege of Alesia.

There is a long essay in the Revue des Deux Mondes, Mai, 1858, on the siege of Alesia. It is entitled, 'Alesia, Étude sur la Septième Campagne de César en Gaule.' It is a well written essay, well worth a careful perusal. At the head of this essay there is a list of eight recent works on the site of Alesia. It had long been the established opinion that Alise Ste Reine is Caesar's Alesia, but some French writers have recently made the discovery that Alesia is Alaise on the east side of the Saône. (See c. 90, note.) There are two objections to receiving this discovery: the first is, that if we place Alesia east of the Saône and on the site of Alaise, that position is inconsistent with Caesar's movements both before the siege of Alesia and after the siege. The second is, that the ground at Alaise does not correspond to Caesar's description of Alesia, and the ground at Alise does correspond to Caesar's description. This plan of Alesia is from the plan in the Revue, which is made on a reduced scale from the map of the Dépôt de la Guerre. The Revue also contains a plan of Alaise.

LIBER OCTAVUS.

ARGUMENT.

Chap. 1.—Preface of the author. 1. Fresh combination of the Galli. 2, 3. The Bituriges prepare for war, but are compelléd to yield. 4, 5. The Carnutes attack the Bituriges, but are reduced to submission. 6. The Bellovaci and the neighbouring states prepare for war under Correus and Comm. 7—22. Caesar's campaign against the Bellovaci, and their submission. 23. Comm does not trust himself to the Romans; story of the Romans attempting to assassinate Comm. 24, 25. Distribution of the Roman legions; Caesar again ravages the territory of Ambiorix; Labienus is sent against the Treviri. 26—29. Duratius, a Gaul and ally of the Romans, is blockaded in Lemonum by Dumnacus, the .eader of the Andes; C. Caninius comes to the aid of Duratius, and also C. Fabius; Dumnacus is defeated. 30. Caninius pursues Drappes a Senon and Lucterius a Cadurcan, who were threatening the Provincia. 31. Fabius compels the Carnutes and the Armoric states to submit; Dumnacus becomes a wanderer. 32, 33. Drappes and Lucterius, being both followed by Caninius, shut themselves up in Uxellodunum, a town of the Cadurci. 34—36. Drappes and Lucterius with some men leave Uxellodunum to get supplies to carry into the town; the Romans fall upon them; Lucterius escapes, but Drappes is caught by Caninius. 37. Caninius prepares to blockade Uxellodunum. 38. Caesar leaves M. Antonius among the Bellovaci, and visits the Carnutes: he flogs to death Gutr atus, who had stirred up the Carnutes to war the year before. 39—43. Caesar comes to Uxellodunum; description of the place; he cuts off the enemy's access to water; operations about Uxellodunum; the Roman works are fired by the besieged: Caesar by his mines draws off the water from the only source that the besieged had, and they are compelled to submit. 44. Caesar cuts off the hands of all the men who had borne arms; Drappes starves himself to death: Lucterius is caught and delivered to Caesar. 45. Labienus reduces the Treviri to obedience. 46. Caesar enters Aquitania for the first time, and receives the submission of all the states; he goes to Narbo; the distribution of his legions for the winter: Caesar leaves Narbo and winters at Nemetocenna in Belgium. 47, 48. Comm still troubles the Romans; at last he gives hostages to M. Antonius.

Short preface of the author. 49. Caesar, during his winter stay in Belgium, tries to conciliate the Galli. 50, 51. He goes to Italy to support M. Antonius his quaestor in his canvass for a priest's office: he is received by all the municipia and coloniae with great rejoicings. 52, 53. He returns from Gallia Togata to Nemetocenna; he appoints Labienus to administer Gallia Togata; the signs of a civil war approaching. 54. By a senatusconsultum Caesar and Pompeius are severally required to give up a legion for the Parthian war, by which Caesar in fact loses two legions: his distribution of his troops for the winter; he goes to Italy.

55. On reaching Italy he learns that the two legions which were taken from him on the pretext of a Parthian war are given to Cn. Pompeius and are kept in Italy.

The events contained in chapters 1—48 belong to A.U.C. 703 or B.C. 51, and the consulship of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, and M. Claudius Marcellus. The events contained in chapters 49—55 belong to A.U.C. 704 or B.C. 50, and the consulship of L. Aemilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

The author of this book is not Caesar as the Preface shows; and indeed, if there were no preface, we should not fail to discover that it is by a different hand. Suetonius (Caesar, c. 56) says that Caesar left Commentarii of the Gallic war and of the Civil war of Pompeius. He adds—that the author of the Alexandrine, African, and Spanish war is uncertain; some think that Oppius is the author, others assign them to Hirtius, who also (perhaps?) completed ('suppleverit') the last and the imperfect book of the Gallic war.—He also quotes a passage from this Preface: 'Adeo probantur . . . . scimus.' According to this testimony there is no doubt that Aulus Hirtius is the author of this book. The name of Hirtius is prefixed to this book in some MSS.; but most have the name of Aulus Hirtius Pansa, though Hirtius and Pansa are two different persons. Plutarch, in his Life of Caesar, does not notice any of the events in this book, and it does not appear in the Greek version.

Aulus Hirtius was consul with C. Vibius Pansa, B.C. 43, and both of them lost their lives in the battles near Mutina. Cicero mentions Hirtius several times in his letters (Ad Div. xi. 1; xii. 22). There is extant a letter of Hirtius to Cicero (Ad Att. xv. 6). Hirtius was a friend of Caesar, and after his assassination very unwillingly joined the so-called Republican party. This preface is addressed to Balbus, who is L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades, in Spain. Balbus received the Roman citizenship from Cn. Pompeius, on the recommendation of L. Cornelius Lentulus, and after the fashion in such cases, he adopted the gentile name of his patron, when he became a Roman citizen. There is extant an oration of Cicero in defence of Balbus against an attempt to deprive him of his citizenship. Balbus was much trusted by Caesar (Cicero, Ad Div. vi. 8). He is often mentioned in Cicero's letters, and there is extant a letter from him to Cicero (Ad Att. ix. 7).

COACTUS assiduis tuis vocibus, Balbe, quum quotidiana mea recusatio non difficultatis excusationem, sed inertiae videretur deprecationem habere, difficillimam rem suscepi. Caesaris nostri commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae,

quum . . . deprecationem] 'Since my continual refusal appeared to be not an excuse on account of the difficulty, but an apology for my indolence.'

Caesaris nostri . . . vitae Caesaris] Instead of 'comparandos' there is 'comparantibus' on better authority perhaps, and 'comparentibus,' and 'comparandis.' Kraner has 'cohaerentibus.' It is clear that the text cannot express the author's meaning; for 'Caesaris nostri commentarios . . . contexui,' means, 'I have put together the commentarii of Caesar.' The words 'non comparandos . . . . scriptis' are quite unintelligible, at least, to me. The words 'novissimumque imperfectum' seem to be the same words that Suetonius uses in speaking of the last book of the Gallic war; and yet these are fol-

non comparandos superioribus atque insequentibus ejus scriptis, contexui, novissimumque [ac] imperfectum ab rebus gestis Alexandriae confeci usque ad exitum non quidem civilis dissensionis, cujus finem nullum videmus, sed vitae Caesaris. Quos utinam qui legent scire possint, quam invitus susceperim scribendos, quo facilius caream stultitiae atque adrogantiae crimine qui me mediis interposuerim Caesaris scriptis. Constat enim inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur. Qui sunt editi ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset, adeoque probantur omnium judicio ut praerepta non praebita facultas scriptoribus videatur. Cujus tamen rei major nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio: ceteri enim quam bene atque emendate, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos perfecerit scimus. Erat autem in Caesare

lowed by 'ab rebus . . . Alexandriae,' as if the writer were thinking of the continuation of the last book of the Civil war. Again, the words 'quos utinam,' &c., refer to more books than one, but nobody can tell what books they are. The words 'qui me mediis,' &c., refer to this eighth book, which comes between Caesar's Commentarii and his Civil war. Further, the author speaks of continuing some narrative to the death of Caesar; but this narrative only goes to the beginning of the Civil war, and even the Spanish war does not continue the history to the death of Caesar. The author, whoever he is, wrote after Caesar's death, and as if he saw a great deal of the troubles which followed. Yet Hirtius died the year after Caesar. We collect from this obscure preface that the author wrote something, which has not been preserved, or that he intended to write it.

nos . . . scimus] Here the writer speaks as if he knew something of the circumstances under which the Commentarii were written. Drumann (Geschichte Roms iii. Hirtii) says that Hirtius accompanied Caesar B.C. 58, as legate to Gallia, and sought here also jovial living, on which account Q. Cicero blames him with his usual bitterness; in proof of which he refers to a letter of Q. Cicero to Tiro, B.C. 44, which seems to allude to Hirtius and Pansa having been in the Gallic wars; but that is all. Hirtius came from Caesar to Rome in B.C. 50 (Cic. Ad Att. vii. 4). Caesar never mentions him. The Commentarii were written, I think, during the Gallic war. They were certainly written and published before Cicero wrote his Brutus, B.C. 46, for he speaks of them as 'commentarios rerum suarum,' an expression which may comprehend also the three books of the Civil war. It does not seem likely that Caesar would have time to write the Gallic war after he invaded Italy, B.C. 49. He would have plenty of time in the year B.C. 50, for he was then unemployed (viii. 52). It seems then that he either wrote them during this year or before. The author professes to know something of Caesar's way of writing them. But if Hirtius was never in Gallia with Caesar, then it seems that Hirtius did not write this book. Further, the words 'pro testimonio' con-

quum facultas atque elegantia summa scribendi, tum verissima scientia suorum consiliorum explicandorum. Mihi ne illud quidem accidit ut Alexandrino atque Africano bello interessem; quae bella quamquam ex parte nobis Caesaris sermone sint nota, tamen aliter audimus ea quae rerum novitate aut admiratione nos capiunt, aliter quae pro testimonio sumus dicturi. Sed ego nimirum, dum omnes excusationis causas colligo ne cum Caesare conferar, hoc ipso crimen adrogantiae subeo quod me judicio cujusquam existimem posse cum Caesare comparari. Vale.

Omni Gallia devicta Caesar quum a superiore aestate nullum bellandi tempus intermisisset, militesque hiberno-

nected with what precedes ('audimus') ought to mean that the author heard the facts in this book told by somebody, and that he collected information for the purpose of writing it. He did not listen to Caesar's story of the Alexandrine and African wars with the purpose of writing the history, but merely to be pleased. Whether Hirtius was with Caesar in the Alexandrine war, we do not know; for the fact that he was with Caesar at Antioch after that war (Cic. Ad Att. xi. 20) does not prove that he was not with Caesar at Alexandria, as Drumann supposes. He was not in the African war certainly. I think the expression 'mihi ne illud quidem' implies that the author knew nothing personally of the Gallic war, for when he says that he was not even in the Alexandrine and African war, he ought to mean that there was some other war also in which he was not; and that must be the Gallic war. If he was a witness of the rapidity with which the books were written and was not in Gaul with Caesar, Caesar wrote them after the end of the Gallic war; a conclusion that nobody will accept who has read the Gallic war carefully. Or, if he did write them after the end of the war, he had ample memoranda to help him. The author of this preface has contrived to make the thing as obscure and confused as possible. It is a master-piece in this way.

Asinius Pollio (Suetonius, Caesar, c. 56), "thinks that the Commentarii were written with little care and no exact regard to truth, since Caesar for the most part inconsiderately gave credit to what was done by others, and as to his own acts either purposely or from defect of memory stated them inaccurately; and he thinks that Caesar would have written them over again and corrected them;" if he had lived, I suppose he means to say. We do not know what authority Pollio had for saying this as to the Gallic war; nor do I see how Caesar was to correct the facts which had been reported to him untruly, especially as P. Crassus for instance who conducted the Aquitanian campaign (Lib. iii.) was dead, and Labienus, who carried on various operations in Caesar's absence, never saw him after B.C. 49; nor do I see how Caesar's memory of his own acts was to be improved by lapse of time. Pollio was an eye-witness and an historian of the Civil war.

a superiore] Clark omits 'a' on

rum quiete reficere a tantis laboribus vellet, complures eodem tempore civitates renovare belli consilia nunciabantur conjurationesque facere. Cujus rei verisimilis causa adferebatur, quod Gallis omnibus cognitum esset neque ulla multitudine in unum locum coacta resisti posse Romanis, nec, si diversa bella complures eodem tempore inissent civitates, satis auxilii aut spatii aut copiarum habiturum exercitum Populi Romani ad omnia persequenda: non esse autem alicui civitati sortem incommodi recusandam, si tali mora reliquae possent se vindicare in libertatem.

2. Quae ne opinio Gallorum confirmaretur, Caesar M. Antonium quaestorem suis praefecit hibernis: ipse cum equitatus praesidio pridie Kal. Januarias ab oppido Bibracte proficiscitur ad legionem XIII, quam non longe a finibus Aeduorum collocaverat in finibus Biturigum, eique adjungit legionem XI, quae proxima fuerat. Binis cohortibus ad impedimenta [tuenda] relictis, reliquum exercitum in copiosissimos agros Biturigum inducit; qui quum latos fines et complura oppida haberent, unius legionis hibernis non potuerant contineri quin bellum pararent conjurationesque facerent.

3. Repentino adventu Caesaris accidit, quod imparatis disjectisque accidere fuit necesse, ut sine timore ullo rura colentes prius ab equitatu opprimerentur quam confugere

the authority of Cod. Reg. Perhaps the writer means that there had been no rest since the summer of B.C. 53, which was the fact. He begins his narrative where the seventh book ends, with the troops going into winter quarters in the year B.C. 52.

Romanis] Many MSS. have 'a Romanis,' manifestly a false reading. Several states were preparing an outbreak at the same time, for they knew that with no force which they could muster in one spot were they able to resist the Romans, nor if many states should rise at the same time had the Romans force enough to engage them all at once; no state then ought to refuse to take its share of the danger of an insurrection, since by engaging the Romans in many places at once, and so causing them to lose time, those Gallic states that were not attacked by the Romans might secure their liberty.

inissent] 'intulissent,' Kraner.

2. *M. Antonium quaestorem*] See vii. 81, note.

Bibracte] See vii. 90, as to the quarters of the legions.—'legionem XIII:' the MSS. have 'legionem XII.' But T. Sextius (vii. 51) had the thirteenth, and (vii. 90) T. Sextius was quartered among the Bituriges. See viii. 11.

complura oppida] Yet they had burnt twenty of their towns the year before (vii. 15).—'potuerant:' 'potuerint,' Kraner.

in oppida possent; namque etiam illud vulgare incursionibus signum hostium, quod incendiis aedificiorum intelligi consuevit, Caesaris id erat interdicto sublatum ne aut copia pabuli frumentique, si longius progredi vellet, deficeretur, aut hostes incendiis terrerentur. Multis hominum milibus captis perterriti Bituriges, qui primum adventum effugere potuerant Romanorum, in finitimas civitates, aut privatis hospitiis confisi aut societate consiliorum, confugerant. Frustra: nam Caesar magnis itineribus omnibus locis occurrit; nec dat ulli civitati spatium de aliena potius quam de domestica salute cogitandi; qua celeritate et fideles amicos retinebat et dubitantes terrore ad conditiones pacis adducebat. Tali conditione proposita Bituriges, quum sibi viderent clementia Caesaris reditum patere in ejus amicitiam, finitimasque civitates sine ulla poena dedisse obsides atque in fidem receptas esse, idem fecerunt.

4. Caesar militibus pro tanto labore ac patientia, qui brumalibus diebus, itineribus difficillimis, frigoribus intolerandis, studiosissime permanserant in labore, ducenos sestertios, centurionibus II milia nummum praedae nomine condonanda pollicetur; legionibusque in hiberna remissis ipse se recipit die XXXX Bibracte. Ibi quum jus diceret, Bituriges ad eum legatos mittunt auxilium petitum contra Carnutes, quos intulisse bellum sibi querebantur. Qua re cognita quum non amplius X et VIII dies in hibernis esset commoratus, legiones XIV et VI ex

3. *vulgare incursionibus*] To burn the buildings was usual in this Gallic warfare. It was Caesar's practice (v. 48).—'incursionis,' Kraner.

deficeretur] There is little MSS. authority for 'deficeret' in this passage. If we read 'deficeretur,' 'copia' is the ablative.

Frustra] Suetonius speaks as if Caesar left an eighth book imperfect, and the unintelligible sentence of the preface seems to mean something of the kind. Caesar never wrote this 'Frustra,' and perhaps no part of this book. If he did, the author took the liberty of spoiling it. We have his 'Frustra' again, c. 5.

4. *brumalibus diebus*] These events belong to the end of the true year, for 'bruma' is the winter solstice. The men had been called out when the days are shortest.

nummum] That is 'nummorum,' and 'nummus' alone means 'sestertius.' Most MSS. are said to have 'tot milia.' Only one MS. is said to have 'II milia.'

praedae nomine] See vii. 89.—'condonanda:' most of the MSS. have 'condonata.'

legiones XIV *et* VI] See vii. 90. These are the two legions at Matisco

hibernis ab Arare educit, quas ibi collocatas explicandae rei frumentariae causa superiore commentario demonstratum est. Ita cum duabus legionibus ad persequendos Carnutes proficiscitur.

5. Quum fama exercitus ad hostes esset perlata, calamitate ceterorum ducti Carnutes, desertis vicis oppidisque, quae tolerandae hiemis causa, constitutis repente exiguis ad necessitatem aedificiis, incolebant, (nuper enim devicti complura oppida amiserant,) dispersi profugiunt. Caesar erumpentes eo maxime tempore acerrimas tempestates quum subire milites nollet, in oppido Carnutum Genabo castra ponit atque in tecta partim Gallorum, partim quae conjectis celeriter stramentis tentoriorum integendorum gratia erant inaedificata, milites contegit: equites tamen et auxiliarios pedites in omnes partes mittit quascumque petisse dicebantur hostes: nec frustra, nam plerumque magna praeda potiti nostri revertuntur. Oppressi Carnutes hiemis difficultate, terrore periculi, quum tectis expulsi nullo loco diutius consistere auderent, nec silvarum praesidio tempestatibus durissimis tegi possent, dispersi magna parte amissa suorum dissipantur in finitimas civitates.

6. Caesar tempore anni difficillimo quum satis haberet convenientes manus dissipare, ne quod initium belli nasceretur, quantumque in ratione esset exploratum haberet

and Cabillonum. The name of the sixth has not occurred before, and it has been assumed that this is a new legion, and so Caesar would in this year have eleven legions. The true explanation probably is that there is an error in the number VI.

rei frumentariae] See vii. 90. 'Explicandae rei frumentariae causa' is not one of Caesar's expressions. He says in vii. 36, 'rem frumentariam expedisset.' The Romans used 'explicare' and 'expedire' in the sense of bringing a thing to a proper termination. In c. 14 there is 'confusum . . . explicant agmen.'

5. *oppidisque*] This word has caused some difficulty, but it is in the MSS. They had probably some towns besides those which had been destroyed.

amiserant] A better reading than 'dimiserant,' though there are fewer MSS. in favour of 'amiserant.' If 'dimiserant' is right, it means that they had quitted the 'oppida,' not attempted to defend them, and this may be the meaning of the passage. In vi. 12 there is 'Sequani principatum dimiserant.'

Genabo] Genabum was burnt the year before (vii. 11). This passage shows that some of the Galli had constructed huts or houses on the spot.

milites contegit] 'Milites conjecit,' Kraner.

6. *quantumque, &c.*] 'As far as he

sub tempus aestivorum nullum summum bellum posse conflari, C. Trebonium cum II legionibus quas secum habebat in hibernis Genabi collocavit; ipse, quum crebris legationibus Remorum certior fieret, Bellovacos, qui belli gloria Gallos omnes Belgasque praestabant, finitimasque his civitates duce Correo Bellovaco et Commio Atrebate exercitus comparare atque in unum locum cogere, ut omni multitudine in fines Suessionum, qui Remis erant attributi, facerent impressionem, pertinere autem non tantum ad dignitatem, sed etiam ad salutem suam judicaret, nullam calamitatem socios optime de re publica meritos accipere, legionem ex hibernis evocat rursus XI, litteras autem ad C. Fabium mittit, ut in fines Suessionum legiones II quas habebat adduceret, alteramque ex duabus ab T. Labieno arcessit. Ita quantum hibernorum opportunitas bellique ratio postulabat, perpetuo suo labore in vicem legionibus expeditionum onus injungebat.

7. His copiis coactis ad Bellovacos proficiscitur, castrisque in eorum finibus positis equitum turmas dimittit in omnes partes ad aliquos excipiendos ex quibus hostium consilia cognosceret. Equites officio functi renunciant paucos in aedificiis esse inventos, atque hos, non qui agrorum colendorum causa remansissent, namque esse undique diligenter demigratum, sed qui speculandi gratia essent remissi. A quibus quum quaereret Caesar, quo loco multitudo esset Bellovacorum, quodve esset consilium eorum, inveniebat Bellovacos omnes qui arma ferre possent in unum locum convenisse; itemque Ambianos,

could judge,' 'as far as was within his means of judging.'

sub tempus aestivorum] 'As the season for the summer campaign was approaching.' See c. 46, "extremum tempus aestivorum." The 'aestiva' is the summer season, the time for a campaign. A 'summum bellum' seems to be a general war, a war in which the 'summa rei publicae' is concerned.

Remis—attributi] The Remi and Suessiones were once in a kind of political confederation. The Remi were always friendly to Caesar, but the Suessiones joined the Belgae against Caesar (ii. 3). They also sent troops to attack Caesar at Alesia (vii. 75), but the Remi still were faithful (vii. 63). Caesar had made the Suessiones ('attributi') dependent on the Remi. See vii. 10 and vii. 76, as to the word 'attribuere.' Fabius was among the Remi (vii. 90).

in vicem] He imposed on the legions in turns the labour of service in these several expeditions, himself being always engaged in them.

Aulercos, Caletos, Velliocasses, Atrebatas; locum castris excelsum in silva impedita circumdatum palude delegisse; omnia impedimenta in ulteriores silvas contulisse; complures esse principes belli auctores, sed multitudinem maxime Correo obtemperare, quod ei summo esse odio nomen Populi Romani intellexissent; paucis ante diebus ex his castris [Atrebatem] Commium discessisse ad auxilia Germanorum adducenda, quorum et vicinitas propinqua et multitudo esset infinita: constituisse autem Bellovacos omnium principum consensu, summa plebis cupiditate, si, ut dicebatur, Caesar cum tribus legionibus veniret, offerre se ad dimicandum, ne miseriore ac duriore postea conditione cum toto exercitu decertare cogerentur: si majores copias adduceret, in eo loco permanere quem delegissent; pabulatione autem, quae propter anni tempus quum exigua tum disjecta esset, et frumentatione et reliquo commeatu ex insidiis prohibere Romanos.

8. Quae Caesar consentientibus pluribus quum cognovisset, atque ea quae proponerentur consilia plena prudentiae longeque a temeritate barbarorum remota esse judicaret, omnibus rebus inserviendum statuit, quo celerius hostis contempta suorum paucitate prodiret in aciem: singularis enim virtutis veterrimas legiones VII, VIII, VIIII habebat; summae spei delectaeque juventutis XI, quae, octavo jam stipendio functa, tamen collatione reliquarum

7. *Velliocasses*] Or Veliocasses, or Vellocasses, as some have it (vii. 75). There is also a variation Atrebates.

impedita—palude] The reading is uncertain. Elb. omits 'in silva.' Morus would omit 'circumdatum.' Orosius (vi. 11) has "locum quendam cinctum atque impeditum undique paludibus capiunt."

ut dicebatur] 'ut diceretur,' Elb., perhaps on better MSS. authority; but the indicative may stand. If the subjunctive is used, 'ut diceretur' is a part of what is represented as having been said to Caesar.

pabulatione—quae—disjecta] 'The forage could only be got from places remote from one another.' Comp. c. 10, "quem raris disjectisque," &c.

8. *omnibus- inserviendum*] The author intends to express something like what Caesar has expressed (vii. 7), and the two forms may be compared: 'omnibus consiliis antevertendum existimavit ut,' &c. Kraner observes that 'omnibus rebus' is the ablative, and 'inserviendum' refers to 'quo celerius . . . prodiret.'

octavo—stipendio] The word 'stipendium,' the soldier's pay, joined to a numeral, expresses the number of his year's service; as in Tacitus, Ann. i. 36, "missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis."

collatione reliquarum] 'In comparison with the rest.' Instead of 'capere' Caesar uses 'habere' (vii.

nondum eandem vetustatis ac virtutis ceperat opinionem. Itaque consilio advocato, rebus iis quae ad se essent delatae omnibus expositis, animos multitudinis confirmat. Si forte hostes trium legionum numero posset elicere ad dimicandum, agminis ordinem ita constituit, ut legio VII, VIII, VIIII ante omnia irent impedimenta; deinde omnium impedimentorum agmen, quod tamen erat mediocre, ut in expeditionibus esse consuevit, cogeret undecima, ne majoris multitudinis species accidere hostibus posset quam ipsi depoposcissent. Hac ratione paene quadrato agmine instructo in conspectum hostium celerius opinione eorum exercitum adducit.

9. Quum repente instructas velut in acie certo gradu legiones accedere Galli viderent, quorum erant ad Caesarem plena fiduciae consilia perlata, sive certaminis peri-

83), "quae maximam virtutis opinionem habebant." Kraner has 'in collatione,' and he omits 'functa.'

ut in expeditionibus] The author uses the same expression as Caesar and Livy, to signify a rapid movement to fight a battle or strike some sudden blow (B. G. v. 10).

paene quadrato] The explanations which are given of this expression by some who have written on military matters are not clear. I do not think that Polybius (vi. 40), who is sometimes referred to here, explains it. The author explains it, in a manner, himself. The three legions marched before all the 'impedimenta,' which was not the usual form. They would be readier for action than if each legion was followed by its 'impedimenta.' The form of march then is such that the troops were rather an 'acies,' a battle order, than a marching body (comp. Liv. 33, c. 9). Cicero says of Antonius (Phil. xiii. 8), "Prorupit subito Brundisium, ut inde agmine quadrato ad urbem accederet," which is as much as to say that he intended to attack the city. (See also Phil. v. 7; and Livy, 21, c. 5.) The beginning of the next chapter explains 'quadratum agmen' here, for the Galli saw the Roman legions approach 'instructas velut in acie.' In c. 36, "legionem armatam instructamque adducit." An 'agmen quadratum' then is an army that marches in order of battle, and a march in 'acie triplici' (B. G. iv. 14) seems to be the same thing. The explanation of 'paene quadrato' by Guischardt (Mém. Milit. i. 39) seems to be correct. The three legions formed an 'agmen quadratum,' but the fourth legion, which marched behind, broke the regularity of the figure, and it was not a perfect 'agmen quadratum.' It brought up the rear of the 'impedimenta' ('impedimentorum agmen . . . cogeret'). Kraner says that the proper 'agmen quadratum' is a hollow square with four fronts, and he refers to Sallust, Jug. cc. 46. 49. But the term is not used by Sallust in those chapters.

9. *sive certaminis &c.*] These words are rather obscure. They must be explained by 'copias instruunt . . decedunt.' The enemy formed in battle order in front of their camp, but would not quit their ground; and all this was done 'either because a battle was imminent, or because of the suddenness of the approach of the Romans, or because

culo, sive subito adventu, seu exspectatione nostri consilii, copias instruunt pro castris nec loco superiore decedunt. Caesar etsi dimicare optaverat, tamen admiratus tantam multitudinem hostium valle intermissa magis in altitudinem depressa quam late patente castra castris hostium confert. Haec imperat vallo pedum XII muniri coronisque loriculam pro ratione ejus altitudinis inaedificari; fossam duplicem pedum quinum denum lateribus directis deprimi; turres crebras excitari in altitudinem trium tabulatorum, pontibus transjectis constratisque conjungi, quorum frontes viminea loricula munirentur, ut hostis a duplici [fossa, duplici] propugnatorum ordine defenderetur; quorum alter ex pontibus, quo tutior altitudine esset, hoc audacius longiusque tela permitteret; alter, qui propior hostem in ipso vallo collocatus esset, ponte ab incidentibus telis tegeretur. Portis fores altioresque turres imposuit.

10. Hujus munitionis duplex erat consilium. Namque

they were waiting to see what the design of the Romans was.'

confert] He pitches his camp opposite to the enemy's camp, as in Livy xxvii. c. 12, "Marcellus vestigiis instabat castraque castris conferebat, et opere perfecto," &c.

coronisque . . . inaedificari] The reading is very uncertain, and the difficulty of choosing among the readings is increased by the difficulty of knowing what 'coronae' are. Curtius (ix. 4) has: "Angusta muri corona erat; non pinnae sicut alibi fastigium ejus distinxerant, sed perpetua lorica obducta transitum sepserat." Here both a 'corona' and a 'lorica' are mentioned, though it is not quite clear what the 'corona' is. Some commentators explain it, by the aid of Vitruvius, as a projecting part of a wall. A few MSS. of Caesar have 'coronis inaedificari,' and omit the rest; but most MSS. have 'loriculam' or 'loricam.' It is difficult to say whether there is much authority for 'loriculamque.' As the text stands, it means that a small 'lorica,' or breastwork, was to be built in or on the 'coronae,' which would support it. If we had the singular, 'corona,' Oudendorp's explanation might be accepted: "in summo rotundi valli fastigio aedificari loriculam." And I don't see any other meaning for 'coronae.' Kraner omits 'coronisque,' and he reads 'muniri, loriculam per aggerationem ejus altitudini,' &c.

excitari] This is one of Caesar's words (iii. 14).

pontibus] These planks connected the 'turres,' and were appropriately called 'pontes.' Their purpose is explained by the author. Besides this, if one 'turris' should be taken by the enemy, he might be stopped from further progress by cutting off the communication. The words 'fossa duplici' are omitted in some MSS., and they encumber the passage. The MSS. readings are either 'ut ab hostibus . . . defenderentur,' which is perhaps hardly Latin, or 'ut hostis . . . depelleretur.' 'Defendere' is to repel.

et operum magnitudinem et timorem suum sperabat fiduciam barbaris allaturum, et quum pabulatum frumentatumque longius esset proficiscendum, parvis copiis castra munitione ipsa videbat posse defendi. Interim crebro paucis utrimque procurrentibus inter bina castra palude interjecta contendebatur; quam tamen paludem nonnumquam aut nostra auxilia Gallorum Germanorumque transibant acriusque hostes insequebantur, aut vicissim hostes eandem transgressi nostros longius submovebant. Accidebat autem quotidianis pabulationibus, id quod accidere erat necesse, quum raris disjectisque ex aedificiis pabulum conquireretur, ut impeditis locis dispersi pabulatores circumvenirentur: quae res etsi mediocre detrimentum jumentorum ac servorum nostris adferebat, tamen stultas cogitationes incitabat barbarorum, atque eo magis, quod Commius, quem profectum ad auxilia Germanorum arcessenda docui, cum equitibus venerat; qui tamen etsi numero non amplius erant quingenti, tamen Germanorum adventu barbari inflabantur.

11. Caesar quum animadverteret hostem complures dies castris palude et loci natura munitis se tenere, neque oppugnari castra eorum sine dimicatione perniciosa, nec locum munitionibus claudi nisi a majore exercitu posse, litteras ad Trebonium mittit, ut quam celerrime posset legionem XIII, quae cum T. Sextio legato in Biturigibus hiemabat, arcesseret, atque ita cum III legionibus [quam] magnis itineribus ad se veniret: ipse equites in vicem Remorum ac Lingonum reliquarumque civitatum, quorum magnum numerum evocaverat, praesidio pabulationibus mittit, qui subitas hostium incursiones sustinerent.

10. *timorem suum*] Caesar's supposed, not real, fear.—'eandem transgressi:' 'eadem transgressi,' Kraner, which means 'having crossed by the same marsh.'

Commius—Germanorum] See c. 7.

tamen etsi] Or 'tametsi,' as some MSS. have it.—'amplius . . . quingenti:' there is no occasion to adopt the reading 'quingentis.' 'Amplius' is often used thus, as in iv. 12, "non amplius octingentos equites." But if 'amplius' is separated from the numeral by several words, the construction is used as in viii. 18.—'inflabantur:' this word has the authority of some MSS. Many have 'nitebantur.' Caesar (B. C. iii. 108) has "regis inflatum pollicitationibus." 'Inflantur' occurs in B. G. viii. 12.

11. [*quam*] *magnis*] Some MSS. and Hav. A. omit 'quam.'

in vicem] The cavalry of the Remi and Lingones was sent in turns, as the next chapter explains.

12. Quod quum quotidie fieret, ac jam consuetudine diligentia minueretur, quod plerumque accidit diuturnitate, Bellovaci delecta manu peditum cognitis stationibus quotidianis equitum nostrorum silvestribus locis insidias disponunt, eodemque equites postero die mittunt qui primum elicerent nostros insidiis, deinde circumventos aggrederentur. Cujus mali sors incidit Remis, quibus ille dies fungendi muneris obvenerat. Namque ii quum repente hostium equites animadvertissent ac numero superiores paucitatem contempsissent, cupidius insecuti a peditibus undique sunt circumdati; quo facto perturbati celerius quam consuetudo fert equestris proelii se receperunt, amisso Vertisco, principe civitatis, praefecto equitum, qui quum vix equo propter aetatem posset uti, tamen consuetudine Gallorum neque aetatis excusatione in suscipienda praefectura usus erat, neque dimicari sine se voluerat. Inflantur atque incitantur hostium animi secundo proelio, principe et praefecto Remorum interfecto, nostrique detrimento admonentur diligentius exploratis locis stationes disponere ac moderatius cedentem insequi hostem.

13. Non intermittuntur interim quotidiana proelia in conspectu utrorumque castrorum, quae ad vada transitusque fiebant paludis. Qua contentione Germani, quos propterea Caesar transduxerat Rhenum ut equitibus interpositi proeliarentur, quum constantius universi paludem transissent, paucisque resistentibus interfectis pertinacius reliquam multitudinem essent insecuti, perterriti non solum ii qui aut comminus opprimebantur aut eminus vulnerabantur, sed etiam qui longius subsidiari consue-

12. *eodemque*] Or 'eademque,' 'by the same way,' as some MSS. have it. These two words are sometimes confounded.—'insidiis:' "vulg. ante Oud. et Giani, *in insidias*," Elb., which seems to be the true reading. In c. 16, there is "elicere nostros in locum iniquum." If we take the reading 'insidiis,' we must explain it as an ablative; and it means 'to draw on our men by feints,' or sham attacks.

Inflantur] There is also a reading 'inflammantur.'—'admonentur . . . disponere:' this is not the usual Latin construction, which requires 'ut' or 'quo' and the subjunctive (viii. 53).

13. *intermittuntur*] 'intermittunt,' Kraner.—'interpositi:' see i. 48.

longius subsidiari] 'Subsidiari' seems to mean 'to bring subsidium, or relief,' or to be 'in subsidio.' But 'longius' is obscure. Perhaps it means what Herzog suggests, 'those who had for some time been accus-

verant turpiter refugerunt, nec prius finem fugae fecerunt, saepe amissis superioribus locis, quam se aut in castra suorum reciperent, aut nonnulli pudore coacti longius profugerent. Quorum periculo sic omnes copiae sunt perturbatae ut vix judicari posset, utrum secundis parvulis rebus insolentiores an adversis mediocribus timidiores essent.

14. Compluribus diebus iisdem in castris consumptis, quum propius accessisse legiones et C. Trebonium legatum cognovissent, duces Bellovacorum veriti similem obsessionem Alesiae noctu dimittunt eos quos aut aetate aut viribus inferiores aut inermes habebant, unaque reliqua impedimenta. Quorum perturbatum et confusum dum explicant agmen, magna enim multitudo carrorum etiam expeditos sequi Gallos consuevit, oppressi luce copiis armatorum vias pro suis instruunt castris, ne prius Romani persequi se inciperent quam longius agmen impedimentorum suorum processisset. At Caesar neque resistentes aggrediundos[, neque cedentes] tanto collis ascensu [lacessendos] judicabat, neque non usque eo

tomed to act as a reserve,' men who had seen some service, and been accustomed to stand their ground. Kraner explains it thus, 'in weiterer Entfernung,' 'at some distance.'—'saepe amissis' perhaps means having been driven from several higher positions, which, if they had fought well, they ought to have kept.—'pudore coacti:' a few MSS. have 'pavore' in place of 'pudore.' I am not quite sure what the author means. But who can interpret with certainty such a writer? Perhaps the sense of shame made them flee beyond the camp: they were ashamed to show their faces in it. There is a reading 'nonnullo.'

14. *similem . . Alesiae*] 'Alesiae' is the genitive. Compare iii. 14, "non absimili forma . . falcium."

oppressi luce] 'Surprised by daylight.' I don't know if this particular expression occurs, but 'opprimere' in this sense is common. I should not have discovered any thing to find fault with here. On the contrary the expression seems to me well chosen. But I transcribe one of Herzog's notes, to show that he has a different opinion, and as a specimen of his style of note-making: "More frequently *nox*, *somnus opprimit*, Curt. vii. 11. 17; iv. 13. 16. It is: 'inopinantes et imparatos invadere,' our: 'to surprise' ('überraschen'). We consider the expression '*luce* opprimi' as artificial and unnatural. Beauty, good taste, sound judgment itself, are most shown in style in the *choice* of the *predicates*. Quinctilian tells us this x. 1. 9."—'copiis armatorum castrorum vias instruunt:' the reading of some MSS. Morus says that he can't understand it. Herzog interprets 'castrorum vias' to be the 'ways to the camp.' Kraner omits 'vias' and writes 'copias' for 'copiis.'

neque . . . judicabat] The text is very uncertain; and the whole sentence is so ill expressed that it is

legiones admovendas ut discedere ex eo loco sine periculo barbari militibus instantibus non possent. Ita quum palude impedita a castris castra dividerentur, quae transeundi difficultas celeritatem insequendi tardare posset, atque id jugum, quod trans paludem paene ad hostium castra pertineret, mediocri valle a castris eorum intercisum animum adverteret, pontibus palude constrata legiones transducit celeriterque in summam planitiem jugi pervenit, quae declivi fastigio duobus ab lateribus muniebatur. Ibi legionibus instructis ad ultimum jugum pervenit, aciemque eo loco constituit unde tormento missa tela in hostium cuneos conjici possent.

15. Barbari confisi loci natura quum dimicare non recusarent, si forte Romani subire collem conarentur, paullatimque copias distributas dimittere non auderent ne dispersi perturbarentur, in acie permanserunt. Quorum pertinacia cognita Caesar viginti cohortibus instructis castrisque eo loco metatis muniri jubet castra. Absolutis operibus legiones pro vallo instructas collocat;

hard to translate. 'Caesar thought that he ought neither to attack them, if they kept their ground, nor if they retreated, when he had so steep an ascent in his front, nor ought he to bring his legions not near enough for the enemy to be unable to leave their ground without danger, if our soldiers pressed them hard.' But this is very confused, and I believe that the words which I have inclosed thus [ ] ought to be omitted; and Kraner has omitted them. It then means: 'that he ought not to attack them, if they kept their ground, with so steep an ascent in his front.'

ad ultimum] He advanced along the flat top of the 'jugum' to its extremity, where a depression separated it from the hill on which the enemy was. He was on a ridge sloping down on the right and left, and so he was protected on these two sides. From the extremity of the ridge he could annoy the enemy with his military engines. The descent at the extremity of the 'jugum' appears to be rapid. These indications might assist in discovering the place.

15. *paullatimque*] The Galli did not send off their troops in small divisions, lest being scattered they should be thrown into confusion.

viginti . . . instructis] Twenty cohorts placed ready to fight, while the rest were making the camp; as in i. 49.—'frenatis equis:' 'with their horses saddled and bridled,' ready for action.

metatis] The word has a passive sense, as in Livy xliv. c. 37.

castra] Here we have an instance of the Romans making a camp on a height. Caesar intended to pass the night there, and according to Roman system he would make a camp. Such camps on high grounds are found in England, on the South Downs for instance. They were probably sometimes occupied for a long time, as places to keep a look out from. Here we know why this camp was placed on a height. This camp, if it remains, and the 'jugum,' with the depression and the opposite hill, would indicate the site pretty clearly.

equites frenatis equis in stationibus disponit. Bellovaci quum Romanos ad insequendum paratos viderent, neque pernoctare sine periculo aut diutius permanere sine cibariis eodem loco possent, tale consilium sui recipiendi inierunt. Fasces, uti consederant, stramentorum ac virgultorum, quorum summa erat in castris copia, per manus inter se traditos ante aciem collocaverunt, extremoque tempore diei signo pronunciato uno tempore incenderunt. Ita continens flamma copias omnes repente a conspectu texit Romanorum. Quod ubi accidit, barbari vehementissimo cursu refugerunt.

16. Caesar, etsi discessum hostium animum advertere non poterat incendiis oppositis, tamen id consilium quum fugae caussa initum suspicaretur, legiones promovet, turmas mittit ad insequendum: ipse veritus insidias, ne forte in eodem loco subsisteret hostis atque elicere nostros in locum conaretur iniquum, tardius procedit. Equites quum intrare fumum et flammam densissimam timerent, ac, si qui cupidius intraverant, vix suorum ipsi priores partes animum adverterent equorum, insidias veriti liberam facultatem sui recipiendi Bellovacis dederunt. Ita fuga timoris simul calliditatisque plena sine ullo detrimento milia non amplius x progressi hostes loco munitissimo castra posuerunt. Inde quum saepe in insidiis equites peditesque disponerent, magna detrimenta Romanis in pabulationibus inferebant.

17. Quod quum crebrius accideret, ex captivo quodam comperit Caesar Correum, Bellovacorum ducem, fortissimorum milia VI peditum delegisse, equitesque ex omni numero mille, quos in insidiis eo loco collocaret, quem in

neque—aut] 'Sic omnes codd.' Elb. See vii. 64. For 'sine cibariis' Kraner has 'sine periculo,' which words he omits after 'pernoctare.'

uti consederant, &c.] 'Ubi consederant,' Elb., which, he says, is the reading of the best MSS. Most of the MSS. have 'ut consueverant.' The MSS., or many of them, have 'consederant, namque in acie sedere Gallos consuesse superioribus commentariis declaratum est,' but I see no meaning in this; nor has any thing of the kind been said in the 'superiores commentarii.' Yet if we follow the MSS., we must keep them. The text without them is this: 'bundles, just as they had encamped, of straw and sticks, of which there was a great abundance in the army,' &c.

16. *fumum*] 'Summum jugum,' Kraner.

partes animum adverterent] Elb. omits 'animum,' and also Herzog.

17. *collocaret*] 'Conlocarat,' Elb.

locum propter copiam frumenti ac pabuli Romanos pabulatum missuros suspicaretur. Quo cognito consilio Caesar legiones plures quam solebat educit; equitatumque qua consuetudine pabulatoribus mittere praesidio consuerat praemittit. Huic interponit auxilia levis armaturae: ipse cum legionibus quam potest maxime adpropinquat.

18. Hostes in insidiis dispositi, quum sibi delegissent campum ad rem gerendam non amplius patentem in omnes partes passibus mille, silvis undique impeditissimis aut altissimo flumine munitum, velut indagine hunc insidiis circumdederunt. Explorato hostium consilio nostri ad proeliandum animo atque armis parati, quum subsequentibus legionibus nullam dimicationem recusarent, turmatim in eum locum devenerunt. Quorum adventu quum sibi Correus oblatam occasionem rei gerendae existimaret, primum cum paucis se ostendit atque in proximas turmas impetum fecit. Nostri constanter incursum sustinent insidiatorum, neque plures in unum locum conveniunt, quod plerumque equestribus proeliis quum propter aliquem timorem accidit, tum multitudine ipsorum detrimentum accipitur.

There is authority for both.—'solebat:' there is a reading 'soleret,' and I believe that the subjunctive can stand here.

qua—consuerat] Davis and Clarke conjecture, and the conjecture has some authority for it, 'equitatum quem sua consuetudine pab. mitt. praesidio consueverat.' This is the way that Caesar would write. Oudendorp, Elb., and others have 'praesidia,' for which there is little authority; and it is a bad reading. 'Qua consuetudine,' I think, may be right.

18. *indagine*] This is a hunting term. Virgil (Aen. iv. 121),

"Dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt."

An 'indago' is a circuit made by nets and men, to stop up all ways and drive the beasts into a narrow compass where they may be killed.

This place was on a very deep river, but the author does not give the name. This campaign seems to have been carried on in the country of the Bellovaci (c. 7), as we might suppose; for the Bellovaci, a warlike people, would not quit their country, but their allies would come to them. If this was so, the ground lies between the Somme, the Oise, and the Seine. The Somme is beyond the territory of the Bellovaci; at least the parts where the Somme is a deep river belong to the Ambiani. The Bellocassi or Velocasses are between the Bellovaci and the Seine. The Isara or Oise lies between the Bellovaci and the Suessiones, and this may be the river that is spoken of. The Bellovaci were threatening to invade the territory of the Suessiones, but it is not stated that they did so. We collect that Caesar's approach prevented them.

19. Quum dispositis turmis in vicem rari proeliarentur, neque ab lateribus circumveniri suos paterentur, erumpunt ceteri Correo proeliante ex silvis. Fit magna contentione diversum proelium. Quod quum diutius pari Marte iniretur, paullatim ex silvis instructa multitudo procedit peditum quae nostros cogit cedere equites; quibus celeriter subveniunt levis armaturae pedites, quos ante legiones missos docui, turmisque nostrorum interpositi constanter proeliantur. Pugnatur aliquamdiu pari contentione: deinde, ut ratio postulabat proelii, qui sustinuerant primos impetus insidiarum, hoc ipso fiunt superiores quod nullum ab insidiantibus imprudentes acceperant detrimentum. Accedunt propius interim legiones, crebrique eodem tempore et nostris et hostibus nuncii adferuntur imperatorem instructis copiis adesse. Qua re cognita praesidio cohortium confisi nostri acerrime proeliantur, ne, si tardius rem gessissent, victoriae gloriam communicasse cum legionibus viderentur. Hostes concidunt animis atque itineribus diversis fugam quaerunt. Nequidquam; nam quibus difficultatibus locorum Romanos claudere voluerant, iis ipsi tenebantur. Victi tamen perculsique, majore parte amissa, quo fors tulerat consternati profugiunt, partim silvis petitis, partim flumine, qui tamen in fuga a nostris acriter insequentibus conficiuntur; quum interim nulla calamitate victus Correus excedere proelio silvasque petere aut invitantibus nostris ad deditionem potuit adduci, quin fortissime proeliando

19. *erumpunt*] Morus misunderstood this. He supposed the 'ceteri' to be the Romans. Correus was not in the wood: he was in advance fighting with a few about him. Then the rest break out of the wood to help him. Some of the editors understood it 'praeliante ex silvis,' which is contrary to the fact.

diversum] They were fighting in different parts. See B. G. ii. 22, "diversis legionibus."

praesidio cohortium] He means the 'legiones.'

Nequidquam] Here he is at it again. 'Frustra' twice before; now 'nequidquam.' A more stupid description cannot be conceived.

quo fors tulerat] Omitted by Kraner.

quum interim—conjicere] Morus can't believe that the author wrote thus, 'for the language is not intricate, but confused.' That is my reason for thinking that he did write thus. He always writes so when he gets into a long sentence, which he knows no more how to manage than a description of a battle. 'Quin' must be connected with 'nulla calamitate.' The whole thing is as bad as it can be.

compluresque vulnerando cogeret [elatos] iracundia victores in se tela conjicere.

20. Tali modo re gesta recentibus proelii vestigiis ingressus Caesar, quum victos tanta calamitate existimaret hostes nuncio accepto locum castrorum relicturos, quae non longius ab ea caede abesse plus minus octo milibus dicebantur, tametsi flumine impeditum transitum videbat, tamen exercitu transducto progreditur. At Bellovaci reliquaeque civitates repente ex fuga paucis atque his vulneratis receptis, qui silvarum beneficio casum evitaverant, omnibus adversis, cognita calamitate, interfecto Correo, amisso equitatu et fortissimis peditibus, quum adventare Romanos existimarent, concilio repente cantu tubarum convocato conclamant, legati obsidesque ad Caesarem mittantur.

21. Hoc omnibus probato consilio Commius Atrebas ad eos profugit Germanos a quibus ad id bellum auxilia mutuatus erat. Ceteri e vestigio mittunt ad Caesarem legatos petuntque, Ut ea poena sit contentus hostium, quam si sine dimicatione inferre integris posset, pro sua clementia atque humanitate numquam profecto esset illaturus; afflictas opes equestri proelio Bellovacorum esse; delectorum peditum multa milia interisse; vix refugisse nuncios caedis; tamen magnum, ut in tanta calamitate, Bellovacos eo proelio commodum esse consecutos, quod Correus, auctor belli, concitator multitudinis, esset interfectus; numquam enim senatum tantum in civitate illo vivo quantum imperitam plebem potuisse.

22. Haec orantibus legatis commemorat Caesar, Eodem

20. *vestigiis*] He followed up on the track of the enemy, which in Livy is 'instare vestigiis.' See c. 9. Liv. xxvii. c. 12.

plus minus] This means 'about,' 'more or less.'

Bellovaci] A letter of Caelius to Cicero (Ad Div. viii. 1) alludes to this war with the Bellovaci, and speaks of the rumours about Caesar's difficult position: "ipsum apud Bellovacos circumsederi interclusum ab reliquo exercitu."

conclamant] The common reading before Oudendorp and Giani was 'conclamant ut;' "sed 18 codd. Havn. A. et ed. Inc. omitt. *ut*." Elb. It is indifferent whether we have 'ut' or not.

21. *e vestigio*] See iv. 5, note.—'integris:' if they were untouched, entire, not harmed: see vii. 30, note.

concitator] This word is wanting in some MSS. Others have 'conciliator' or 'consiliator.' 'Concitator' corresponds to 'concitare' in the next chapter. It occurs in c. 38.

tempore superiore anno Bellovacos ceterasque Galliae civitates suscepisse bellum; pertinacissime hos ex omnibus in sententia permansisse, neque ad sanitatem reliquorum deditione esse perductos: scire atque intelligere se causam peccati facillime mortuis delegari: neminem vero tantum pollere ut, invitis principibus, resistente senatu, omnibus bonis repugnantibus, infirma manu plebis bellum concitare et gerere posset: sed tamen se contentum fore ea poena quam sibi ipsi contraxissent.

23. Nocte insequenti legati responsa ad suos referunt, obsides conficiunt. Concurrunt reliquarum civitatum legati, quae Bellovacorum speculabantur eventum. Obsides dant, imperata faciunt, excepto Commio, quem timor prohibebat cujusquam fidei suam committere salutem. Nam superiore anno T. Labienus, Caesare in Gallia citeriore jus dicente, quum Commium comperisset sollicitare civitates et conjurationem contra Caesarem

22. *superiore anno*] See vii. 75.

delegari] This is a Roman legal term, which Ulpian (Dig. 46. 2. 11) explains: "delegare est vice sua alium reum dare creditori vel cui jusserit." It is 'delegatio' when a debtor gives to his creditor, who of course must consent, another person as a debtor in his place. In other words, he pays his creditor by giving him a right to accept an equivalent from another person; or even to name a person who shall receive payment from this other, instead of receiving it himself. Hence the word is used generally to transfer to another any thing for him to do or endure, as in Livy x. 19, "eo rem adductam ut omnis rei bene aut secus gestae in Etruria decus dedecusque ad L. Volumnium sit delegatum." It is then clear what is meant: 'that it was a very easy thing to lay the blame on the dead,' who could not speak for themselves.

omnibus bonis] 'All the good people.' So Cicero often writes. Cicero's 'good people' are those who are of the same mind as himself and also rich, and respectable. Caesar's 'good people' are those who were obedient to him, not people of the common sort, for they have never been reckoned as anybody, but the noble and the rich, traitors to their own country and friends to Caesar, because they hoped to get something from him.

23. *obsides conficiunt*] 'Conficere' has many meanings. Here it means to make up the number, as in B. G. ii. 4. Terence (Phorm. i. 1, 4) has a like use in reference to a sum of money:

"—— id ut conficerem; confeci."

superiore anno] Caesar was in Gallia Citerior in the early part of B.C. 52 (Lib. vii. 1), "ad conventus agendos proficiscitur," 'to hold his courts.' 'Jus dicere' is the same thing, for there was no 'juris dictio' without a 'conventus.' Caesar, according to his fashion, has said nothing of this affair. It had nothing to do with his campaigns. Labienus was wintering on the borders of the Treviri probably (vi. 44), when he made this attempt to murder Comm.

facere, infidelitatem ejus sine ulla perfidia judicavit comprimi posse. Quem quia non arbitrabatur vocatum in castra venturum, ne tentando cautiorem faceret, C. Volusenum Quadratum misit qui eum per simulationem colloquii curaret interficiendum. Ad eam rem delectos [idoneos] ei tradit centuriones. Quum in colloquium ventum esset et, ut convenerat, manum Commii Volusenus arripuisset, centurio vel ut insueta re permotus vel celeriter a familiaribus prohibitus Commii conficere hominem non potuit; graviter tamen primo ictu gladio [caput] percussit. Quum utrimque gladii destricti essent, non tam pugnandi quam diffugiendi fuit utrorumque consilium; nostrorum, quod mortifero vulnere Commium credebant affectum; Gallorum, quod insidiis cognitis plura quam videbant extimescebant. Quo facto statuisse Commius dicebatur numquam in conspectum cujusquam Romani venire.

24. Bellicosissimis gentibus devictis Caesar quum videret nullam jam esse civitatem quae bellum pararet quo sibi resisteret, sed nonnullos ex oppidis demigrare, ex agris diffugere ad praesens imperium evitandum, plures in partes exercitum dimittere constituit. M. Antonium quaestorem cum legione XI sibi conjungit; C. Fabium legatum cum cohortibus XXV mittit in diversissimam Galliae partem, quod ibi quasdam civitates in armis esse

[*idoneos*] *ei*] These words are omitted in some good MSS. One MS. omits only 'idoneos,' and another only 'ei.'

centurio—potuit] There are many variations in the MSS. here. Clarke proposed to read it as it stands in the text, which is the reading of the MS. Eliens., with this difference only, that the MS. has 'velut insueta,' &c. Clarke did not correct the text in this way, though he says in his note that he has no doubt that Hirtius wrote the passage so. Oberlin has followed Clarke's note, and I have also. Elberling has the passage thus: 'adripuisset, et centurio, velut insueta re permotus, vellet Commium conficere, celeriter a familiaribus prohibitus non potuit,' &c. The text as it stands in Elberling seems not to be right, for it means, 'the centurion, as if he were greatly excited by the strangeness of the circumstances, attempted to kill Comm.' But the soldier failed, either because assassination was a thing that he was not accustomed to, or because Comm's men prevented him from doing it completely.

[*caput*]] This word is doubtful. It is omitted in some good MSS.—'percussit:' there is a variation 'vulneravit' in the same MSS.

24. *legione* XI] 'legione duodecima,' Kraner.—'in diversissimam,' into the south where Rebilus was with a single legion according to vii. 90.

audiebat, neque C. Caninium Rebilum, legatum, qui [in] illis regionibus praeerat, satis firmas duas legiones habere existimabat. T. Labienum ad se evocat, legionemque XII, quae cum eo fuerat in hibernis, in Togatam Galliam mittit ad colonias civium Romanorum tuendas, ne quod simile incommodum accideret decursione barbarorum ac superiore aestate Tergestinis accidisset, qui repentino latrocinio atque impetu eorum erant oppressi. Ipse ad vastandos depopulandosque fines Ambiorigis proficiscitur, quem perterritum ac fugientem quum redigi posse in suam potestatem desperasset, proximum suae dignitatis esse ducebat adeo fines ejus vastare civibus, aedificiis, pecore, ut odio suorum Ambiorix, si quos fortuna fecisset reliquos, nullum reditum propter tantas calamitates haberet in civitatem.

25. Quum in omnes partes finium Ambiorigis aut legiones aut auxilia dimisisset, atque omnia caedibus,

C. Caninium] He was among the Ruteni (vii. 90); and he served at the siege of Alesia (vii. 83). He followed Caesar's fortunes after the Gallic war. He had the honour of being consul for a single day, the last day of the year B.C. 45; which furnished Cicero with matter for some jokes (Cicero, Ad Div. vii. 30; Plutarch, Caesar, 58).

legionemque XII] 'Legionem autem XV,' Kraner. See c. 54, note on XV.

Togatam] This is Gallia Citerior (c. 23), as Caesar calls it, except when he includes it in the general term Italia. This Gallia south of the Alps contained many colonies, and the people south of the Po were now Roman citizens (Introd. p. 23). As the 'toga' is the characteristic Roman dress, Gallia Togata is Romanized Gallia, as opposed to Gallia where the 'toga' was not so common. So 'togati' sometimes means Roman citizens.

simile—ac] This may be compared with 'parem . . . atque' (i. 28).—'accidisset:' 'acciderat,' Kraner.

Tergestinis] Tergeste is Trieste, on the east side of the head of the Gulf of Venice. According to Mela (ii. 4) it was the boundary of Illyricum on the Italian side. It belonged to Istria. It is not said that Tergeste was at this time a Roman colony, but it was under Roman protection. It was a 'colonia' when Pliny wrote (N. H. iii. 18) and a large commercial place. According to C. T. Zumpt Tergeste was made a 'colonia' about B.C. 50.

proximum suae] Most of the MSS. have the genitive; others have 'suae dignitati,' the usual expression.—'vastare civibus,' &c.: to deprive of citizens, cattle, and buildings. Kraner quotes Virgil, Aen. viii. 7,

"——— undique cogunt
Auxilia et latos vastant cultoribus agros."

In the next chapter we have 'vastare' with an ablative in the usual form, to devastate by doing something. It is not easy to understand how it concerned Caesar's dignity to follow up this wretched man. It was the desire of vengeance.

incendiis, rapinis vastasset, magno numero hominum interfecto aut capto, Labienum cum duabus legionibus in Treviros mittit, quorum civitas, propter Germaniae vicinitatem quotidianis exercitata bellis, cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat, neque imperata umquam nisi exercitu coacta faciebat.

26. Interim C. Caninius legatus, quum magnam multitudinem convenisse hostium in fines Pictonum litteris nunciisque Duratii cognosceret, qui perpetuo in amicitia Romanorum permanserat, quum pars quaedam civitatis ejus defecisset, ad oppidum Lemonum contendit. Quo quum adventaret, atque ex captivis certius cognosceret multis hominum milibus a Dumnaco, duce Andium, Duratium clausum Lemoni oppugnari, neque infirmas legiones hostibus committere auderet, castra munito loco posuit. Dumnacus quum adpropinquare Caninium cognovisset, copiis omnibus ad legiones conversis castra Romanorum oppugnare instituit. Quum complures dies in oppugnatione consumpsisset et magno suorum detrimento nullam partem munitionum convellere potuisset, rursus ad obsidendum Lemonum redit.

27. Eodem tempore C. Fabius legatus complures civitates in fidem recipit, obsidibus firmat, litterisque C. Caninii Rebili fit certior quae in Pictonibus gerantur. Quibus rebus cognitis proficiscitur ad auxilium Duratio ferendum. At Dumnacus, adventu Fabii cognito, desperata salute si eodem tempore coactus esset et Romanorum externum sustinere hostem et respicere ac timere oppidanos, repente eo ex loco cum copiis recedit; nec se satis tutum fore arbitratur, nisi flumen Ligerim, quod erat

25. *cultu*] See i. 1, note.

26. *Lemonum*] Lemonum or Limonum, for the name is written both ways, was afterwards called Pictavi. It is now Poitiers on the Clain, a branch of the Vienne, which falls into the Loire. Lemonum seems to have been the chief place of the Pictones or Pictavi.—'Lemoni oppugnari:' none of the MSS. seem to have 'Lemoni,' but they have 'Lemonem,' and other varieties.

hostibus committere] 'To fight with the enemy;' but 'hostibus' is the dative, as we see from Livy x. 16, "Samnitium exercitum nusquam se praelio committentem." Accordingly the text literally means, 'he did not venture to trust his weak legions to the enemy;' he did not venture to risk a battle. See c. 38.

27. *Romanorum*] 'Romanum.' Kraner.

ponte propter magnitudinem transeundum, copias transduxisset. Fabius, etsi nondum in conspectum venerat hostibus, neque se cum Caninio conjunxerat, tamen doctus ab iis qui locorum noverant naturam potissimum credidit hostes perterritos eum locum quem petebat petituros. Itaque cum copiis ad eundem pontem contendit, equitatumque tantum procedere ante agmen imperat legionum quantum quum processisset sine defatigatione equorum in eadem se reciperet castra. Consequuntur equites nostri, ut erat praeceptum, invaduntque Dumnaci agmen, et fugientes perterritosque sub sarcinis in itinere aggressi magna praeda multis interfectis potiuntur. Ita re bene gesta se recipiunt in castra.

28. Insequenti nocte Fabius equites praemittit sic paratos ut confligerent atque omne agmen morarentur, dum consequeretur ipse. Cujus praeceptis ut res gereretur, Q. Atius Varus, praefectus equitum, singularis et animi et prudentiae vir, suos hortatur, agmenque hostium consecutus turmas partim idoneis locis disponit, partim equitum proelium committit. Consistit audacius equitatus hostium succedentibus sibi peditibus, qui toto agmine subsistentes equitibus suis contra nostros ferunt auxilium. Fit proelium acri certamine: namque nostri contemptis pridie superatis hostibus, quum subsequi legiones meminissent, et pudore cedendi et cupiditate per se conficiendi proelii fortissime contra pedites proelia-

hostibus] There are readings 'hostis' and 'hostium;' and in c. 29 there is 'in conspectum hostium veniunt.'

pontem] This was some bridge over the Loire, for which the enemy was making; for Fabius directed his march towards 'the same bridge,' having conjectured, thought it most likely ('potissimum credidit'), from the position of the bridge, what would be the line of their retreat. We can only guess the point of the river which Dumnacus was trying to reach. It might be at Tours.

equitatumque] 'equitatuque,' Kraner; which is the dative. The poets and later writers, as Kraner remarks, used an infinitive with 'imperare,' 'suadere,' 'concedere.'

28. *Varus*] The reading 'Q. Atius Varus' is very doubtful. The MSS. are said to have 'Citatius,' 'Titatius,' and 'Titacius.' But as 'Q. Varus,' at least, seems to be right, this Varus may be the Varus who is mentioned in the Civil war (iii. 37).

partim equitum] 'parte equitum,' Kraner. — 'consistit:' 'confligit,' Kraner.

subsistentes] Or 'subsistentibus,' to agree with 'equitibus,' as some MSS. have it.—'ut pridie cognoverant:' 'as they had experienced the day before.' See c. 27.

bantur; hostesque nihil amplius copiarum accessurum credentes, ut pridie cognoverant, delendi equitatus nostri nacti occasionem videbantur.

29. Quum aliquamdiu summa contentione dimicaretur, Dumnacus instruit aciem quae suis esset equitibus in vicem praesidio. Tum repente confertae legiones in conspectum hostium veniunt. Quibus visis perculsae barbarorum turmae, perterritae acies hostium, perturbato impedimentorum agmine magno clamore discursuque passim fugae se mandant. At nostri equites, qui paullo ante cum resistentibus fortissime conflixerant, laetitia victoriae elati, magno undique clamore sublato, cedentibus circumfusi, quantum equorum vires ad persequendum dextraeque ad caedendum valent, tantum eo proelio interficiunt. Itaque amplius milibus XII [aut] armatorum, aut eorum qui timore arma projecerant interfectis, omnis multitudo capitur impedimentorum.

30. Qua ex fuga quum constaret Drappeten Senonem, (qui, ut primum defecerat Gallia, collectis undique perditis hominibus, servis ad libertatem vocatis, exsulibus omnium civitatum adscitis, receptis latronibus, impedimenta et commeatus Romanorum interceperat) non amplius hominum II milibus ex fuga collectis Provinciam petere, unaque consilium cum eo Lucterium Cadurcum cepisse, quem superiore commentario prima defectione Galliae facere in Provinciam impetum voluisse cognitum est, Caninius legatus cum legionibus II ad eos persequendos contendit, ne de detrimento aut timore Provinciae magna infamia perditorum hominum latrociniis caperetur.

31. C. Fabius cum reliquo exercitu in Carnutes ceterasque proficiscitur civitates, quarum eo proelio quod cum Dumnaco fecerat copias esse accisas sciebat; non enim dubitabat quin recenti calamitate submissiores essent futurae, dato vero spatio ac tempore eodem instante

30. *superiore commentario*] See vii. 5, 7.—'de detrimento:' 'de' is omitted in some MSS. Drappes is not mentioned in the seventh book.

31. *accisas*] Their forces had suffered greatly in the battle. There are many variations here, and one of them, 'ascitas,' seems plausible; but the context is in favour of 'accisas;' and the word is used in this sense. Livy (viii. 11) has "Latinorum etsi pariter accisae copiae sint."

Dumnaco possent concitari. Qua in re summa felicitas celeritasque in recipiendis civitatibus Fabium consequitur. Nam Carnutes, qui saepe vexati numquam pacis fecerant mentionem, datis obsidibus veniunt in deditionem; ceteraeque civitates, positae in ultimis Galliae finibus, Oceano conjunctae, quae Armoricae appellantur, auctoritate adductae Carnutum, adventu Fabii legionumque imperata sine mora faciunt. Dumnacus suis finibus expulsus, errans latitansque solus extremas Galliae regiones petere est coactus.

32. At Drappes unaque Lucterius, quum legiones Caniniumque adesse cognoscerent, nec se sine certa pernicie persequente exercitu putarent Provinciae fines intrare posse, nec jam liberam vagandi latrociniorumque faciendorum facultatem haberent, consistunt in agris Cadurcorum. Ibi quum Lucterius apud suos cives quondam integris rebus multum potuisset, semperque auctor novorum consiliorum magnam apud barbaros auctoritatem haberet, oppidum Uxellodunum, quod in clientela fuerat

numquam pacis] In vi. 4 they submit. Perhaps the writer means that they had not submitted since the affair of Alesia, for they sent a force there against Caesar (vii. 75).—'Armoricae:' see vii. 75, note.

32. *liberam*] 'libere,' Kraner. Some good MSS. have 'latrocinandique facultatem.'—'integris rebus:' 'when they were free and independent.'

Uxellodunum] All that we learn from the author, as to the site of Uxellodunum, is that it was in the country of the Cadurci, and therefore between the Dordogne and the Garonne. It stood on an eminence, the sides of which were very abrupt (c. 32). The position is more particularly described in c. 40. A valley or depression almost surrounded the place, and in this valley there was a river. The town stood on high ground, which is nearly surrounded by a stream, like Besançon (B. G. i. 38), and the descent from the place to the river was very rapid. The width of the part on the land side, where the river did not flow, was only 300 feet, and this must have been the part by which the approach to the town was easiest. Under the wall which crossed this part was a spring. The place is described clearly, and one would suppose that the spot could be determined by any careful observer. D'Anville observes that Uxellodunum has been fixed by some at Cadenac, or Capdenac, on the borders of Rouergue, and by others at Luzets, which is also on the Olt or the Lot, the ancient Oltis. Lot, as D'Anville observes, is Olt with the article prefixed. As to Cadenac, he observes that it has been known by the name of Capdenacum for five or six hundred years, and we do not know that it has had any other name. At Luzets, which is below Cahors, the Olt makes a great bend, but the ground does not correspond to the description of the site of Uxellodunum. He says that the place "which combines the greatest number of suffrages is Puech d'Issolu," which is on a river which joins the Dordogne.

ejus, natura loci egregie munitum, occupat suis et Drappetis copiis, oppidanosque sibi conjungit.

33. Quo quum confestim C. Caninius venisset, animadverteretque omnes oppidi partes praeruptissimis saxis esse munitas, quo defendente nullo tamen armatis ascendere esset difficile, magna autem impedimenta oppidanorum videret, quae si clandestina fuga subtrahere conarentur, effugere non modo equitatum, sed ne legiones quidem possent, tripertito cohortibus divisis trina excelsissimo loco castra fecit, a quibus paullatim, quantum copiae patiebantur, vallum in oppidi circuitum ducere instituit.

34. Quod quum animum adverterent oppidani, miserrimaque Alesiae memoria solliciti similem casum obses-

This river, called the Tourmente, rises a short distance above Turenne, and joins the Dordogne after passing Puech d'Issolu. Turenne is a little north of 45 N. lat.

Walckenaer (Géog. des Gaules, i. p. 353) affirms that the plan of Puech d'Issolu or Puy d'Issolu, as he calls it, made by M. Cornuau at the request of Turgot, does not answer the description of Hirtius, for the river only washes one of the four sides of this hill; and he adds, that nothing appears easier than to turn it towards the west on the north side of the hill, and to prevent its continuing its course to the south. The Tourmente is a small river, and Walckenaer says that this does not correspond to the ancient texts, which give us the idea of a much more considerable river. But Hirtius says nothing of the magnitude of the river; and Orosius (vi. 11), who says that it was not small, is no authority. Walckenaer also observes that the position of Capdenac only corresponds very imperfectly to the description of Hirtius. There is a plan of Capdenac in Caylus, Antiquités, tom. v. pl. 100, p. 280. M. Champollion de Figeac is the last writer, as far as I know, on the subject. (Nouvelles Recherches sur Uxellodunum, 1820.) According to Walckenaer, for I have not seen the work, "he relies chiefly on the text of Orosius, who says that the town was surrounded by a pretty large river, 'non parvo flumine,' words which M. Champollion translates in a way not very exact, in my opinion, by saying that this town was surrounded by a great river." If this is a sample of M. Champollion de Figeac's criticism, it does not give us a favourable opinion of his work; but Capdenac may be the site of Uxellodunum, and only have got a bad defender in the French writer. See c. 40.

33. *impedimenta*] These were their moveables of all kinds (see vii. 55), which it was impossible for them to carry off, if they attempted to leave the town.—'trina . . castra:' he began as Caesar did at Alesia with making three camps, after doing which he could safely commence the construction of his lines round the town ('in oppidi circuitum'). The camps were on the highest or very high ground. They were separated from Uxellodunum by the river, for it flowed at the very base of the heights on which the town was. In the next chapter 'castella' are mentioned, as in vii. 69.

non modo—sed ne—quidem] See ii. 17, note, and iii. 4.

sionis vererentur, maximeque ex omnibus Lucterius, qui fortunae illius periculum fecerat, moneret frumenti rationem esse habendam, constituunt omnium consensu, parte ibi relicta copiarum, ipsi cum expeditis ad importandum frumentum proficisci. Eo consilio probato, proxima nocte, duobus milibus armatorum relictis, reliquos ex oppido Drappes et Lucterius educunt. Hi paucos dies morati ex finibus Cadurcorum, qui partim re frumentaria sublevare eos cupiebant, partim prohibere quo minus sumerent non poterant, magnum numerum frumenti comparant; nonnumquam autem expeditionibus nocturnis castella nostrorum adoriuntur. Quam ob caussam C. Caninius toto oppido munitiones circumdare contatur, ne aut opus effectum tueri non possit, aut plurimis locis infirma disponat praesidia.

35. Magna copia frumenti comparata considunt Drappes et Lucterius non longius ab oppido x milibus, unde paullatim frumentum in oppidum supportarent. Ipsi inter se provincias partiuntur; Drappes castris praesidio cum parte copiarum restitit; Lucterius agmen jumentorum ad oppidum adducit. Dispositis ibi praesidiis, hora noctis circiter x, silvestribus angustisque itineribus frumentum importare in oppidum instituit. Quorum strepitum vigiles castrorum quum sensissent, exploratoresque missi quae agerentur renunciassent, Caninius celeriter cum cohortibus armatis ex proximis castellis in frumentarios sub ipsam lucem impetum facit. Ii repentino malo perterriti diffugiunt ad sua praesidia; quae nostri ut viderunt, acrius contra armatos incitati neminem ex eo numero vivum capi patiuntur. Effugit inde cum paucis Lucterius, nec se recipit in castra.

36. Re bene gesta Caninius ex captivis comperit partem copiarum cum Drappete esse in castris a milibus

34. *fortunae illius*] He had been present at the siege of Alesia.

contatur] Or 'cunctatur.' All the MSS. seem to have 'conatur,' which contradicts what follows. 'Contatur' is Oudendorp's emendation. Some editions have 'moratur.'—'plurimis:' 'pluribus,' Hav. A., which is the common word.

35. *provincias*] The functions, duties, what was to be done. So in Livy (ix. 31), "Consules inter se provincias partiti; Junio Samnites, Aemilio novum bellum Etruria sorte obvenit."

sub—lucem] See ii. 33, note.

non amplius XII. Qua re ex compluribus cognita, quum intelligeret fugato duce altero perterritos reliquos facile opprimi posse, magnae felicitatis esse arbitrabatur neminem ex caede refugisse in castra qui de accepta calamitate nuncium Drappeti perferret. Sed in experiundo quum periculum nullum videret, equitatum omnem Germanosque pedites summae velocitatis homines ad castra hostium praemittit: ipse legionem unam in trina castra distribuit, alteram secum expeditam ducit. Quum propius hostes accessisset, ab exploratoribus quos praemiserat cognoscit castra eorum, ut barbarorum fert consuetudo, relictis locis superioribus ad ripas fluminis esse demissa; at Germanos equitesque imprudentibus omnibus de improviso advolasse et proelium commisisse. Qua re cognita legionem armatam instructamque adducit. Ita repente omnibus ex partibus signo dato loca superiora capiuntur. Quod ubi accidit, Germani equitesque signis legionis visis vehementissime proeliantur: confestim cohortes undique impetum faciunt, omnibusque aut interfectis aut captis magna praeda potiuntur. Capitur ipse eo proelio Drappes.

37. Caninius felicissime re gesta sine ullo paene militis vulnere ad obsidendos oppidanos revertitur; externoque hoste deleto, cujus timore augere praesidia et munitione oppidanos circumdare prohibitus erat, opera

36. *felicitatis*] The author explains his meaning. But Davis would alter the word to 'infelicitatis,' and Clarke approves of the alteration, though he does not adopt it in his text. He says that Hirtius means to say that it was unlucky that no one escaped from the slaughter to tell Drappes what had happened. I wonder Clarke did not see that Caninius might have remedied this mischief by sending Drappes news of what had happened. Müller's explanation is right: Caninius thought it a piece of great good luck for nobody to have escaped from the slaughter to the camp of Drappes. The writer does not say that news of the slaughter had not been carried to Drappes, for Caninius could not know whether it was so or not. He means that it would be a very lucky thing, if no one had escaped, which was hardly probable, 'but still ('sed . . . quum,' &c.), as he saw no danger in making the experiment' of attacking Drappes, he did do so. There is a reading 'perterreri reliquos facile et opprimi posse,' which is perhaps better.

ut barbarorum] It was the custom of the Romans, as Kraner observes, to choose high ground for their camps. There are examples of this in many parts of Britain.

37. *augere*] Some editions have 'antea augere;' and some MSS. have 'antea dividere,' which Kraner has.

undique imperat administrari. Venit eodem cum suis copiis postero die C. Fabius, partemque oppidi sumit ad obsidendum.

38. Caesar interim M. Antonium quaestorem cum cohortibus xv in Bellovacis reliquit, ne qua rursus novorum consiliorum ad capiendum bellum facultas daretur; ipse reliquas civitates adit, obsides plures imperat, timentes omnium animos consolatione sanat. Quum in Carnutes venisset, quorum [consilio] in civitate superiore commentario Caesar exposuit initium belli esse ortum, quod praecipue eos propter conscientiam facti timere animum advertebat, quo celerius civitatem metu liberaret, principem sceleris illius et concitatorem belli, Gutruatum, ad supplicium deposcit: qui, etsi ne civibus quidem suis se committebat, tamen celeriter omnium cura quaesitus in castra perducitur. Cogitur in ejus supplicium Caesar contra naturam suam maximo militum concursu, qui ei omnia pericula et detrimenta belli [a Gutruato] accepta referebant, adeo ut verberibus exanimatum corpus securi feriretur.

38. [*consilio*]] A great number of MSS. omit this word. It seems that either 'consilio' or 'in civitate' ought to be omitted.—'Caesar exposuit.' See vii. 3.—'Gutruatum:' there are considerable variations in the MSS. It is possible that this may be the Cotuatus mentioned in vii. 3. He had the same fate as Acco (vi. 44), who was also flogged to death; and Caesar tells that story without any apology. Here the author makes an apology for him, which, if it is true, is discreditable to Caesar. He says that he was driven to punish the man by the clamour of his soldiers.

ei—accepta referebant] This is a Roman book-keeping phrase, which means to make an entry of a receipt from a person. The side of 'acceptum' contains all that a man receives in any way; and the side of 'expensum' contains all that he pays in any way. (Cic. Verr. ii. 1, c. 36.) The person from whom the money is entered as received is expressed in the dative; and also the person to whom money is entered as paid. The phrase was also used, as it is here, in a metaphorical sense, and 'acceptum referre,' or 'acceptum ferre,' with a dative, means to impute to a man the good or evil that we have received from him. Cicero has (Philipp. ii. 5), "ut esset nemo qui non mihi vitam suam, liberos, fortunas . . . referret acceptam;" and in c. 22, "omnia denique quae postea vidimus uni accepta referemus Antonio." In order to make this passage consistent with Latin usage we must reject 'ei,' and omit 'a' before 'Gutruato.' Cicero indeed remarks (Orat. c. 47), "una praepositio est *abs* eaque nunc tantum in accepti tabulis manet, et ne iis quidem omnium: in reliquo sermone mutata est." Cicero means that in his time *abs* was only used in compound words, except 'in accepti tabulis.' L. Velius Longus (p. 2224) observes,

39. Ibi crebris litteris Caninii fit certior quae de Drappete et Lucterio gesta essent, quoque in consilio permanerent oppidani. Quorum etsi paucitatem contemnebat, tamen pertinaciam magna poena esse afficiendam judicabat, ne universa Gallia non defuisse vires sibi ad resistendum Romanis sed constantiam putaret; neve hoc exemplo ceterae civitates locorum opportunitate fretae se vindicarent in libertatem; quum omnibus Gallis notum sciret reliquam esse unam aestatem suae provinciae, quam si sustinere potuissent, nullum ultra periculum vererentur. Itaque Q. Calenum legatum cum legionibus duabus relinquit, qui justis itineribus [se] subsequeretur; ipse cum omni equitatu quam potest celerrime ad Caninium contendit.

40. Quum contra exspectationem omnium Caesar Ux-

"quotiens acceptam pecuniam referebant, non dicebant a Longo, sed abs Longo: et ait (Cicero) religionem hanc scribendi apud paucissimos remansisse saeculo suo." (Note in the edition of the Orator, by F. Goeller.) The Romans then said either 'alicui acceptum referre,' or 'abs aliquo acceptum referre.' In this passage a few MSS. have 'ei,' and all are said to have 'a Gutruato.' It is impossible to know what the author wrote. If we omit 'a Gutruato,' we know that the text is Latin. But it is possible that the author may have written both 'ei' and 'a Gutruato,' and that he intends 'ei' for Caesar. Elberling perhaps takes it so. But then the author has confused a common mode of expression, and made something else of it. Kraner omits 'ei,' and has 'Gutruato' only.

39. *aestatem*] Caesar's term would expire at the end of B.C. 49. There were therefore two summers more, but he reckons the last as nothing. There would be the preparation for leaving.

quam—sustinere] Kraner says that this means if 'they could maintain this summer's war.'

Q. Calenum] Q. Fufius Calenus was tribunus plebis in B.C. 61. He was now one of Caesar's legati and he afterwards served under Caesar in Spain. He was consul in B.C. 47. Cicero often speaks of him with contempt. But he was Cicero's enemy.

40. Walckenaer says of the position of Capdenac: "The Lot, where it surrounds Capdenac, is 100 mètres (above 300 feet wide), and it is impossible to conceive how archers placed on one of the banks of this river could have prevented the besieged from going to get water on the other side. Besides the town was entirely surrounded by the works of the Romans, and the river was between their camp and the walls of the town; and there is on every side 200 mètres (above 600 feet) between the platform of Capdenac and the nearest bank of the river. The works of the Romans which blockaded the town would then have been at the distance of 300 mètres, which is impossible, and would have deprived them of all means of attacking it. Again Caesar thought of diverting the river to deprive the besieged of water, and he only gave up this idea on account of the depth of the valley and the depression of the bed of the stream. Would he have expressed

ellodunum venisset oppidumque operibus clausum animum adverteret, neque ab oppugnatione recedi videret ulla conditione posse, magna autem copia frumenti abundare oppidanos ex perfugis cognosset, aqua prohibere hostem tentare coepit. Flumen infimam vallem dividebat, quae totum paene montem cingebat, in quo positum erat praeruptum undique oppidum Uxellodunum. Hoc flumen averti loci natura prohibebat, sic enim in imis radicibus montis ferebatur ut nullam in partem depressis fossis derivari posset. Erat autem oppidanis difficilis et praeruptus eo descensus, ut prohibentibus nostris sine vulneribus ac periculo vitae neque adire flumen neque arduo se recipere possent ascensu. Qua difficultate eorum cognita Caesar, sagittariis funditoribusque dispositis, tormentis etiam quibusdam locis contra facillimos descensus collocatis, aqua fluminis prohibebat oppidanos, quorum omnis postea multitudo aquatorum unum in locum conveniebat.

41. Sub ipsum enim oppidi murum magnus fons aquae prorumpebat ab ea parte, quae fere pedum CCC intervallo fluminis circuitu vacabat. Hoc fonte prohiberi posse oppidanos quum optarent reliqui, Caesar unus videret, e regione ejus vineas agere adversus montem, et aggeres instruere coepit magno cum labore et continua dimicatione. Oppidani enim loco superiore decurrentes [emi-

himself in this way if this river which surrounded the town had been so considerable a river as the Lot? Such are the objections that might be urged against Capdenac" (vol. i. p. 356).

Not one of these objections is very weighty. As to Caesar expressing himself so, the answer is, it is not Caesar. Further, it is not said that Caesar thought of diverting the river. He saw that it could not be done. Also, the Romans had no intention to attack the place. Their plan was to take it by cutting off the supply of water. As to the width of the river, it was very possible to post archers and slingers in the river on rafts, or in boats, and so diminish the distance, if the 100 mètres was too much for an archer or slinger of those days; for it is not said that the archers, slingers, or 'tormenta' were on the banks of the river. Capdenac may be the place, if this is all that can be said against it.

aquatorum] There is better authority for this reading than for 'aquatum.' Frontinus (Strateg. iii. 7) enumerates this instance of cutting off water from the besieged, following the text, except that he makes more springs than one.

41. *fluminis circuitu*] 'a fluminis circuitu,' Havn. A.: but the preposition is not necessary.—'eminus:' this is doubtful.—'agunt:' 'ab vineis agunt,' Elb., Kraner.

nus] sine periculo proeliabantur, multosque pertinaciter succedentes vulnerabant, ut tamen non deterrerentur milites nostri vineas proferre atque operibus locorum vincere difficultates. Eodem tempore tectos cuniculos agunt ad caput fontis, quod genus operis sine ullo periculo et sine suspicione hostium facere licebat. Exstruitur agger in altitudinem pedum VIIII, collocatur in eo turris X tabulatorum, non quidem quae moenibus adaequaretur, id enim nullis operibus effici poterat, sed quae superaret fontis fastigium. Ex ea quum tela tormentis jacerentur ad fontis aditus ne sine periculo possent aquari oppidani, non tantum pecora atque jumenta, sed etiam magna hominum multitudo siti consumebatur.

42. Quo malo perterriti oppidani cupas sevo, pice, scindulis complent: eas ardentes in opera provolvunt. Eodem tempore acerrime proeliantur, ut ab incendio restinguendo dimicatione et periculo deterreant Romanos. Magna repente in ipsis operibus flamma exsistit. Quaecumque enim per locum praecipitem missa erant, ea vineis et aggere suppressa comprehendebant id ipsum quod morabatur. Milites contra nostri, quamquam periculoso genere proelii locoque iniquo premebantur, tamen omnia paratissimo sustinebant animo: res enim gerebatur et excelso loco et in conspectu exercitus nostri, magnusque utrimque clamor oriebatur. Ita quam quisque poterat maxime insignis, quo notior testatiorque virtus ejus esset, telis hostium flammaeque se offerebat.

pedum VIIII] 'pedum sexaginta,' Kraner. Orosius (vi. 11) has "exstruitur agger et turris pedum LX cujus vertex adaequare fontis locum posset." He must have calculated the height of the 'turris' from the number of 'tabulata' or stories.—'moenibus acquaret,' Kraner.—'fastigium:' the 'turris' was raised high enough to be on a level with the place where the spring was. The ground rose up to the base of the wall, and it was necessary to make the tower high enough to command the spring.—'ne sine:' 'nec sine,' Kraner.

42. *cupas*] 'Cupae' or 'cuppae' are wooden casks or barrels for wine, or to stow wheat in for ship carriage. They are mentioned by Caesar (B.C. ii. 11) as used for military purposes. —'scindulae,' which is perhaps a better form than 'scandulae,' are small pieces of wood, shingles, such as the Romans tiled roofs with, as is done now in some countries.

suppressa] The context explains the word. The barrels of blazing fat, pitch, and wood were stopped by the 'vineae' and 'agger,' and set them on fire.

Ita quam &c.] 'Ita quisque, ut erat maxime insignis,' Kraner.

43. Caesar quum complures suos vulnerari videret, ex omnibus oppidi partibus cohortes montem ascendere, et simulatione moenium occupandorum clamorem undique jubet tollere. Quo facto perterriti oppidani, quum quid ageretur in locis reliquis essent ignari, [suspensi] revocant ab impugnandis operibus armatos murisque disponunt. Ita nostri fine proelii facto celeriter opera flamma comprehensa partim restinguunt, partim interscindunt. Quum pertinaciter resisterent oppidani, et jam magna parte suorum siti amissa in sententia permanerent, ad postremum cuniculis venae fontis intercisae sunt atque aversae. Quo facto exhaustus repente perennis exaruit fons tantamque attulit oppidanis salutis desperationem, ut id non hominum consilio, sed Deorum voluntate factum putarent. Itaque necessitate coacti se tradiderunt.

44. Caesar quum suam lenitatem cognitam omnibus sciret, neque vereretur ne quid crudelitate naturae videretur asperius fecisse, neque exitum consiliorum suorum animadverteret, si tali ratione diversis in locis plures rebellare consilia inissent, exemplo supplicii deterrendos reliquos existimavit. Itaque omnibus qui arma tulerant manus praecidit; vitam concessit, quo testatior esset poena improborum. Drappes, quem captum esse a Caninio docui, sive indignatione et dolore vinculorum, sive timore

43. *ignari &c.*] Some good MSS. have only 'ignari,' and some have only 'suspensi.' 'Suspensi' means 'in doubt, uncertainty,' and is a word in common use. It cannot well be connected with 'revocant.' 'Suspensi' may be the genuine word and 'ignari' the interpretation of it, which has got into the text. Even Hirtius would hardly write 'ignari, suspensi.'

venae] The Romans used 'vena' to express the vessels in which the blood flows; and they also applied the word, as we do, to signify veins of metals in the earth, and the subterranean passages through which water flows.

44. *exitum*] Caesar could not see what would be the end or result of his plans, if these rebellions should break out in different places: the conquest of Gallia would be insecure. The apology for this atrocious act of cruelty is worthy of the author. Caesar would hardly have written so. If Caesar cut off both hands, these poor wretches would not have a chance of remaining a living example of his clemency very long, for who would take care of them? Caesar showed himself as true a barbarian as Vercingetorix (vii. 4). Lucterius was betrayed by a Gaul. It is not said what became of him, but we may guess.—'rebellare:' omitted by Kraner.—'indignatione:' 'indignitate,' some MSS.

gravioris supplicii, paucis diebus se cibo abstinuit atque ita interiit. Eodem tempore Lucterius, quem profugisse ex proelio scripsi, quum in potestatem venisset Epasnacti Arverni, (crebro enim mutandis locis multorum fidei se committebat, quod nusquam diutius sine periculo commoraturus videbatur, quum sibi conscius esset quam inimicum deberet Caesarem habere,) hunc Epasnactus Arvernus, amicissimus Populi Romani, sine dubitatione ulla vinctum ad Caesarem deduxit.

45. Labienus interim in Treviris equestre proelium secundum fecit; compluribusque Treviris interfectis et Germanis, qui nulli adversus Romanos auxilia denegabant, principes eorum vivos in suam redegit potestatem; atque in his Surum Aeduum, qui et virtutis et generis summam nobilitatem habebat, solusque ex Aeduis ad id tempus permanserat in armis.

46. Ea re cognita Caesar quum in omnibus Galliae partibus bene res gestas videret, judicaretque superioribus aestivis Galliam devictam et subactam esse, Aquitaniam numquam ipse adisset, sed per P. Crassum quadam ex parte devicisset, cum II legionibus in eam partem est profectus, ut ibi extremum tempus consumeret aestivorum; quam rem, sicut cetera, celeriter feliciterque confecit, namque omnes Aquitaniae civitates legatos ad eum miserunt obsidesque ei dederunt. Quibus rebus gestis ipse cum equitum praesidio Narbonem profectus est, exercitum per legatos in hiberna deduxit: quatuor legiones in Belgio collocavit cum M. Antonio et C. Trebonio et P. Vatinio [et Q. Tullio] legatis: duas in Aeduos misit

se cibo] There is authority for omitting 'se.'

45. *qui nulli*] Most of the MSS. are said to have 'qui nullis.' Herzog takes 'qui nulli' to mean 'not one of whom,' and I suppose that he is right.

46. *gestas*] 'geri,' Kraner.—'aestivis:' he uses this word to signify campaigns, as Cicero does (Ad Div. iii. 9), 'aestivis confectis;' and Livy. See c. 6.

P. Crassum] See iii. 20.

Narbonem] Some good MSS. have 'Narbonam.' Oudendorp conjectures that we should read 'Narbona.' The ablative (iii. 20) is 'Narbone;' but there are variations there. The place may have been called both Narbo and Narbona. See Cicero, Phil. ii. 30, and the Var. Lect.

P. Vatinio] He has not been mentioned before in the Gallic war. He was the man who proposed the 'rogatio,' which gave to Caesar Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum for five years (Introd. p. 35); and Cicero, In Vatin. c. 15.

quorum in omni Gallia summam esse auctoritatem sciebat: duas in Turonis ad fines Carnutum posuit, quae omnem regionem conjunctam Oceano continerent: duas reliquas in Lemovicum fines non longe ab Arvernis, ne qua pars Galliae vacua ab exercitu esset. Ipse paucos dies in Provincia moratus, quum celeriter omnes conventus percucurrisset, publicas controversias cognovisset, bene meritis praemia tribuisset, (cognoscendi enim maximam facultatem habuerat, quali quisque animo in rem publicam fuisset totius Galliae defectione, quam sustinuerat fidelitate atque auxiliis Provinciae illius,) his rebus confectis ad legiones in Belgium se recipit hibernatque Nemetocennae.

47. Ibi cognoscit Commium Atrebatem proelio cum equitatu suo contendisse. Nam quum Antonius in hiberna venisset civitasque Atrebatum in officio maneret, Commius, qui post illam vulnerationem quam supra commemoravi semper ad omnes motus paratus suis civibus esse consuesset, ne consilia belli quaerentibus auctor armorum duxque deesset, parente Romanis civitate, cum suis equitibus se suosque latrociniis alebat, infestisque itineribus commeatus complures qui comportabantur in hiberna Romanorum intercipiebat.

48. Erat attributus Antonio praefectus equitum C. Volusenus Quadratus, qui cum eo hiemaret. Hunc Antonius ad persequendum hostium equitatum mittit. Volusenus autem ad eam virtutem quae singularis in eo

Caesar has still ten legions. His placing four in Belgium, that is among the Bellovaci, shows that he feared this warlike people.

in Aeduos misit] This may be right, though there are other readings which may be better, I mean more in accordance with Caesar's language. There is 'in Aeduos deduxit,' a form which occurs in B. G. i. 54; and there is also 'in Aeduis constituit.'—'in Turonis . . in Lemovicum fines:' 'in Turonis' is the ablative. We must perhaps supply 'misit' with 'in Lemovicum fines.'

controversias] 'Controversiae' are matters in dispute which can be settled by a legal decision. Here the author adds 'publicas,' which means disputes between towns or communities. He does not say what the disputes were about, but such disputes might arise about boundaries and other matters.

Nemetocennae] See B. G. ii. 4.

47. *commemoravi*] Three MSS. have 'demonstravi,' which is Caesar's expression. See c. 23.

infestisque itineribus] 'And making the roads unsafe,' placing men on the roads to intercept the supplies, as the writer says that he did.

48. *C. Volusenus*] See iv. 21.

erat magnum odium Commii adjungebat, quo libentius id faceret quod imperabatur. Itaque dispositis insidiis saepius ejus equites aggressus secunda proelia faciebat. Novissime quum vehementius contenderetur, ac Volusenus ipsius intercipiendi Commii cupiditate pertinacius eum cum paucis insecutus esset, ille autem fuga vehementi Volusenum longius produxisset, repente omnium suorum invocat fidem atque auxilium, ne sua vulnera perfidia interposita paterentur inulta; conversoque equo se a ceteris incautius permittit in praefectum. Faciunt idem omnes ejus equites, paucosque nostros convertunt atque insequuntur. Commius incensum calcaribus equum jungit equo Quadrati, lanceaque infesta medium femur ejus magnis viribus transjicit. Praefecto vulnerato non dubitant nostri resistere et conversi hostem pellere. Quod ubi accidit, complures hostium magno nostrorum impetu perculsi vulnerantur et partim in fuga proteruntur, partim intercipiuntur. Quod ubi malum dux equi velocitate evitavit, graviter vulneratus praefectus ut vitae periculum aditurus videretur refertur in castra. Commius autem sive expiato suo dolore sive magna parte amissa suorum legatos ad Antonium mittit, seque et ibi futurum ubi praescripserit et ea facturum quae imperaverit obsidibus datis firmat. Unum illud orat ut timori suo concedatur ne in conspectum veniat cujusquam Ro-

quo—faceret] Which Morus explains "ut adeo tanto libentius." 'Quo,' which is often used thus with a subjunctive, means what we may express by 'so as to do with the greater readiness what he was ordered.'

Novissime] 'Last of all,' or 'at last.'

repente omnium] 'inimicus homini,' Kraner.

perfidia interposita] If this is right, it means 'that they should not leave his wounds unrevenged by letting their perfidy interpose,' that is between the wounds and the revenge for the wounds. Many MSS. have 'per fidem interpositam,' which Herzog has in his text, and explains, 'he adjures them by the promise that they had made him, not to let his wounds be unrevenged.' But it seems as if the author meant to speak of the treachery by which Comm had suffered his wounds. Kraner has 'per fidem imposita.'

se—permittit] We must look here to the original sense of 'mittere;' 'he sends himself,' or, as we say, 'lets himself be carried.' So Livy (ix. 22) says, 'permisit equum.' In c. 9 there is 'tela permitteret.'

nostros convertunt] 'put to flight.

Quod ubi &c.] 'Quod malum . . evitavit ac sic praelio secundo facto graviter vulneratus praefectus' is proposed by Oudendorp. Kraner has the same except that he writes 'secundo graviter ab eo vulneratus.

mani. Quam postulationem Antonius quum judicaret ab justo nasci timore, veniam petenti dedit, obsides accepit.

Scio Caesarem singulorum annorum singulos commentarios confecisse: quod ego non existimavi mihi esse faciendum, propterea quod insequens annus L. Paullo C. Marcello Coss. nullas res Galliae habet magno opere gestas. Ne quis tamen ignoraret quibus in locis Caesar exercitusque eo tempore fuissent, pauca scribenda conjungendaque huic commentario statui.

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49. Caesar in Belgio quum hiemaret, unum illud propositum habebat continere in amicitia civitates, nulli spem aut caussam dare armorum; nihil enim minus volebat quam sub decessum suum necessitatem sibi aliquam imponi belli gerendi, ne quum exercitum deducturus esset bellum aliquod relinqueretur, quod omnis Gallia libenter sine praesenti periculo susciperet. Itaque honorifice civitates appellando, principes maximis praemiis afficiendo, nulla onera nova imponendo, defessam tot adversis proeliis Galliam conditione parendi meliore facile in pace continuit.

singulorum annorum] The author tells us that Caesar wrote a Commentarius on each year of his campaign. Caesar seems then to have divided the work as we now have it in seven parts, the first of which contains the campaign of the year B.C. 58, and the last or seventh the campaign of B.C. 52. We may collect the same conclusion from Caesar's own expressions and the form of his Commentarii.

magno opere] Here these two words, which generally have a mere adverbial signification of 'greatly,' must have their full meaning.

49. *sub decessum suum*] "Cod. Faerni, Ursini et Havn. A. sub decessum suum," Elb. But Elb. prefers 'sub decessu suo,' and Kraner has it too, and he explains 'sub' with the ablative to mean 'the time in or during which any thing takes place.' But I think that the author means just before Caesar's departure, and if so the 'sub' must have the accusative. (See ii. 33, and the note.) The reading 'discessu' was properly rejected by Clarke, for 'decedere' and 'decessus' are the terms used of a Roman governor quitting his province. Clarke has in his edition 'sub decessum suum.' 'Discedere ab hibernis,' as in v. 1, is different.

onera—imponendo] 'onera injungendo,' Kraner, omitting 'nova.'

in pace continuit] After beating the Galli Caesar coaxed them. Gallia did not rise again in a mass after

50. Ipse hibernis peractis contra consuetudinem in Italiam quam maximis itineribus est profectus, ut municipia et colonias appellaret, quibus M. Antonii quaestoris sui commendaret sacerdotii petitionem. Contendebat

the day of Alesia. The punishment of the men of Uxellodunum showed what might be expected from the proconsul. Orosius (vi. 12) in homely, but forcible language describes the condition of the country after eight years' war. It was tamed, humbled, exhausted. The conqueror turned his back upon it for the invasion of Italy, and Gallia remained quiet. No warlike nation was ever so humiliated and trampled upon by an invader; none ever resisted with more desperate courage; but courage is useless when a people are distracted and divided. Gallia had no political organization which enabled it to resist a man like Caesar.

Plutarch (Caesar, c. 15), in his style of exaggeration, says, "in somewhat less than ten years, during which Caesar carried on his campaign in Gaul, he took by storm above eight hundred cities, and subdued three hundred nations, and fought with three millions of men at different times, of whom he destroyed one million in battle and took as many prisoners." This is very extravagant; but a sober calculation will still give a frightful result. The sword destroyed hundreds of thousands; but who can count those who perished of cold and hunger, old men, women, and children? Only one man in modern times has been guilty of such butchery.

50. *contra consuetudinem*] He went after the winter, contrary to his practice, which was to spend the winter in Italy: "discedens ab hibernis Caesar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere consuerat" (v. 1).

municipia et colonias] 'Municipia' in Caesar's time were Italian towns which had received the Roman citizenship by the Lex Julia B.C. 90. 'Coloniae' were 'coloniae Romanae,' and 'coloniae Latinae,' which had been settled in Italy by the Romans.

M. Antonii] This general of Caesar was a candidate for a priestly office (Cicero, Phil. ii. 2), which offices, according to Roman fashion, were not appropriated by a priestly class. The proconsul of Gallia, who slaughtered men by thousands, put to death the senate of the Veneti, and cut off the hands of the defenders of Uxellodunum, was a priest. He was Pontifex Maximus, the chief of religion at Rome, during the time that he was fighting the Galli; the head of religion at Rome, and commander-in-chief in Gallia at once. He has had successors in this double office. Pope Julius II., Pontifex Maximus, a grey-headed old man, led his troops to attack Mirandula in the midst of a severe winter, and exposed himself to all the dangers of war (A.D. 1510-11. Roscoe, Life of Leo, c. 8).

The office which Antonius was seeking was a place in the college of Augurs, and at this time the place was given by the votes of the people in the 'comitia.' The 'coloniae' and 'municipia' in Gallia Cispadana had votes, and Caesar was going to canvass for Antonius. So when Cicero was canvassing for his consulship, he thought of taking a journey into these parts to secure the votes (Ad Att. i. 1).

commendaret] 'commendaverat,' Kraner.—'repulsa' signifies the rejection or failure of a candidate.—'convellere:' to pull a thing up from its place, as a statue from its pedestal. The author means to say, 'they desired by procuring the rejection of Antonius to unseat Caesar from his popularity just as he was quitting his province.'

enim gratia quum libenter pro homine sibi conjunctissimo, quem paullo ante praemiserat ad petitionem, tum acriter contra factionem et potentiam paucorum, qui M. Antonii repulsa Caesaris decedentis convellere gratiam cupiebant. Hunc etsi augurem prius factum quam Italiam attingeret in itinere audierat, tamen non minus justam sibi causam municipia et colonias adeundi existimavit, ut iis gratias ageret, quod frequentiam atque officium suum Antonio praestitissent; simulque se et honorem suum in sequentis anni commendaret petitione, propterea quod insolenter adversarii sui gloriarentur L. Lentulum et C. Marcellum coss. creatos, qui omnem honorem et dignitatem Caesaris exspoliarent; ereptum Ser. Galbae consulatum, quum is multo plus gratia suffragiisque valuisset, quod sibi conjunctus et familiaritate et necessitudine legationis esset.

51. Exceptus est Caesaris adventus ab omnibus municipiis et coloniis incredibili honore atque amore; tum primum enim veniebat ab illo universae Galliae bello. Nihil relinquebatur quod ad ornatum portarum, itinerum, locorum omnium, qua Caesar iturus erat, excogitari

honorem suum] It was now B.C. 50, and the consuls were L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Claudius Marcellus. The consuls for the following year (B.C. 49) were elected, L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus, enemies to Caesar.

in sequentis anni] Caesar wished to have the consulship for B.C. 48, which would be the year after the expiration of his ten years' government of Gallia, and the elections for B.C. 48 would take place in B.C. 49, or the year after the year of which the author is speaking. Kraner omits 'in' before 'sequentis,' and also omits 'petitione.'

Galbae] This is the man mentioned in B. G. iii. 1. One MS. has 'Sergio Galbae,' but his name was Servius Sulpicius Galba. See Schneider's note on B. G. iii. 1. According to this passage Galba failed in the election of the year B.C. 50, when L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus were elected. If Galba had more interest and more votes, he ought to have been elected; but we must suppose that the author means to say that the two successful candidates got their election by bribery, after the fashion of the day.

51. Caesar was liked in his Cisalpine government; and the people were grateful because he had subdued the warlike nations north of the Alps, for Cisalpine Gallia was never safe against them till Caesar's conquests. The subjugation of Gallia was necessary for the security of Italy. The whole course of Roman history shows that there was no tranquillity for Italy till the Galli were brought under Roman dominion. This was Caesar's first visit to North Italy after that great rising of the Galli, which ended in their defeat at Alesia ('ab illo universae Galliae bello').

posset. Cum liberis omnis multitudo obviam procedebat; hostiae omnibus locis immolabantur; tricliniis stratis fora templaque occupabantur ut vel exspectatissimi triumphi laetitia praecipi posset. Tanta erat magnificentia apud opulentiores, cupiditas apud humiliores.

52. Quum omnes regiones Galliae Togatae Caesar percucurrisset, summa cum celeritate ad exercitum Nemetocennam rediit; legionibusque ex omnibus hibernis ad fines Trevirorum evocatis, eo profectus est ibique exercitum lustravit. T. Labienum Galliae Togatae praefecit, quo majore commendatione conciliaretur ad consulatus petitionem. Ipse tantum itinerum faciebat quantum satis esse ad mutationem locorum propter salubritatem existimabat. Ibi quamquam crebro audiebat Labienum ab in-

tricliniis stratis] 'Triclinium,' a Greek word, is a sofa for three persons. These 'triclinia' in the temples were not laid out for ordinary persons. They were the couches with the images of the gods on them, who had a feast served up to them with great solemnity. It was a 'lectisternium,' such as they had at Rome sometimes. One is mentioned in Livy (xxii. 10), which it is difficult to read without laughing, though it was a serious affair to the Romans, some of them at least. On one occasion (Livy xl. c. 59) there was a terrible affair at a 'lectisternium.' The gods on their sofas turned their heads away. But perhaps the earthquake, which happened at the time, may explain it.

cupiditas] I think that Herzog explains this word right by referring to the expression 'cupere alicui,' 'to wish one well.' 'Cupiditas' expresses a great eagerness, and here the great devotion to Caesar. All this rejoicing was the anticipation of a triumph; for this is the meaning of 'praecipi.' Several MSS. have 'percipi,' which is a mistake. Cicero often uses 'praecipere' thus.

52. *lustravit*] The 'lustratio' was a religious ceremony, and it appears to have been performed here, because Caesar's departure for his province was drawing nigh, and the war was over. The ceremony is mentioned by Livy i. 44. It is not said why all the legions were summoned to the borders of the Treviri.

conciliaretur] The nominative to 'conciliaretur' is 'Gallia Togata.'

salubritatem] "Hence we may perceive the importance and necessity of a strict observance of the military exercises in an army, since the health of the camp and victory in the field depend on them. If a numerous army continues long in one place in the summer or in the autumn, the waters become corrupt and the air infected, from whence proceed malignant and fatal distempers, which nothing but frequent change of encampments can prevent." (Vegetius, B. iii. p. 94, Clarke's translation.) The Romans well knew the value of this change of place, and Caesar was a man likely to get tired of being in one spot with nothing to do. It is hard to conceive how he got through the summer; but we may be sure that he was busy about something, writing at least, which he was fond of.

Labienum—sollicitari] Labienus went over to Caesar's enemies in the next year (Cic. Ad Div. xvi. 12).

imicis suis sollicitari, certiorque fiebat id agi paucorum consiliis ut interposita Senatus auctoritate aliqua parte exercitus spoliaretur, tamen neque de Labieno credidit quidquam, neque contra Senatus auctoritatem ut aliquid faceret potuit adduci; judicabat enim liberis sententiis patrum conscriptorum causam suam facile obtineri. Nam C. Curio, tribunus plebis, quum Caesaris causam dignitatemque defendendam suscepisset, saepe erat Senatui pollicitus, si quem timor armorum Caesaris laederet, [et,] quoniam Pompeii dominatio atque arma non minimum terrorem foro inferrent, discederet uterque ab armis exercitusque dimitteret; fore eo facto liberam et sui juris civitatem. Neque hoc tantum pollicitus est, sed etiam per se discessionem facere coepit; quod ne fieret con-

id agi—ut] This is a common Latin formula, very usual in Cicero. The 'id' is explained by the 'ut' &c.; and the meaning is, 'Caesar was informed that a few men were combining for the purpose of depriving him of part of his army by a Senatus auctoritas.'

C. Curio] C. Scribonius Curio was an extravagant fellow, and loaded with debt. Caesar, it is said, bought his services, for Caesar got rich in his Gallic wars. Curio had talent, but no principle. Seven of Cicero's letters to him are extant (Ad Div. ii. 1—7).

pollicitus—discederet] 'Pollicitus' is used in its proper sense: 'he proposed to the senate that both Caesar and Pompeius should give up their armies.' But it is not usual to use 'ut' and a subjunctive with 'polliceri.' 'Fore,' &c., must be explained as a part of the substance of Curio's speech: he affirmed that if this were done, the state would be free and its own master. 'Sui juris' is a legal formula which expresses the condition of one who is no longer under the 'patria potestas.' "Nam quaedam personae sui juris sunt, quaedam alieno juri sunt subjectae" (Gaius, i. 48). Accordingly it can be used to signify generally those who are their own masters, as we say; and as here, a state which is free, that is not under fear of some military demonstration. Forcellini quotes one of the letters in the collection Ad Brutum (i. 16), for the expression "ut esset sui juris ac mancipii res publica;" but I doubt if 'sui mancipii' is a genuine expression. If it only occurs in these spurious letters, we must reject it. Elberling observes, "though none of the commentators except Bentley have found a difficulty here, the passage seems to me either corrupt or to be labouring under a most harsh construction. If I knew what '*pollicitus*' could signify in this passage, I would read '*laederet, ut quoniam P. . . dimitteret: fore,*'" &c. This is an odd sample of reasoning. One would suppose that if he did not understand 'pollicitus,' he could not venture to alter the other part.

dominatio] The exercise of power in an illegal way. At the trial of Milo (B.C. 52) Pompeius filled the Forum with soldiers.

discessionem] This means a division of the senate, for 'discessio' is the term used to express the mode of voting by making a division of the members. Curio tried to bring it to a vote. This is explained by

sules amicique Pompeii jusserunt, atque ita rem moderando discesserunt.

53. Magnum hoc testimonium Senatus erat universi conveniensque superiori facto. Nam Marcellus proximo anno, quum impugnaret Caesaris dignitatem, contra legem Pompeii et Crassi rettulerat ante tempus ad Senatum de Caesaris provinciis, sententiisque dictis discessionem faciente Marcello, qui sibi omnem dignitatem ex Caesaris invidia quaerebat, Senatus frequens in

the passages in Cicero (Ad Div. x. 12) and Pliny (Ep. viii. 14), referred to by Herzog.

jusserunt] The construction of 'jubere' with 'ne' is unusual. 'Intercesserunt' has been proposed, but it is not the proper word here. A few MSS. have 'suaserunt.' The rest of the sentence is unintelligible. One MS. has 'remorando' in place of 'rem moderando.' The author seems to mean that the senate in some way put off the matter. Kraner has 'jusserunt; at reliqui tamen omnes eo discesserunt.' The story, as told by Plutarch (Pompeius, c. 58), is that all the senators, except two-and-twenty, voted for Curio's second motion, which was that both Pompeius and Caesar should resign their command. Comp. Appian, B. C. ii. 30. This was in B.C. 50, in the consulship of C. Marcellus.

53. *Magnum hoc*] This is obscure. But it must refer to what he has said at the end of the preceding chapter. That which was done was a great proof of the disposition of the senate, and consistent with what had been done the year before.

Marcellus] M. Marcellus, consul B.C. 51, moved in the senate that Caesar should be superseded before his second five years were out, and that he should not be allowed to be a candidate for the consulship in his absence, a thing that Caesar had set his mind on (Sueton. Caesar, c. 28), and permission to be a candidate in his absence had been given to Caesar by a Lex enacted in B.C. 52. Cicero at Caesar's request had used his influence in getting this Lex passed. (Ad Att. vii. 1, 4. See also Ad Div. vi. 6, 5, and Ad Att. viii. 3, 3.)

The motion of M. Marcellus was to rescind the Lex which gave Caesar his provinces for the second term of five years. It is here called a Lex of Pompeius and Crassus, because it was enacted in their second consulship, but it is the Lex Trebonia, B.C. 55 (v. 17, note). Pompeius made no opposition to the Lex, though Cicero, as he tells us, advised Pompeius not to consent to this second term of five years (Phil. ii. c. 10).

Senatus frequens] All that is told in this chapter is evidently an event of the year B.C. 51, when M. Marcellus and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus were consuls. Nothing can be clearer. Suetonius and Dion Cassius (40, c. 59) say the same. Yet Herzog says that the 'discessio' or division mentioned in this chapter is that described by Plutarch (Pompey, c. 58), and referred to in the notes to the preceding chapter. He adds, "both accounts do not quite agree, as we may see." It would be strange if they did. And then he charges Plutarch with not being quite exact in his chronology. But if he is not quite right, he is quite wrong. And he is quite right in this instance. Cicero (Ad Att. vii. 1) alludes to these attempts of the Marcelli: "per duos superiores Marcellorum consulatus, quum est actum de provincia Caesaris." See Dion Cassius, 40, c. 59, 62, and the letter of M. Caelius to Cicero, Ad Div. viii. 8, B.C. 51.

alia omnia transiit. Quibus non frangebantur animi inimicorum Caesaris, sed admonebantur quo majores pararent necessitudines, quibus cogi posset Senatus id probare quod ipsi constituissent.

54. Fit deinde S. C. ut ad bellum Parthicum legio una a Cn. Pompeio, altera a C. Caesare mitteretur; neque obscure hae duae legiones uni Caesari detrahuntur. Nam Cn. Pompeius legionem primam, quam ad Caesarem miserat, confectam ex delectu provinciae Caesaris, eam tamquam ex suo numero dedit. Caesar tamen, quum de voluntate adversariorum suorum se spoliari nemini dubium esset, Cn. Pompeio legionem remisit, et suo nomine XV, quam in Gallia citeriore habuerat, ex S. C. jubet tradi. In ejus locum XIII legionem in Italiam mittit quae praesidia tueatur ex quibus praesidiis XV deducebatur. Ipse exercitui distribuit hiberna: C. Trebonium cum legionibus quatuor in Belgio collocat; C. Fabium cum totidem in Aeduos deducit. Sic enim existimabat tutissimam fore Galliam, si Belgae, quorum maxima virtus, et Aedui, quorum auctoritas summa esset, exercitibus continerentur. Ipse in Italiam profectus est.

55. Quo quum venisset, cognoscit per C. Marcellum

in alia omnia] This is the form of expressing that a motion was negatived, as in Cicero (Ad Div. x. 12), "senatus . . . in alia omnia discessit."

54. *bellum Parthicum*] Bibulus, the colleague of Caesar in the consulship B.C. 59, was conducting the Parthian war (Dion Cassius, 40, c. 30); but the war ended according to Dion Cassius in B.C. 51, in the consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus; and this Parthian war was only a pretext (Dion Cassius, 40, c. 65). The S.C. or Senatus consultum about these two legions is also mentioned by Appian (Civil War, ii. 29).

legionem primam] See B. G. vi. 1. Caesar sent back the legion which he had from Pompeius, and this was to be considered as a legion given up by Pompeius for the Parthian war. Caesar of course had to send one on his own account. So he lost two legions.

quum de—dubium esset] Most MSS. have 'quum de voluntate minime dubium esset adversariorum suorum' (Oudendorp), which is Kraner's reading. The reading in the text is Oudendorp's, except that he has 'exspoliari.'

XV] There is some mistake here or in c. 24, for it is the same legion. Ciacconius would have it 'IV.' Caesar had now eight legions left; and after putting them in quarters among the Belgae and the Aedui, he went to Italy at the end of B.C. 50, where he heard of the miserable trick that his enemies had played him (c. 55). See B. C. i. c. 4, and Cicero, Ad Att. vii. 13 a.

55. Oudendorp added 'contendit' on the authority of some MSS. It

consulem legiones duas ab se remissas, quae ex S. C. deberent ad Parthicum bellum duci, Cn. Pompeio traditas atque in Italia retentas esse. Hoc facto quamquam nulli erat dubium quidnam contra Caesarem pararetur, tamen Caesar omnia patienda esse statuit, quoad sibi spes aliqua relinqueretur jure potius disceptandi quam belli gerendi. [Contendit.]

is omitted in others. The object of the author was to connect the history with the beginning of the Civil war; and it is generally supposed that the first chapter of the First book of the Civil war has lost something at the beginning; which however may be doubted. It does not seem quite certain that any thing has been lost from the end of this book. Morus supplies what he supposes to be lost by the following version of Appian (Civil War, ii. 32): "Per literas contendit ab Senatu, ut etiam Pompeius se imperio abdicaret, seque idem facturum promisit; sin minus se neque sibi neque patriae defuturum."

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THE END.

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